

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.

**THE RISE AND FALL OF CCAC:
A CASE STUDY IN HERITAGE POLITICS**

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts
in Museum Studies
at Massey University
Paper No. 67.899 (100 pt thesis)**

**Kerry McCarthy
1998**

ABSTRACT

Museums are publicly funded community organisations. In New Zealand today most museum funding is provided by local governments but central government also plays a role. Fundamental to museum activity is the preservation of collections which are assembled on behalf of the contributing community as material representations of its heritage and which are intended to be held in perpetuity for the information and enjoyment of present and future generations. Conservation is the chief means by which preservation is achieved and it has received increasing prominence as a scientific, technical and management activity in museums in the second half of the twentieth century.

During the 1970s calls for improved standards of conservation in New Zealand's museums led central government to establish a ministerial advisory committee within the Department of Internal Affairs. This committee (the Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property) was to guide and facilitate collection conservation and the training of personnel through funding allocation and the provision of policy advice. It was replaced in 1987 by the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, a similarly constituted body with a closely aligned mandate. These committees were formed during a period of interventionist government philosophy but since the mid 1980s New Zealand government has radically altered this stance and has withdrawn from service delivery in many areas. Government reforms have focused on the application of private market principles to the public sector, financial stringency and improved accountability.

The Cultural Conservation Advisory Council was reviewed in 1991 and its activities discontinued. It is clear that shifting political philosophies had a strong influence on this outcome but there were several other contributing factors. The Council did not succeed in establishing an endorsed heritage policy for government and did not secure unified heritage sector support to advocate for its continuation.

Since the Council's demise central government has not renewed its leadership role in promoting the conservation of New Zealand's cultural property. However, a number of discrete initiatives have arisen and important advances have been made in seeking to define government's role in heritage management and preservation generally and in the care of taonga Maori in particular. Australia has recently adopted a National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage and is moving towards programme delivery in this area. This initiative may provide a useful model for New Zealand.

As well as analysing central government's activities in cultural property conservation, this thesis points to the wider question of government's place in cultural activities generally and notes that traditional rationales and justifications must be reworked in light of new political philosophies in order to achieve a meaningful solution for communities and the heritage which they value.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank David Butts, Director of Museum Studies, for supervising this project and Elizabeth Caldwell for local support in Christchurch. The staff of several government departments have been of great assistance in providing access to records and other information. In particular I would like to thank Victoria Edwards and Carol Hazeltine at the Department of Internal Affairs and Jane Kominik at the Ministry of Cultural Affairs for their valuable help and guidance. In addition I would like to express particular thanks to those key players from the CCAC period and current conservation initiatives whose input has added greatly to the project.

All views expressed by commentators in this thesis are their personal opinions.

Unless otherwise stated figures are New Zealand dollars.

Appendix.Four, page 309, is a list of abbreviations used in the text which can be unfolded and used as a guide while reading the thesis.

5.5	Publication	171
5.6	Research	172
5.7	Administrative Issues	172
5.8	The Final Meeting	175
Chapter Six	Grants Made	181
6.1	Geographical Analysis	181
6.2	The Recipients	184
6.3	Functional Analysis	186
6.4	Spending Analysis	190
6.5	Maori Initiatives	
Chapter Seven	The Second Interregnum: Events Since 1991	194
7.1	The Review of CCAC and the Boag Report	194
7.2	The Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property (Cultural Property Council)	209
7.3	Recent Heritage Sector Initiatives	222
7.3.1	National Library and National Archives of New Zealand: National Preservation Programme	222
7.3.2	Department of Internal Affairs Heritage Group	227
7.3.3	<i>Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand</i>	229
7.3.4	The Department Of Conservation and The Historic Places Trust: Historic Heritage Management Review 1998	234
7.3.5	The Lottery Grants Board	243
7.3.6	Te Papa National Services	245
Chapter Eight	An Australian Case Study: The National Conservation and Preservation Policy and Strategy for Moveable Cultural Heritage	250
8.1	The Genesis of the Heritage Collections Committee and the National Conservation Program	250
8.1.1	Skills Development and Community Awareness	254
8.1.2	The National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage	257
8.2	The National Conservation and preservation Strategy for Moveable Cultural Heritage	261
8.3	Towards a Model for New Zealand	268
Conclusion		277

Appendix One	CCAC Members	287
Appendix Two	Table of Grants Allocated by CCAC	288
Appendix Three	The Taonga Maori Conference 1990: Participants	305
Appendix Four	Abbreviations Used in the Text	309

Bibliography		310
Published Sources		310
Departmental Files		314
Internet Sources		316
Interviews		316
Personal Correspondence		317

LIST OF TABLES

Table One	CCAC Income from Lottery Board and Vote internal Affairs	129
Table Two	Functional Analysis of CCAC Grants 1987 - 1991	187
Table Three	Boag Review Terms of Reference and Key Findings	195

INTRODUCTION

Collections are fundamental to museum activity. Museum collections consist of the material manifestations of human existence which are valued today and which are to be preserved for the education and enjoyment of future generations. A primary consideration in the care of these objects is ensuring their continued survival for the longest period possible. Museum collections are inextricably involved with people and communities. As well as preserving the objects in museum collections it is necessary also to preserve information about how they were made, used and understood in order to maximise their meaning and significance.

Most museums are funded from public sources and museum collections are held in trust on behalf of the contributing community. New Zealand's public sector operates at two levels, central government and local authorities. The bulk of museum funding is derived from local authorities but central government has intervened in a number of ways. This intervention has been derived from a political philosophy whereby governments have sought to provide services for the benefit of the general public on the assumption that these will not be provided in sufficient quality or quantity by other sources. Museums and other heritage activities have received government funding as a result of this philosophy affirming the perception that they are important to society and widely valued.

In recent years heritage has received increasing attention throughout the world and has undergone a conceptual repositioning to focus more on a populist past and on the expression of cultural diversity. As a consequence of this shift away from elitist, Eurocentric or ethnographic approaches to heritage, museums and other heritage agencies have focussed increasingly on facilitating meaningful access for diverse communities to their cultural pasts. This has involved recognition of the validity of multiple interpretations of the concept of heritage which frequently extend beyond purely material concerns. In New Zealand this recognition has been acutely manifested in shifting attitudes to the care and display of taonga Maori. Taonga are an integral part of wider Maori social and philosophical beliefs and the ongoing continuum of Maori life.

In order to preserve the full meaning of taonga in public collections it is necessary to reunite them with the stories of their creation and subsequent use which are fundamental to their cultural value. Preservation and conservation of these collections, therefore, must take account of more than simply their physical nature.

A further fundamental element of the interventionist philosophy is the belief that it is beneficial for government to take a centralised coordinating role in public good activities when they are nationally dispersed and complex. Central government intervention in the conservation of moveable cultural property in New Zealand was manifested chiefly through two ministerial advisory committees, the Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property (1978 - 87) and the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council (1987 - 1992). These committees were established by the Minister of Internal Affairs to develop national policies and priorities for cultural property conservation and to distribute funds for this purpose. Despite their work, New Zealand government still lacks a national heritage preservation policy and sector advocacy has been insufficient to restart the committees' initiatives.

Rapid and far reaching changes in political philosophy since the 1980s have seen New Zealand's government withdraw from service delivery. Private market principles have been applied to the public sector and accountability is focused on the quantification of outputs. Museums and other heritage organisations have been required to revise their accountability and budgeting mechanisms to bring them into line with this focus. Museum inputs have been easier to quantify (eg budget requirements to stage a specified number of exhibitions or to house a collection) but outputs have been viewed qualitatively (eg contribution to a sense of nationhood or cultural identity). Economic rationalism requires public sector agencies to determine quantitative statements of inputs and outputs and these are used to assess the efficiency and effectiveness of government spending. This economic view of heritage management has been questioned in recent years, however, as it is incapable of explaining and evaluating the success of all heritage endeavours. Efficiency of spending is only one aspect of the successful operation of a museum.

In this climate of economic stringency central government withdrew from direct funding for the conservation of moveable cultural property. The Cultural Conservation Advisory Council's activities were discontinued and although a proposal was developed for a replacement body, government has taken no similar initiatives in this area. The Interim Committee and the Advisory Council were umbrella organisations which sought to promote standards of conservation for all forms of cultural property. Government conservation initiatives today are either specific to a particular category of cultural property (eg the Department of Conservation which deals with the natural environment and historic resources on the Crown estate or the Historic Places Trust which is responsible for the built environment) or essentially reactive (eg the Lottery Grants Board). There is no targeted strategic policy or initiative for moveable cultural property and government funding of the National Services component of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa is insufficient to overcome this omission.

The preservation and management of natural, built and archaeological heritage has received increasing government attention throughout the world and developments in these areas provide useful insights into common issues surrounding the conservation of all forms of cultural property. Australia has been particularly active in seeking to establish a government conservation policy and a targeted strategic conservation programme and has recently focussed these efforts on moveable cultural property. The research and initiatives undertaken in Australia provide insights which could inform the debate in this country and aid in the development of a new model for government involvement in cultural heritage conservation which accommodates both current government philosophy and the needs of the heritage sector.

This thesis will explore the events leading up to the establishment of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council. It will analyse the operation of the Council and the reasons for its demise and will consider these events in the broader context of changes in government structure and philosophy. The purpose of the research was to examine the proposition that the demise of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council was primarily a result of the application of economic rationalism in the heritage area. While this was the central and most direct cause there are other factors which are very

important in explaining its disestablishment. Recent initiatives and future options for government participation in cultural heritage conservation will be outlined briefly at the conclusion of this study.

Chapter One will consider the nature of heritage and its management in the New Zealand public sector. Chapter Two will discuss heritage conservation and will outline and analyse changes in New Zealand government philosophy since the 1980s particularly as these impact on government involvement in heritage. Recent criticism of the application of the new philosophies to heritage management will also be considered. Chapter Three will discuss the Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, its genesis, programmes and achievements and will determine how this body set the scene for the Advisory Council. The next three chapters will consider the activities of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council in detail focussing on its establishment, the selection of members and the development of its funding policy and programmes. Chapter Seven will discuss the review which pre-empted the Council's dissolution as well as subsequent developments in cultural property conservation in New Zealand. The final chapter will discuss the work of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council in Australia and the lessons which this could provide for New Zealand.

The research is based on a review of relevant literature, records of the Interim Committee and Advisory Council held by the Department of Internal Affairs, and interviews and basic questionnaires answered by key players in the development of the Advisory Council and related initiatives.

The analysis of the rise and fall of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council provides a case study of a body whose impact on the conservation of New Zealand's cultural property has been significant. It also explores the wider place of government in heritage preservation. The thesis highlights the attitudes and policies of government in this area, especially as they are given expression by government departments and other agencies, and considers the role played by the heritage sector in advocacy and the development of relationships with policy makers.

There is a lack of synthesis in New Zealand between the development of government policy and the needs of the heritage sector. Little background work has been done to draw the two spheres together and to seek a unified and mutually beneficial outcome. Government has no policy stating its role in the conservation of cultural property and, thus, there is no framework on which to build procedural initiatives. This research is timely because of the current review of all aspects of heritage legislation in New Zealand and particularly the review of the management of land based heritage being undertaken by the Department of Conservation during 1998. The absence of groundwork and policy limits the conclusions which can be drawn from the research presented here but also points to fertile ground for future study.¹ At a time when heritage organisations must be increasingly aware of government philosophy and its impact on their operation, it is hoped that this thesis will provide insights into the interaction of the two sectors which may assist the development of further research to establish successful strategies for the preservation and management of New Zealand's cultural heritage.

¹ Because government has not yet resolved the final outcome of the negotiations for a body to replace the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council its records have not been formally archived and it has proven difficult at times to locate all of the relevant documents. It has not been possible to locate minutes for all of the Council's meetings, for example.

CHAPTER ONE

HERITAGE AND NEW ZEALAND

1.1 DEFINING HERITAGE

In today's society heritage enjoys a self-conscious prominence and popular support unparalleled in any previous era. Museums and heritage sites are valued as emblems of national and personal identity and heritage tourism is an increasingly important source of income and publicity. Despite this popularity many governments, like New Zealand's, have not yet fully defined their responsibilities in the heritage sector and the term heritage itself lacks a universal and straight-forward definition. Heritage means different things to different people and to different communities. It is often perceived simply as historic buildings or natural reserves but is in fact a much broader phenomenon which also includes objects and concepts, languages and memories.

David Lowenthal has considered the heritage phenomenon and sought to explain its importance and nature in today's society. He contrasts heritage with history:

History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque with time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes.¹

Heritage is an interpretation of the past from the standpoint of the present. The past is valued because it is seen as unalterable and timeless yet heritage constantly reshapes and often sanitises it for consumption in the modern world. While history strives for objectivity heritage is necessarily partisan:

History and heritage transmit different things to different audiences. History tells all who listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select

¹ Lowenthal, David, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, p. xi.

group with prestige and common purpose. History is enlarged by being disseminated; heritage is diminished by export.²

Museums today deal in heritage rather than history. Their goal is to interpret the past in a manner which is vibrant and relevant for contemporary communities.

Lowenthal sees a parallel between heritage today and religion. This is acutely manifest in both phenomena's reliance on faith:

At its best, heritage fabrication is both creative art and act of faith. By means of it we tell ourselves who we are, where we come from, and to what we belong. Ancestral loyalties rest on fraud as well as truth and forment peril along with pride.³

Because heritage messages exclude those who are not part of them, they cannot be universally true. Faith in ancestral stories or concepts may be unfounded or misguided but Lowenthal holds that:

[t]he bad effects of wrong beliefs are more than compensated by the bonding a legacy confers and by the barriers it erects against others. Shared misinformation excludes those whose own legacy encodes different catechisms.⁴

The verifiable truth of heritage is not the paramount concern, rather it is an expression of group beliefs and values based on faith in a collective and shared vision of the past. Although heritage is a celebration of a collective legacy, each sharer in that legacy extracts from it a personal meaning and relevance.⁵ This process bolsters self esteem and communal ardour.⁶

Heritage operates simultaneously at a number of different levels including personal, familial, regional, national and global. Natural heritage is now a global phenomenon manifested in such concerns as the protection of fossil fuels and the preservation of rain forests. International conventions have sought to recognise the global significance of cultural icons. The Hague Convention (1954), for example, states that “[c]ultural

² Ibid., p. 128.

³ Ibid., p. xiii.

⁴ Ibid., p. 129.

⁵ Ibid., p. 146.

⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

property belonging to any people” is also “the cultural heritage of all mankind”.⁷ Conflicts and rivalry arise when cultural property held outside its country of origin is maintained there on the grounds of its importance to global heritage.

The Parthenon Marbles which are held in the British Museum but subject to calls for return by the Greek government highlight this situation. The Marbles were brought to England by a British diplomat, Lord Elgin, in the early 1800s and have become one of the British Museum’s most famous collections since that time. They were collected from the Parthenon, Athena’s Temple at the highest point of the Acropolis in central Athens, and depict the Panathenaic procession or Festival of Athena which was the main event in the ancient city’s religious calendar.⁸ They are clearly of fundamental importance to Greek cultural identity but the British Museum remains unwilling to return the Marbles to their country of origin. One of the Museum’s chief arguments against their return is its role as an international cultural institution providing a service for the international community. It fears that this status would be destroyed if a policy of repatriation were to be adopted.⁹ The Museum’s position is enhanced by a 1983 resolution of the Parliamentary Council of Europe which stresses “the unity of European cultural heritage” and calls on “governments of member states to recognize that the European cultural heritage belongs to all Europeans and to ensure that the diversity of this heritage remains easily accessible in each country.”¹⁰ This argument undermines the notion of heritage as a cultural identifier unique to a nation or to a group of people and also points to the paradox which exists today whereby globalism and attempts to redress historical injustices, including the experience of colonialism, work to create a broad sense of unity and cultural assimilation at the same time as increasing emphasis is placed on genetically focussed heritage stressing allegiance to discrete lines of kinship particularly among marginalised cultures. Similar conflicts can arise on a national level when cultural property is held in institutions distanced from creating communities.

⁷ Ibid., p. 228 - 229.

⁸ Greenfield, Jeanette, *The Return of Cultural Treasures*, p. 42 - 49.

⁹ Ibid., p. 67.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 68.

Heritage today is homogenised by its global nature and its language is essentially western in derivation.¹¹ Western powers acquired items of cultural property during periods of colonial activity and returned these to public collections in European centres. These powers now seek a stewardship role for material that was previously the spoils of conquest. The process of acquisition was aided by the fact until recently only western and oriental powers had a self-conscious material heritage. Relics and remnants of 'primitive' cultures were collected as evidence and yardsticks of western 'progress' and as stimuli to art and travel.

The concept of global patrimony derives from an era of conquest which leaves much of it in the hands of a privileged few.¹² Foreign acquisition is increasingly frowned upon today. Whereas the concept of a universal heritage previously amounted to all the world's legacies being gathered into western collections, today it focuses on providing global aid for all cultures to retain and retrieve their essential legacies.¹³

Lowenthal notes that the magnitude and momentum of heritage growth in recent years has been alarming and potentially self defeating. As an ever increasing amount of heritage material is preserved, pressure on resources available to manage and interpret it are strained.¹⁴ Several factors have influenced the proliferation of heritage collections.

Heritage today celebrates the everyday and the ordinary person:

Formerly about grand monuments, unique treasures and great heroes, heritage now also touts the typical and evokes the vernacular.¹⁵

Heritage was traditionally controlled and consumed by societal elites but has become increasingly democratised and populist. Preservation of the everyday requires preservation of an increasingly varied and numerous range of material. Today's heritage also includes the recent past, a fertile collecting ground for those eager to preserve a broad representation of human experience. The boundaries between the past and the present are increasingly blurred:

¹¹ Lowenthal, David, *Op.cit.*, p. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 240 - 242.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11 - 12.

At length all that distinguishes heritage is a history of previous use.¹⁶

Intangible heritage is stressed and language, poetry, music, ideas and images have become subjects of heritage preservation.¹⁷

As the boundaries of heritage are pushed ever wider it is necessary to regulate collecting to ensure that the heritage sector does not produce collections beyond the scope of its management resources. Linda Young suggests that heritage place management systems might provide a model for methodical collection of other forms of cultural property.¹⁸ Young views museum collecting as essentially eclectic rather than methodical and as traditionally relying on curatorial expertise. The Australian Heritage Commission has developed a system for the inclusion of sites on the Register of the National Estate which provides a framework of eight criteria for the assessment of heritage significance.¹⁹ Young suggests that a similar system could be adopted by museums in the assessment of items for inclusion in collections and that this be used in conjunction with traditional curatorial expertise to develop a system of 'purposeful connoisseurship'.

Purposeful connoisseurship would comprise all the scholarship traditionally contained in curatorial inspection and research into artefacts, but would be focussed towards a summary indicating the significance of the piece relative to the collecting policy of the institution concerned.²⁰

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

¹⁸ Young, Linda, *Significance, Connoisseurship and Facilitation: New Techniques for Assessing Museum Antiquities*, p. 191.

¹⁹ The eight criteria are:

1. Importance in the course, or pattern, of Australia's natural or cultural history;
2. Possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of Australia's natural or cultural history;
3. potential to yield information which will contribute to and understanding of Australia's natural or cultural history;
4. Importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of: (I) a class of Australia's natural or cultural places; or (II) a class of Australia's natural or cultural environments;
5. Importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural groups;
6. Importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;
7. strong or special associations with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons; and
8. Special association with the life or works of a person, or groups of persons, of importance in Australia's natural or cultural history, *Ibid.*, p. 194.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Young's model seeks to frame curatorial craft in the practice of the present day in order that it be sustained.²¹ It advocates a blending of contemporary bureaucracy and accountability with traditional curatorial and academic skills to produce a rational and meaningful framework for the development of cultural property collections. In taking account of the social significance of cultural property this model also accommodates the increasing focus on the curator as facilitator rather than authority:

What is now considered cultural heritage was generated by communal practice and should not now be maintained by professional specialisation to the exclusion of community participation.²²

The validity of non-expert opinion is incorporated to complement the specialist expertise of the curator-connoisseur.

The global importance of heritage today is derived from a diversity of communal experiences. In England, for example, heritage may be born of nostalgia for imperial self esteem or may seek to compensate for the loss of industrial power, while in Australia or New Zealand it may reflect a desire to replace a colonial past and to forge indigenous pride.²³ Factors such as the dissolution of family units, wholesale migration and fear of the rapid changes of technology erode certainty in the future, heighten awareness of the past and create the view that one needs and is owed a heritage. Priority is integral to heritage and particularly old items or concepts are highly valued for their antiquity. Legacies at risk are also especially valued because of their fragility.²⁴

Lowenthal also argues that a legacy must be clearly and consciously owned by a community to be valued and considered worth preserving. Colonised societies which have been culturally disenfranchised have therefore been marginalised and are now most at threat of extinction.²⁵ Heritage can only be sustained by a living community with a clear sense of ownership of its traditions and material cultural property.

²¹ Ibid., p. 196.

²² ICOMOS Mexico, *Declaration of Oxaca*, Ibid., p. 197.

²³ Lowenthal, D., *Op cit.*, p. 6.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 22.

Lowenthal sees the foundation of heritage in personal legacies, what individuals inherit and bequeath and feel a binding duty to protect. This legacy is more than material goods. It includes traditions, language and a sense of duty. All collective heritage, he argues, derives from family affections, habits and obligations.²⁶ Gender has also played a role in the development of heritage. In western cultures inheritance passed generally from male to male. Lowenthal holds that women are still viewed more as part of heritage than sharers in it. Private inheritance ensured that collective heritage was limited to familial groups and that its material manifestations were the concern of an elite minority.

Over the last two hundred years heritage has been transformed from a private to a public phenomenon and allegiances have shifted from personal or family to national legacies. Nationalist fervour in the nineteenth century roused mass allegiance to icons of collective identity. This movement was paralleled by the development of public museums and the transfer of private treasures to state control. The creators of cultural property also came to rely on state support rather than private patronage. Museums are now the chief repositories of heritage material and provide a tangible focus for the communal allegiances of nations or societies. In recent years the elitist nature of heritage has also been eroded in favour of a focus on the vernacular.²⁷

Heritage often records the triumphs and victories of a cultural group. These can change over time as changing values reshape heritage into a legacy acceptable in modern times. Defeat can be as lasting as victory in creating heritages. Lowenthal states:

Atrocities are invoked as heritage not only to forge internal unity but to enlist external sympathy.²⁸

Heritage may be recalled by its absence stemming from conquest, theft or erosion. A legacy of oppression may validate a present identity:

History is still mostly written by the winners. But heritage increasingly belongs to the losers.²⁹

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31 - 32.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 60 - 63.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 74 - 75.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77 - 78.

In this sympathy with the downtrodden Lowenthal also detects a contemporary move away from national allegiance towards smaller and less powerful entities. Megapowers have become too remote to respond to their people. National allegiances are less fulfilling than local or ethnic ties and minority roots are more important than the mainstream.³⁰ In this paradigm heritage in general becomes a minority virtue and mainstream 'progress' its antithesis. Since the 1970s there has been an increased celebration of ethnic heritage and a return to old-time virtues such as devotion to God and country and family ties. Mainstream legacies seem cold, barren and impersonal and as minorities gain favour, increasing numbers embrace newly prized legacies.³¹

Minority legacies are, however, necessarily shaped and influenced by the western and global nature of heritage. Mainstreams trivialise minority legacies by standardising them. They are seen as harmless, personally enriching, yet socially retrograde. Previously sacred local and tribal legacies are transformed into public commodities and divested of their social meaning.³² A paradox is created whereby "[i]ndigenes in general must ceaselessly resist mainstream pressures both to cut them off from their heritage and to bury them within it."³³

As ethnicity becomes increasingly important for heritage identification the phenomenon begins to turn full circle and blood lines and family inheritance take on a renewed importance. Human traits are ascribed to racial or ethnic inheritance and are seen to define cultures because they are perceived as enduring and unchanging despite social upheaval. As heritage become increasingly biologically determined so it becomes less amenable to social and cultural reform.³⁴

Heritage has the potential to be selfish, chauvinistic, escapist, anachronistic and superficial. Despite recent populist trends it remains largely a construct of the elite. It lacks definition and although widely heralded as a good thing, few ask what heritage is

³⁰ Ibid., p. 79 - 80.

³¹ Ibid., p. 81 - 84.

³² Ibid., p. 85- 86.

³³ Ibid., p. 87.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 196 - 97.

good for.³⁵ It is also prone to criticisms of commercialisation. Heritage packages history in a way which is attractive to sponsors and is often openly entrepreneurial.³⁶

This approach to the past is not new however:

Critics seem unaware that heritage has always twisted the past for some present purpose. In damming its distortions, they counterpose a mirage: a past that does not pander to elite and other interests, an unadulterated history that once was and should be ours, a “true” past of archives and artifacts that heritage perverts. From this fallacious contrast flow charges of triviality, vulgarity, bias, mendacity - and above all, of heritage as bad history, history as too precious and fragile to be left to heritage.³⁷

Heritage does manipulate the past but:

attachment to heritage depends on feeling and faith, as opposed to history’s ascertained truths. Lack of hard evidence seldom distresses the public at large who are mostly credulous, undemanding, unaccustomed to heritage mystique, and often laud the distortions, omissions, and fabrications central to heritage reconstruction.³⁸

Heritage makes the past comfortable and accessible for the general consumption and enjoyment of today’s communities. Heritage is not fixed but changes according to the needs of its creators and consumers.

Lowenthal contends that

[c]harges that heritage perverts the past, even if true, are pointless. Heritage and history are closely linked but they serve quite different purposes.³⁹

History aims at establishing a universal and universally accessible truth. Heritage in contrast is tribal, patriotic and exclusive. The hallmark of history is testable truth while heritage is a declaration of faith in the past. History aims to reduce bias but it is

³⁵ Ibid., p. 88 - 94.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 97 - 99.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 101 - 102.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 249.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 104.

sanctioned and strengthened by heritage. History is remote, heritage is personal and immediate.⁴⁰

In Lowenthal's construction, heritage reverts to tribal rule whereby each past is an exclusive, secret possession created to generate and protect group interests. It benefits its owners only if withheld from others.⁴¹ Heritage is non linear and considers all past as one mixed and blended by time, distance and colonisation.⁴² Both heritage and history omit elements of the past but heritage leaves out much more than history. Omission may be deliberate and aimed at forgetting what now displeases society. Lowenthal holds that such omission may aid understanding more than laying bare indigestible truths of the past.⁴³

Heritage is clearly a complex phenomenon. Its nature and objectives have changed significantly over the past two hundred years and Lowenthal notes:

Too much is now asked of heritage. In the same breath we command national patrimony, regional and ethical legacies, and a global heritage shared and sheltered in common. We forget that these aims are usually incompatible.⁴⁴

As heritage evolves and gains in popularity it becomes increasingly inclusive and heterogenous. In seeking to define their involvement in heritage activities, governments must pursue a meaning for heritage which encompasses the concerns and beliefs of their communities.

In Australia and New Zealand the notion of heritage is being reshaped and refined to meet society's changing needs:

[H]eritage has assumed a role by which a wide range of groups and communities within society are able to assert their identities within a broader national culture.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 119 - 122.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 128.

⁴² Ibid., p. 136.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 156 - 161.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p 227.

Society, in turn, has grasped onto various symbols, icons and mythologies in order to try and fashion a collective national identity.⁴⁵

While heritage is integral to national identity and the collective self it is born out of diversity and must be flexible to accommodate divergent values and interpretations.

In the early 1970s heritage was viewed in a relatively limited sense as involving architecture, archaeological sites and artefacts, and collections housed in archives, museums and other institutions. Today it is seen more as “a network of interrelated elements, tangible and intangible, natural and cultural (human), personal and collective”⁴⁶ and the distinction which has arisen between natural and cultural heritage is questioned:

[T]he split of heritage into natural and cultural components is somewhat artificial, as the values which are associated with natural areas such as national parks, wilderness and scientific reserves are cultural. To retain an area as a national park is as much a cultural decision as it is to make the land available for grazing or intensive agriculture, and so the ‘natural’ landscape is itself as much ‘cultural’ as ‘natural’.⁴⁷

Maori make no distinction between the land and what is built upon it in terms of cultural significance.⁴⁸

A concept closely aligned to the European notion of heritage is fundamental to Maori society and philosophy. This is centred around the nature and role of taonga which Paul Tapsell has likened to the flight of the tui and the trajectory of a comet.⁴⁹ In this construction taonga which continue to be held by their traditional owners or which are available to these groups, are seen to follow a path like the diving flight of the tui. They appear at life crisis moments such as funerals or official occasions and then return to the cloistered care of their appointed guardians (kaitiaki) until the next occasion of importance arises. The taonga continue to be associated with these life crises and with

⁴⁵ Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, *Heritage Management: An Introductory Framework* in Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, (Eds) *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand*, p. 3.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁴⁸ Memo, Maori and South Pacific Arts Council to CCAC Advisory Officer, Comments on draft policy, 12 April 1988, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL 11/15/13.

the people who took part in them and therefore grow in importance over time. Other taonga have followed a path like that of a comet, being sent off to represent their creating communities in distant parts of Aotearoa or in other countries. The return of these taonga is a rare and powerful event and their distant travels mean that they are especially valued.

In considering the nature of taonga, Tapsell states:

[T]he word *taonga* is a powerful and all-embracing Maori concept that defies explanation by simply providing a list of examples. For Maori, if an item, object or thing is described as *he taonga* it immediately elicits a strong emotional response based upon ancestral experiences, settings and circumstances. The underlying force during this response to *taonga* is *whakapapa*.⁵⁰

Whakapapa is a genealogical concept which identifies kin groups and reinforces their right of occupation of a particular place. Taonga are identified with particular ancestors and derive their status (*mana*) from this accrual of experience. The *mana* of taonga is maintained through their hallowed (*tapu*) state and relies also on the preservation of the words and stories (*korero*) which surround their creation and subsequent use.⁵¹

Without *korero*, a *taonga* ceases to be recognised as representing a specific genealogical position for its descendants. This lack may subsequently undermine the ongoing trusteeship of the item and its associated *mana* and *tapu*.⁵²

Taonga also communicate knowledge non-verbally through their spiritual power (*ihi*) and the sense of awe and authority (*wehi* and *wana*) which they impart.⁵³ The rituals, genealogies and recitations which surround material taonga and the ability of successive generations to be in their presence are fundamental to the preservation and conservation of taonga Maori. Indeed, although material taonga may be especially valued for their antiquity, they may also be allowed to deteriorate and return to the earth and their spirit (*wairua*) may be transferred to a newly-made replacement.

⁴⁹ Tapsell, Paul, *The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of Taonga from a Tribal Perspective*, p. 334.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 326, italics original.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 327 - 328.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 328 - 329.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

What is paramount is the customary value of the *taonga*, measured in terms of *mana*, *tapu*, and *korero*, which must remain intact if its descendants are to glimpse their ancestral selves in its depths.⁵⁴

The experience of colonialism has led to Maori being distanced from their *taonga* and Tapsell aligns this alienation with the alienation of Maori from their land:

After the lands were alienated, associated *taonga* seldom served as anything more than sad reminders of what had been lost. Some *taonga* survived in old trunks or closets, up in the attic, or in museums, but most became irreversibly separated from their once rich *korero*.⁵⁵

If *taonga* in museum collections are to reclaim their full meaning and status in Maori society they must be reunited with their *whakapapa* and *korero*.

Many *taonga* are now housed in museums throughout New Zealand and in the major cities of the northern hemisphere. Tapsell continues:

I could easily understand why many Maori people feel alienated from their *taonga* held in large city institutions. Apart from the physical barriers of distance and glass cases, the visiting tribes also have to cope with foreign labels and bureaucratic hierarchies. These not only separate *taonga* from their descendants and ancestral lands, but also recontextualise them in western culture as objects assigned monetary valuations and institutionally defined terms of legal possession.⁵⁶

He considers the museum concept of legal ownership to be irrelevant. *Taonga* cannot be owned because they are communal ancestors. It is possible for an individual to become the caretaker of a *taonga* and to own the responsibility to protect and interpret it and to pass it on to future generations, but still the individual belongs to the *taonga*. Not even the artists who create *taonga* can own them. Once the work is completed the artist relinquishes the item to the host tribe and will have no further control over its fate.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 331.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 333.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 341.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 362 - 63.

The items are transferred to the collective authority of the kin group, its tribal leaders (the elders), who decide the *kaupapa* (charter) of each item and under whose *mana* it will be controlled. Through the more public recitation of *karakia* [recitations, prayers], the *tohunga-ahurewa* (spiritual specialists, priests) empower the items with the *wairua* of certain ancestors, which transforms them into *taonga*. The identities of the individual artists are quickly forgotten in comparison to the eponymous ancestors who are remembered to have been directly associated with these items. Over time, *taonga* aligned with these eponymous ancestors can accumulate prestige and power, *mana* and *tapu*, and may eventually become physical representations of the kin group's collective identity in comparison to all outsiders.⁵⁸

Tapsell's construction relies heavily on tribal identification and he notes that this is endangered with the increasing urbanisation of Maori.

[W]hile *taonga* continue to be dynamic symbols of tribal identity, their interpretation is now being contested in new, revolutionary ways by the latest generation of urban-born descendants.⁵⁹

Thus, the meaning of *taonga* is revised to take account of the changing needs and nature of society.

Every *taonga* return or prestation ... needs to be understood as a dynamic reinterpretation by elders of their kin group's sacred protocols, which they recontextualise to suit the uniqueness of each life-crisis.⁶⁰

In line with Lowenthal's interpretation of heritage, *taonga* serve to define a kin group and to distinguish it from outsiders. They are also constantly recontextualised to meet the needs of changing societal interpretations. In this construction *taonga* and heritage are closely aligned. The denial of ownership to all individuals, including the creators of *taonga*, differs from European traditions, however, as does the focus on the *wairua* of the *taonga* above its physical existence. While heritage items are often valued in a European sense because of the experiences they represent or the people with whom they

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 363.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 365.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 365.

have been associated, it is generally this link with a specific object which is valued. The object is treasured as the actual material legacy of these events and this value cannot generally be transferred with the same intensity to a new object should the original be destroyed.

Colonialism saw Maori culture marginalised and distanced from the Maori people as it became the subject of European academic and ethnographic interpretation. Paradoxically, this shift of ownership to the European dominated mainstream has been intensified by the recent heightened profile of Maori culture in New Zealand. Stephen O'Regan has commented that competence in things Maori is becoming part of 'New Zealandness' and the establishment of the unique identity of this country and a sense of unity among its people. While some Maori derive increased knowledge of their culture from such initiatives, O'Regan holds that far more are distanced from it by a widening social and economic gap between Maori and Pakeha:⁶¹

As access to the Maori heritage is increasingly mediated through mainstream culture that heritage is passing inexorably into Pakeha hands.

...

Thus a genuine and deeply felt will to share Maori culture with the wider New Zealand society exists side by side with resentment at Pakeha occupation of Maori heritage.⁶²

Attempts by Maori to resolve inaccuracies in previous representations of their culture by Pakeha scholars or to assert Maori interpretations of historic events or of the suitability of information for general consumption, may revise our understanding of the past of New Zealand and its people.

Maori political action can operate to interfere with authentic elements of Maori heritage, as well as to rectify and safeguard that heritage.⁶³

⁶¹ O'Regan, Stephen, Maori Control of the Maori Heritage, in Gathercole, P. and D. Lowenthal (eds) *The Politics of the Past*, p. 96.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 96 - 97.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

This recontextualisation of Maori culture through periods of colonialism and subsequent reaction further aligns it with Lowenthal's definition of heritage and shows it to be a living culture growing and changing in line with ongoing communal experience.

The Te Maori exhibition toured taonga Maori to a number of major museums in North America and was accompanied by Maori people and Maori protocols at every venue. This provided a heightened profile and appreciation of Maori culture internationally which O'Regan holds was also influential here:

Quite certainly, recognition by New Zealand political and administrative circles reflected the international attention newly accorded Maori art.⁶⁴

This statement further underlines the nature of heritage as a social identifier perceived in terms of its recognition by outsiders and its ownership by a particular cultural group. It also points to the adoption of Maori culture by the New Zealand mainstream since the mid 1980s and indicates the development of a mood within government whereby the importance of Maori culture could be stressed and initiatives could be established to ensure its preservation. CCAC placed considerable focus on the care of taonga Maori and it is likely that this focus was in part facilitated by the success of Te Maori.

The exhibition also toured New Zealand on its return and O'Regan considers this a watershed event for many Maori:

The increase of scientific or scholarly understanding of Maori *taonga* may have been minimal, but the exhibition clearly inspired a flowering of emotional and cultural identity among Maori.⁶⁵

He considers that the legacy of Te Maori may be the restructuring of the management and control of Maori heritage and current attempts to establish separate management systems for Maori and Pakeha physical heritage attest to this outcome.

Two overlapping heritage paradigms may, therefore, be identified in New Zealand:

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 103.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 104, italics original.

1. The western or Pakeha understanding of heritage which identifies specific elements of the landscape or built environment and particular objects as constituting heritage, thus separating humanity from the landscape; and
2. The Maori perception in which humanity is part of an indivisible whole so that heritage becomes an everyday lived experience.⁶⁶

These interpretations have affected the manner in which government manages heritage and the extent to which it is considered significant. The concept of heritage itself is essentially a middle class European construct. As such, difficulties arise in trying to accommodate the concerns of other cultures and the traditional European perception of heritage requires revision.

In considering indigenous heritage in Australia, Josette Wells has concluded:

This will involve a set of beliefs, values and attitudes and forms of behaviour that are shared by people and handed on from generation to generation, or specifically everything which is learned and shared by the members of society including material and non-material components.⁶⁷

Thus:

It becomes increasingly clear that heritage is not a single, unified concept, applicable only in the national context and at a national scale. The things that we choose to keep are strong enough indicators of our sense of identity.⁶⁸

The concept of heritage was implied in New Zealand legislation in the Maori Antiquities Act 1901 which sought to regulate the export of taonga Maori because of their significance to this country. It continued to develop through the Historic Places Act 1954, 1980, 1993 and the Antiquities Act 1975. Heritage is also a component of other New Zealand legislation including the Conservation Act 1987, the Wildlife Act 1953, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992 and the Archives Act 1975. The Resource Management Act 1991 provides a recent government interpretation of heritage. It does not give a formal definition but a meaning is implied in Section 189 where heritage is seen to encompass material and concepts of

⁶⁶ Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, *Op cit.*, p. 4.

⁶⁷ Wells, Josette, *Marketing Indigenous Heritage: A Case Study of Uluru National Park*, in *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁶⁸ Kirby, V.G., *Landscape, Heritage and Identity: Stories from the West Coast*, in *Ibid.*, p. 119.

special interest, character, intrinsic or amenity value or visual appeal, or ... special significance to the tangata whenua for spiritual, cultural or historical reasons ... [S]pecial interest [means] having special cultural, architectural, historic, scientific, ecological or other interest.

Government is clearly considering heritage to be more than a physical phenomenon and to be open to a variety of interpretations. It does not distinguish between built, natural or moveable cultural property in the stance taken under this Act.

Because heritage lacks a comprehensive definition and can be interpreted in a wide variety of ways, government definitions in such legislation become important determining factors in the understanding of heritage in the public sector. Such definitions also provide the yardstick against which government involvement in heritage generally and heritage funding specifically are measured. Legislation tends to offer 'bottom line' definitions, outlining the bare minimum levels of government involvement. It does not tend to provide best case scenarios.

Legislation for heritage preservation has been more prolific and definitive for the natural and built environments than for moveable cultural property. Border control and control of newly found Maori objects are the main objectives of legislation for moveable cultural property. In recent years government has been reluctant to adopt new responsibilities and the museum sector has lacked a unified and strong advocacy body. Heritage conservation in museums is viewed largely as a responsibility of local governments and is a relatively recent concern in this country. These factors have compounded the historical situation which has left museums to deal with their collections at dispersed regional levels and leaves the New Zealand government without a policy or defined role for its involvement in the conservation of all forms of cultural property.

In addition to government control of the preservation of cultural property it is important that creating communities are able to make informed decisions about the preservation of their heritage. The *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* 1993 states:

Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalise their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature as well as the right to the restitution of cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.

...

Indigenous peoples are entitled to the recognition of the full ownership, control and protection of their cultural and intellectual property.

They have the right to special measures to control, develop and protect their ... cultural manifestations.⁶⁹

As well as indicating the breadth of cultural property which is considered by the Declaration, these extracts make clear that indigenous populations wish to assert ownership and control of their cultural property and to determine its future use. Control is sought of many items already held in museum collections and the declaration also asserts the right of indigenous populations “to access to adequate financial and technical assistance from states and through international cooperation to pursue freely cultural and spiritual development.”⁷⁰ Regaining control of cultural property might result in its being held outside current heritage venues. This will demand strategic policy and planning if government is to provide the financial and technical assistance also envisaged under the Declaration.

Heritage is a complex and developing phenomenon which should be viewed in a diverse sense to incorporate all of the things which the varied groups in society hold to be valuable and wish to pass on to future generations. As the preservation of the natural environment is itself a cultural decision, cultural heritage will also include natural phenomena. Heritage is a cultural construct and the concepts of heritage and culture are closely aligned. In this light government initiatives to support the preservation of

⁶⁹ *Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 1993*, Articles 12 and 29, Te Puni Kokiri, *Mana Tangata: Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 1993*, p. 21.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Article 31, p. 25.

heritage should seek to include not only all forms of material cultural expression as well as language, stories and concepts, but also the natural environment as an integral component of the notion of heritage.

New Zealand government must seek a procedural definition of heritage to act as a reference point for the development of associated policies and programmes. In so doing it should take account of the inclusive nature of heritage and its special role with regard to the cultural property of Maori. Self conscious heritage is an important social phenomenon at this time and one which government should seek to support if its true worth is to be realised and valued.

1.2 THE NEW ZEALAND HERITAGE SECTOR

Cultural property is owned and administered by a range of organisations and individuals in New Zealand. Most of New Zealand's publicly owned cultural property is housed in local body funded regional museums governed at arms length by trust boards. The museums in the four main centres have their origins in the nineteenth century and were established by acts of parliament. Regional museums have grown up throughout the country and many are the result of financial or collection bequests by local citizens. Incorporated societies, particularly art societies, were also forerunners of many of today's public museums. Public and volunteer museums have proliferated and become increasingly prominent throughout New Zealand since the 1960s.

Te Papa is the only museum which receives an annual vote allocation from central government. Special project funding has been received by the Auckland Institute and Museum and the Otago Museum but all other museum operational funding is derived from regional and non-governmental sources. While the major regional museums have their origins in legislation, local government now funds these institutions and central government funds projects and research. Great benefit would derive from central government adopting a role in the development of consolidated strategies based upon a

national heritage policy outlining and mandating the responsibilities of governmental agencies at various levels. The review of land based heritage being undertaken by the Department of Conservation during 1998 is likely to lead to the development of such a policy for this category of heritage and it is to be hoped that the initiative will be extended to consider and define government's role in the management and protection of moveable cultural property.

The vast majority of New Zealand's museums are volunteer organisations which receive minimal support from public funders.⁷¹ Admission charges, donations, sales and membership subscriptions from supporting societies are sources of income for these and all museums.⁷² No study has yet been undertaken to establish the extent of New Zealand's cultural property held by organisations which receive little or no public funding but their proliferation makes it very likely that significant material will be held there.

The New Zealand Historic Places Trust (HPT) exists "to promote and preserve the historic and cultural heritage of New Zealand."⁷³ It does this by:

- creating a register of historic places in New Zealand
- opening its properties to the public
- advocating the protection of wahi tapu, historic places and areas, and protecting archaeological sites
- encouraging owners of historic places to conserve and maintain them
- fostering interest in historic places through plaques, noticeboards and publications.⁷⁴

The Trust was established under the Historic Places Act 1954. In the early 1980s, during the lead up to the establishment of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, the Trust was involved with the preservation of archaeological sites, rock drawings, industrial machinery, bridges, burial places, mines, wrecked ships, ruins, redoubts, sites

⁷¹ Patillo, Anne et al, *Museums Training Framework: Building a Stronger Museum Sector*, p. 2.

⁷² Thomson, K.W., *Art Galleries and Museums in New Zealand*, p. 11.

⁷³ Department of Conservation, *Historic Places Trust Fact Sheet*, p. 1.

⁷⁴ New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga, Internet Home Page. <<http://canterbury.cyberplace.co.nz/public/histrust/histrustindex.html>> 27 January 1998.

of historic events and historic buildings.⁷⁵ The blurred distinction between moveable and immovable cultural property is highlighted in this broad field of activity and it is clear that the Trust was caring for moveable cultural property associated with built heritage under its management. Indeed, the Trust was viewed at the time as “one of the biggest museum operators in the country.”⁷⁶

The Trust encouraged the preservation of historically significant buildings and provided historic data, technical advice and financial aid to owners.⁷⁷ It did not view itself as the sole protector of historic buildings but sought to educate public and professional opinion as part of a wider network working for New Zealand heritage protection.⁷⁸ The Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property was a key player in this network. The Trust’s objective was to make the public aware that buildings have the right to exist as buildings and part of the landscape, not as museum objects set apart for conscious public inspection on special occasions.⁷⁹ In this sense, it complemented the work of other heritage preservation bodies.

The Historic Places Act was reviewed in 1993 and the new legislation “strengthened the [T]rust’s independence and placed more responsibility on the trust to assume its role as the leading historic protection agency in New Zealand.”⁸⁰ The Act provides both statutory powers and an advocacy role. While the Trust’s current areas of operation focus specifically on the built environment, its legislation seems to point towards a wider role in advocacy for cultural property generally.

The Historic Places Trust reports to the Minister of Conservation and is governed by an 11 member Trust Board and an eight Member Maori Advisory Council. The Trust Board consists of members appointed by the Minister and members elected by the Trust’s membership. The Trust is a statutory non-Crown organisation and is partly funded by government, generates approximately 25% of its income and relies on grants

⁷⁵ Thomson, K.W., Op cit. p. 132.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 132.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 132.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 142 - 3.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 145.

⁸⁰ Department of Conservation, *Historic Places Trust Fact Sheet*, Op cit., p. 1.

and other contributions for the balance. It has 22 branch committees throughout New Zealand and a current membership of 32,000.⁸¹

The principal statutory functions of the Historic Places Trust are the registration of historic places, advocacy and public education, and management of historic properties. It is also given statutory powers to grant authorisation in respect of archaeological sites, to register historic structures and to issue heritage orders.⁸²

The Trust is charged with developing a register of historic places “to inform the public about New Zealand’s significant heritage places.”⁸³ The register is divided into four parts:

1. historic places
2. historic areas
3. wahi tapu
4. wahi tapu areas.⁸⁴

The Trust’s authority can encompass natural as well as built cultural property and the register also includes chattels housed in historic buildings⁸⁵ so that its scope also includes moveable cultural property.

Among the Trust’s primary functions is its role in conservation advocacy and advice. Its aim is to provide the means and knowledge to empower local communities, including iwi, to initiate and complete their own heritage conservation activities, as well as developing conservation standards and guidelines. The Trust and its Maori Heritage Council also work with iwi on specific Maori heritage projects and use the archaeological provisions of the Historic Places Act to identify details of sites and prevent or control damage to them.⁸⁶ The Trust is clearly seeking a role in facilitation and guidance rather than direct involvement in regional conservation projects. Its focus

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 1.

⁸² Ibid., p. 1.

⁸³ New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga, Internet Home Page, <<http://canterbury.cyberplace.co.nz/public/histrust/histrustindex.html>> 27 January 1998.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Department of Conservation, *Historic Places Trust Fact Sheet*, Op cit., p. 2.

in the preservation of historic places is on a partnership between the people of New Zealand and the Historic Places Trust.⁸⁷

The largest single archives repository in New Zealand is the National Archives of New Zealand. Formally established by the Archives Act 1957, National Archives is administered by the Department of Internal Affairs and:

has a statutory obligation to ensure that the Government records of permanent value are identified, preserved and made available. It does this through the identification, collection, storage and treatment (remedial and preventative) of official records, and the arrangement and description of material to enable access for government departments, organisations, iwi and individuals.⁸⁸

National Archives collects only government records and as well as its heritage preservation function the Archives fulfil a role in ensuring government accountability by preserving and making available for scrutiny the record of its public activities. Other documentary heritage collections are held by regional archives, museums, public libraries, universities and the National Library.

By the late 1970s a complex situation had evolved in the care of New Zealand's cultural property. A number of initiatives had developed at central and local government levels and incorporated societies outside the public sphere continued to play a role. Initiatives had proliferated since the 1960s and distinctions between areas of operation had become blurred. Local governments were now the chief funders of museum activity but all cultural activities had to compete with a diversity of other local government functions for the limited funding available. This situation continues to the present day causing one commentator to remark "[w]hen local councils hear the word culture they reach for their drainage estimates."⁸⁹ Local authorities have also varied greatly in the proportion of their budgets allocated to cultural activities.⁹⁰ Central government input became limited to project funding and funding of the statutory heritage bodies within its

⁸⁷ New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga, Internet Home Page. <<http://canterbury.cyberplace.co.nz/public/hitrust/hitrustindex.html>> 27 January 1998.

⁸⁸ New Zealand Government, Department of Internal Affairs, Internet Home Page, Heritage Group, <http://inform.dia.govt.nz/internal_affairs/press/media/pr_221097.html> 27 January 1998.

⁸⁹ Hamish Keith, quoted in Beatson, Peter and Diane Beatson, *The Arts in Aotearoa New Zealand*, p. 111.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

structure. A lack of ongoing secure funding made long term planning difficult for heritage sector administrators and “[a] high level of uncertainty and anxiety ... [came to be] endemic in all those dependent upon public funding.”⁹¹

At the same time, cultural property conservation was an increasing concern in the heritage sector and there was a perceived need for an umbrella organisation to guide and oversee its development. This is the context in which the first ministerial advisory committee for the conservation of cultural property was established.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 112.

CHAPTER TWO

GOVERNMENT AND HERITAGE

2.1 GOVERNMENT AND HERITAGE PRESERVATION

There exists a long tradition of government intervention in the funding of museum and heritage activities. In New Zealand this has developed in a largely ad hoc manner and has been questioned in recent years under a shifting political ideology which focuses on the application of private market concepts to the public sector and on the downsizing of government involvement in service delivery.

The notion of heritage has received some scrutiny in recent years but remains outside the mainstream of political activity and lacks an exhaustive legislative or policy definition in New Zealand. Conservation is an integral part of heritage preservation and is even more recent in its application in this country. The incorporation of conservation priorities and practices into the management of our public and private collections of cultural property will ensure their continued enjoyment by future generations and will require a strategic programme of education and facilitation at a sectoral level as well as adequate resourcing. Government action is directed by policy and legislative priorities so that it becomes necessary for the concepts of heritage and conservation to be given serious consideration by government if the future of heritage conservation is to be made secure. Government has taken steps to come to terms with these issues for built heritage through the report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment and the Department of Conservation's Historic Heritage Management Review.¹ These initiatives will also provide useful background to any future review of the management and protection of moveable cultural property.

¹ These will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

2.1.1 CONSERVATION DEFINED

Conservation of cultural property is part of a process which ensures access to this resource for contemporary communities and future generations. In the museum sector increased professionalism among staff in recent years and increased understanding of the physical and cultural needs of collection objects have led to the promotion of higher standards of care which require significantly increased funding. This development has been paralleled by economic rationalisation, downsizing of central government involvement in service delivery and An Increased focus on accountability. Funding authorities must prioritise spending of scant resources and museums and other heritage organisations must compete with a wide range of community groups seeking financial support from government.

Article 4 of the World Heritage Convention recognises:

the duty of ensuring identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the world's cultural and natural heritage.²

This covenant represents an internationally accepted responsibility to protect and conserve heritage material for the enjoyment and education of future generations. Preservation of the material manifestations of cultural endeavour is fundamental to museum activity and conservation is the chief means through which this is achieved. Conservation of cultural property falls broadly into two categories,

1. Preventive conservation, which involves providing optimum storage and handling conditions for cultural property so that physical deterioration is eliminated or minimised; and
2. Remedial conservation, which involves the repair and stabilisation of items of cultural property which have suffered physical damage.

In both areas appropriate spiritual treatment and respect is integral to successful cultural property conservation.

Conservation is concerned with maintaining the integrity of objects for the longest possible period. This requires preservation of the available knowledge relating to their

² As quoted in Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, *Op cit.*, p. 2.

creation and subsequent use as well as understanding of the chemistry of the materials from which they are made and the likely causes of deterioration. Research into regionally specific materials, traditions and environments is pivotal to conservation strategies and programmes. It is also important to maintain relationships between objects and the people for whom they are significant. Professional preservation often results in gate keeping and the alienation of creating communities from their material heritage.

2.1.2 NEW ZEALAND GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC SERVICE: STRUCTURE, PHILOSOPHY AND CHANGES SINCE THE 1980s

Radical changes in New Zealand government structure and philosophy since the 1980s have underpinned the changes in its role with regard to conservation funding. Until that time the development of New Zealand's public sector was largely ad hoc and government relied heavily on a significant number of ministerial departments for conducting its business. The preferred model was sectoral, placing advisory, delivery, regulatory and often commercial functions within a single body. Non-departmental organisations were also numerous and included tribunals and commissions as well as advisory bodies. This diversity of structure meant that accountability mechanisms also varied considerably.³ The National government of the 1970s operated in this manner and adhered to a populist and strongly interventionist philosophy.⁴

Until the 1980s policy making resulted from a very close relationship between interest groups and government. Leadership and advocacy from heritage sector groups, in particular the Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand (AGMANZ), were instrumental in government's decision to establish ICCCP. Government recognised the legitimacy of such groups and they in turn recognised the legitimacy of the state's role in the allocation of benefits. Interest groups were given formal

³ Boston, J. et al, *Public Management: The New Zealand Model*, p. 80.

⁴ Gregory, Bob, The Reorganisation of the Public Sector in Boston, J. and M. Holland (Eds) *The Fourth Labour Government: Radical Politics in New Zealand*, p. 112.

representation on quangos, regular meetings were held between interest groups and bureaucrats, and legislation was drawn up on the basis of this consultation. Responsiveness to group demands was widely perceived as part of the role of Cabinet ministers in the 1970s and this contrasts with the notion of minister as policy expert which is favoured today. Much of this consultation was carried out through ad hoc or permanent advisory groups representing the interests of policy subjects.⁵

ICCCP and CCAC may be seen to be products of this model of policy formulation and also to be expressions of a broad alliance of common interests across a wide range of cultural property groups. They were also bodies which acted in two roles:

1. policy advice and formulation, and
2. funding distribution.

ICCCP was clearly a product of this period of government. CCAC was established after the change of government in 1984 but grew out of the previous Committee whose members had threatened to resign if action was not taken to establish a more permanent cultural conservation body. Although government was eager to downsize and to review the activities of all governmental and quasi-governmental bodies with the aim of ensuring the efficient use of resources, a formal review of the provision of cultural conservation funding was not undertaken until 1991. While CCAC's relatively low profile and independent status within the state structure may have made it easy for government ultimately to discontinue its activities, these factors may also have influenced its ability to continue to operate during this time of major governmental upheaval and rationalisation.

The Labour government which came to power in 1984 espoused a policy based around the notion of market led economic reform. It sought to change the nature and scope of the state and advocated that government be involved only in activities that could not be carried out effectively by non-government bodies.⁶ Labour withdrew from large scale intervention and market protectionism and required that government departments justify their existence and seek to recover operating costs. Accountability, efficiency and

⁵ McLeay, Elizabeth, *The Cabinet and Political Power in New Zealand* p.166.

⁶ Boston, J. et al, *Op cit.*, p. 4.

commercialisation were the key thrusts of the public sector reforms of the 1980s in a political revolution where Treasury and the State Services Commission were the prime initiators. Accountability was stressed particularly in the public sector reforms because of the non-voluntary transfer of resources from the private to the public sector. It was felt that insufficient attention had been paid to public sector accountability in previous years⁷ and public bodies came to be judged in the same terms as the private sector, resulting in a close link between the private and public spheres and interlocking political and financial elites.

When Labour came to power, New Zealand's economy was characterised by slow growth and high debt. To address these issues government reoriented the economy towards the marketplace. The public sector represented a significant proportion of the economy and improved performance in this area was seen as vital to the improved performance of the economy as a whole. Thus, the increased focus on accountability arose from fear of the power of governments and the parallel concern for improved efficiency was a reaction to the large amount of resources they consume.⁸

Two pieces of legislation were fundamental to the reform of the public sector. The State Sector Act 1988 sought to bring the management of government departments into line with the private sector. The departments were now headed by Chief Executive Officers on fixed term contracts with increased levels of control over their departments' activities (inputs) and increased responsibility for their performance (outputs). The Public Finance Act 1989 required the public sector to adopt private sector style accounting mechanisms defined predominantly in terms of financial statements and quantifiable performance criteria.⁹ The introduction of private sector accounting and management principles was intended to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of government departments and this thrust combined with the increased authority of senior managers to heighten their role in nominating and defining the activities of their departments, particularly when these involved spending.

⁷ Wilkinson, Brett, *The Role of Accounting and Museum Collection Valuation in New Zealand*, p. 6.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7 - 8.

New Zealand government had traditionally established a variety of bodies known as quangos to perform specific functions. ICCCP and CCAC fit into this model of semi-governmental agencies, administered by a specialist board and fulfilling government responsibilities, often in service delivery. When Labour came to power quangos were very numerous and were highlighted for special investigation. Their operations were reviewed in light of new government philosophies and, if considered irrelevant, the quangos were dissolved.¹⁰ The functions of remaining quangos were adopted in 1992 by new bodies known as Crown Entities.¹¹

The Steering Group which reviewed the state sector reforms in 1991 concluded that the changes in New Zealand government between 1989 and 1991 had been the "... most far-reaching and ambitious of any of their kind in the world."¹² The review concluded:

The impetus for the reforms was a need to improve the efficiency of all sectors of the economy, including the Public Service. The reforms focused on generating improvement by clarifying objectives and allowing managers freedom to manage within a framework of accountability and performance assessment.¹³

Fundamental to this shift in philosophy was the assumption that the differences between the public and private sectors are not generally significant. / Emphasis in government departments shifted from policy to management and from process to output accountability. This results focused system requires quantification of outputs as the yardstick for performance measurement. As is demonstrated below, the cultural sector has not yet successfully established clear and quantifiable outputs for its activities. The danger with this ideology is that the end may become the means in itself and action become increasingly determined by the need to do all that is possible to meet established objectives. Objective setting may become detached from the daily business of running the organisation.¹⁴

¹⁰ Whitcombe, Judy *The Changing Face of the New Zealand Public Service* in Gold, Hyam (Ed) *New Zealand Politics in Perspective*, p. 220.

¹¹ Boston, J. et al, *Op cit.*, p. 64.

¹² Steering Group: *Review of the State Sector Reforms, Review of the State Sector Reforms*, p. 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁴ Boston, J. and M. Holland, *Op cit.*, p. 124.

Public bodies by their very nature have concerns beyond the purely rational and financial and the new philosophy forced them to cope with values which were often in conflict. There was still a

public concern that authority exercised in its name, and using its resources, should be both efficient and economic, yet socially responsive.¹⁵

Deciding which activities are essentially 'public' and deserving of the application of ideals beyond fiscally centred efficiency motivations is a process which relies heavily on the values of the political decision makers and those they represent. Boston et al point out that:

[w]hile the will of elected members must ultimately prevail, there is a legitimate expectation among citizens that public servants are imbued with an ethos that places value upon matters beyond the immediate concern of the government of the day.¹⁶

Jane Kelsey has noted, however:

The findings of the Royal Commission on Social Policy in 1988, followed by two major surveys of social values in 1989 and 1993, show that most New Zealanders supported policies very different from those so uncompromisingly pursued by National after 1990 and Labour before it.¹⁷

The philosophy of market led reform was pursued by New Zealand government despite a lack of broad community support. In practice recent New Zealand governments have defined the public/private question essentially in terms of ownership.¹⁸ Thus direct funding of heritage conservation is focused on material held in Crown ownership¹⁹ (in, for example, the collections of Te Papa). Recent initiatives such as Te Papa's National Services and the National Library's National Preservation Programme should, however, see some government funds dispensed for the benefit of regionally distributed museum and archive collections.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 120.

¹⁶ Boston, J. et al, Op cit., p. 360.

¹⁷ Kelsey, Jane *The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment?* p. 323.

¹⁸ Boston, J. et al, Op cit., p. 8.

¹⁹ Government policy paper as quoted in, McKinlay Douglas Limited, *A Framework for Funding and Performance Measurement of Museums in New Zealand* p. 44.

With regard to policy formulation, Boston et al have concluded:

[H]ow policy advice should be purchased and from whom are not matters that ought to be decided solely on the basis of efficiency criteria. ... Rather, such matters must also be judged from the standpoint of sound constitutional principles.²⁰

Unfortunately, the authors did not provide a review of these principles.

From the later years of the Muldoon government suspicion of interest groups grew, stemming particularly from the fear that they would inevitably act in their own self interest in all matters. Treasury considered that the risk of such 'capture' of policy formulation had to be avoided if decision makers were to act in the public interest. The concern was that, although the cause on whose behalf interest groups advocated may have been in the public interest, there was potential for groups to focus on their particular cause at the expense of competing and potentially equally valid claims.

In brief, ... when labour came into power, after a short-lived excursion into corporatist-style consultation with its Economic Summit of 1984, it deliberately reduced the extent of government-group interaction.²¹

Another cornerstone of Labour's reforms was the separation of policy formulation and service delivery functions in the public sector and this was done, on a philosophical level, largely to address the fear of bureaucratic capture of policy development. The 1988 Strategos Management review of the New Zealand Defence Department concluded:

Policy and advisory roles ought to be separated from the administrative and operational aspects of each department. The importance of this principle is to ensure that there is no monopoly on advice, and more importantly to ensure that policy is not the exclusive preserve of the operational agency. This principle ... tries to prevent advice being tailored to meet the needs of the operational agency rather than the needs of the consumer.²²

²⁰ Boston, J. et al, Op cit., p. 121 - 22.

²¹ Ibid., p. 169-71.

²² Strategos, *NZ Defence Resource Management Review 1988*, p. 76.

An obvious danger of this strategy is that advisers in policy ministries may become detached from consumers about whose operations they need to have detailed knowledge in order to develop realistic and effective policy guidelines. Boston et al²³ have concluded that capture is not necessarily a justification for the split between operational and policy functions and advocate a pluralist approach incorporating a system of internal and external vetting mechanisms. Nevertheless, by 1995 fewer than half of New Zealand's government departments had significant service delivery responsibilities.²⁴ These were devolved to Crown Entities and private corporations. Local authorities have also been expected to take on a more significant delivery function but Boston et al have found that:

there are few indications that territorial local authorities in New Zealand are keen to expand their responsibilities, especially where significant costs might be entailed.²⁵

The Report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, published in 1996, also notes that, although central government advocates the devolution of responsibility for heritage material outside its ownership to local authorities,

[r]egional councils do not appear to be putting significant resources into the monitoring of the outcomes of policies and objectives of historic and cultural heritage management sections in the regional policy statement, nor to be fulfilling any significant role in the identification and protection of regionally significant historic and cultural heritage.²⁶

The Resource Management Act 1991 does not make heritage preservation in general a mandatory responsibility of local authorities.²⁷

Consultation, of course, remained a strong force in policy formulation but shifted from an organised pressure group based process to one where personal relationships and influence played a much stronger role. Elizabeth McLeay has concluded:

²³ Boston, J. et al, Op cit., p. 93 - 4.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 80.

²⁵ Ibid., p. 357.

²⁶ Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand*, p. 24.

[T]hose who have access to the top decision makers have the best opportunity to influence the policy process. Thus, understanding the consultative process can point us to the relationship between political and economic elites, and the extent to which cabinets are responsive to the needs of those elites, or the wider community.²⁸

One Bolger government Cabinet minister interviewed by McLeay commented that he considered consultation important but that he would single out individuals he knew that he could trust. He dismissed the notion that advocacy is capture, stating:

In a way I've been sent [to cabinet] to advocate on behalf of [a particular client group], and ministers are only now seeing it important that in certain portfolios you should be advocates for your group rather than enemies of them.²⁹

In recent years, advocacy by the heritage sector has been weak and fragmented. The sector has until recently lacked a unified voice and presence at interest group level and does not enjoy high profile patronage by those with political influence. The combining of the Museums Directors Federation (MDF) and the Museums Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand (MAANZ) into the new professional organisation Museums Aotearoa (MA) may lead to more effective and unified sector advocacy. It is interesting to note that while interest group lobbying was generally considered an effective political tool in the 1970s, one of the founders of ICCCP now recalls that he found it necessary to use personal influence with the then Minister of Internal Affairs to convince government of the validity and importance of the cultural conservation cause.³⁰

Approximately one third of ministers interviewed by McLeay felt that gaining interest group co-operation was valuable not so much to hear alternative views as to persuade them for the purposes of policy feasibility. They also prefer to initiate consultation and to determine who is consulted. A return to favouring organised interest groups has been detected and held to be useful and supportive in policy implementation.³¹ The

²⁷ McArthur, Simon, *Theme-based Interpretation: Taking Rainforest to the People* in Hall, C. Michael and McArthur, Simon (eds) *Op cit.*, p. 73.

²⁸ McLeay, Elizabeth *Op cit.*, p. 172.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

³⁰ Conversation with Hamish Keith recalled in Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

³¹ McLeay, Elizabeth *Op cit.*, p. 178.

importance of a minister supportive to the objectives of sectors or interest groups cannot be overestimated. The position of that minister within government is also important and it is interesting to note that from the formation of ICCCP until 1990 all of the Ministers of Internal Affairs held Cabinet posts, with the ensuing authority and access to high level decision making which accompanies such a role. In 1990 Graeme Lee became Minister of Internal Affairs and was also a minister outside Cabinet. It was during his term in office that funding was withdrawn from CCAC and its operations were reviewed and ultimately discontinued.

When National returned to power in 1990 Labour's radical reform programme of the 1980s was maintained and intensified with a 7% cut in government expenditure announced for 1991/92. It was at this time that Vote funding for CCAC was discontinued and the Minister of Internal Affairs commissioned Peter Boag's review of the Council's operations.³² National's stated aim was to reduce government expenditure in real terms and on a permanent basis.³³

In the 1990-93 period the notion of ministers as elected leaders representing citizens' interests in their capacities as consumers appears to have declined while the focus on commercialisation and corporatisation resulted in continued adherence to the doctrine of capture. Public sector groups continued to be viewed with suspicion while those in the private sector have been most effective in influencing policy development. Interest group respectability has been determined by entrepreneurial and productive processes in certain sectoral interests.³⁴

McLeay has concluded that the capture doctrine is flawed as an explanatory model of political behaviour. It demands that the public choice theory of self interest be the driving force in political behaviour but McLeay holds that empirical evidence establishes that concepts such as altruism and civic responsibility are also significant motivators in political participation. She notes that, in practice, the doctrine is applied

³²Letter Ainslee Witazek, Department of Internal Affairs to Taonga Maori Conference delegates, August 1992, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

³³ Rudd, Chris, Controlling and Restructuring Public Expenditure, in Boston, J. and P. Dalziel (eds) *The Decent Society? Essays in Response to National's Economic and Social Policies*, p. 39

selectively to various groups in society and can be used to legitimise the advice of some interests over others. Democratic states cannot respond to all of the interests expressed by their communities and governments must decide how 'public interest' will be interpreted, but McLeay concludes that democratic problems arise if the concept is tailored to accommodate the goals of those sympathetic to government policies at the exclusion of others.³⁵

In New Zealand today the main responsibility for funding museum activities rests with local authorities. There is no central point within New Zealand government with overall responsibility for policy with regard to museums or heritage activities. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs has responsibilities in this area.³⁶ Its stated objectives involve:

developing policy frameworks and effective programmes which stimulate and affirm New Zealand's evolving identity and cultural heritage, contribute to building strong, self-reliant communities, and encourage civic participation by all New Zealanders.³⁷

The Ministry's chief role is in providing "advice to the Government on cultural matters"³⁸ and administering government funding of five cultural sector organisations.³⁹ It does not act as an advocate for the heritage sector, is not involved in all areas of heritage and does not speak for cultural material held outside the central government structure. Cultural Affairs does comment on policy initiatives by other departments which concern heritage. To this extent it can be broadly influential and has been, for example, in the review of CCAC and of the Antiquities Act 1975.

In the 1997 Budget 50% of the Cultural Affairs Vote allocation was targeted to Te Papa and two special grants to major regional museums for capital development projects.⁴⁰ In its Museum Services Output Class the Ministry adopts a role involving:

³⁴ Ibid., p. 181.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 184 - 5.

³⁶ McKinlay Douglas Limited, Op. cit p40

³⁷ New Zealand Government *Budget* Vol. 1, p. 360.

³⁸ Ministry of Cultural Affairs, information brochure.

³⁹ The New Zealand Film Commission, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the QEII Arts Council of New Zealand, the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra and the New Zealand Film Archive, Ibid.

⁴⁰ New Zealand Government, Op cit., p. 358.

running a museum for the benefit of the public, including core museum activities of public programmes, collection development, collection management, touring exhibitions and outreach services by the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. It also involves National Services, currently established as training, standard-setting and promotion of the museum industry as a whole, in partnership with other museums.⁴¹

While a role in promoting conservation standards and activities may be implicit in the Ministry's involvement in collection management at Te Papa, such a role is not adopted with regard to the broader museum sector under the National Services scheme:

There are four strands of the National Services Programme: Biculturalism, Museum Assessment, Promotion of Museums, and Training. Projects under each programme strand will be developed in partnership with the Museum/cultural heritage sector.⁴²

Conservation issues could be included within some of the above projects but the Ministry has not adopted an explicit role in this area. It is interesting to note that National Services anticipates a role in the broader cultural heritage sector and will not be limited to museum based projects. National Services does not have a national policy development role for the museum sector.

The Cultural Affairs Vote is also directed towards the New Zealand Film Archive (within which a specific conservation role is envisaged⁴³) and the general promotion and support of the arts.⁴⁴ Other areas of direct government funding of cultural property activities include the National Library, National Archives, Department of Conservation, New Zealand Historic Places Trust and Creative New Zealand. The bodies in this category which are charged with the care of collections were seen by ICCCP and CCAC to have been charged with a consequent responsibility for their conservation and to have been funded by government for this purpose. They were considered ineligible for additional funding through the committees whose activities focused on regional organisations without such statutory responsibilities or sources of income.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 372.

⁴³ New Zealand Government, *Op cit.*, p. 370.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

The Lottery Grants Board Environment and Heritage Committee currently funds conservation and other projects in museums on a relative and case by case basis. It is here that most cultural conservation funding (beyond what an institution can generate within its operating budget) is sought. The Lottery Board does not have a strategic policy role and its actions are necessarily reactive. It provides funding but only in response to applications received. Interestingly, the Environment and Heritage Committee provides funding support for the built and natural environments as well as moveable cultural property and in each of these areas conservation and preservation are key funding criteria.⁴⁵ At this level government is already taking an inclusive approach to heritage conservation funding. Deregulation of the gaming industry and the proliferation of other gambling opportunities which do not contribute to the Lottery profit funding pool (eg casinos) raise obvious questions about the extent of funds which will be available to heritage institutions from this source in years to come.

There is no certainty of external financial support for ongoing conservation projects to allow the caretakers of cultural property to develop and plan structured conservation policies. If this situation is to be modified it may be necessary for the museum sector to take the initiative and establish a central point with responsibility for coordinating policy and dealing with government agencies.

It might be possible for the National Services wing of Te Papa to take on this role, although it has not involved itself in conservation issues to date. One problem with this solution is that it places a central government agency in the role of both provider and purchaser of conservation services. It is also part of the government structure and could not seek to be an impartial representative of the interests of the cultural property sector. Further, as a museum, it could not speak with relevant expertise for all areas of the cultural property community. Museums Aotearoa is another body which could adopt this function however it is again very much aligned specifically with museums.

⁴⁵ New Zealand Lottery Grants Board, *Lottery Environment and Heritage: Policy and Guidelines*, p. 18 - 28.

Current government policy indicates little likelihood of significant change. It states:

The government does not accept responsibility for the collections that are distributed nationally ...

The Government does not intend to substantially alter the status quo and confirms that the primary responsibility for capital development in museums throughout the country rests with the communities in which the museums are located.⁴⁶

This argument can be countered by the notion that government support of museological activity should be based on the national significance of that activity not on the accident of ownership. To facilitate this approach it has been suggested that a database of nationally significant cultural material be formulated and used as a basis for funding allocation. National Services investigated this project under a scheme entitled Objects and Concepts of National Importance (OCNIs) but has since abandoned the project because it does not meet with its programme objectives. It is not likely to be revisited at this time and was rejected because it was not a strategic initiative and implied subsidisation of services rather than development of partnerships which is National Services' current priority.⁴⁷

An obvious issue with the development of such a register is the need for an acceptable means of judging the relative value of the material in question. Given the need for prioritisation of scarce funds, national agreement on a means of assessment of the significance of cultural material, which would create the potential for locally valued items to be considered less deserving of conservation support when viewed at a national level, might prove difficult to achieve. Questions of the equitable distribution of resources between the contributing regions must also be addressed.

The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment's report advocates the development of a national register of heritage sites and material as the first step towards

⁴⁶ Government policy paper as quoted in, McKinlay Douglas Limited, *Op. Cit.*, p. 44.

⁴⁷ Interview with Mark Lindsay, December 1997.

an integrated approach to heritage conservation. The report also recognises that the project will require a detailed and defensible system for assessing the relative significance of the material.⁴⁸ Although National Services are not willing to restart the OCNIs project at this time, work on the heritage register may provide an impetus to revisit the issue with regard to objects and collections.

An issue of specific relevance in New Zealand is the responsibility of the Crown, accepted under the Treaty of Waitangi, to protect the taonga of the indigenous population. This is a central government responsibility and one which cannot be discharged without reference to the distributed national collections. The introduction to the English version of the Treaty states the Crown's objective "... to protect [the] just rights and property..." of the Maori population. Article II of the Maori version states:

Ko te Kuini o Ingarani ka wakarite ka wakaae ki nga Rangatira ki nga hapu-ki nga tangata katoa o Nu Tirani te tino rangatiratanga o ratou wenua o ratou kainga me o ratou taonga katoa..

Under the Antiquities Act 1975 any artefact found in New Zealand after 1 April 1976, which relates to Maori activity here before 1902, is prima facie Crown property (Section 11). If an artefact is recovered from the grave of a person whose identity is known or if actual or traditional ownership of such an artefact is claimed, the Act mandates the Maori Land Court to determine appropriate custody (Section 12). One of the criteria to be considered in determining custody is the preservation of the artefact (Section 12(e)) so that conservation concerns may be part of the equation. Trusteeship may be awarded to an individual, group of individuals or a public institution (Section 12). However, if such taonga are passed into the ownership of any but the major central heritage organisations, there is no compulsion on the part of the Crown to provide for their continued physical or spiritual well-being since government funding of cultural conservation is limited to those organisations with statutory responsibilities in this area.

Government is required to maintain a register of the location of all taonga that come properly under the Antiquities Act 1975 and could alter custody if appropriate care is

⁴⁸ Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Op cit., p. A32.

not forthcoming. The problem is determining the nature of appropriate care in both museological and cultural terms. The development of a national preservation and conservation policy and an adequately resourced means of its implementation would facilitate definition of this issue and improved collection care.

It could be argued that this stance allows the government to abdicate its intention to protect the property of the native population and to ensure that Maori enjoy "...full exclusive and undisturbed possession of their Lands and Estates Forests Fisheries and other properties..." (Article II, English version). Alternatively, if taonga remain Crown property but are placed in the care of regional organisations, it follows from government's principle of ownership that it will continue to bear the responsibility for their long term care. The use of the word taonga in the Maori version of the Treaty requires this responsibility to incorporate not just physical artefacts but also concepts and traditions, natural phenomena, language and people.

In recent times some taonga from public institutions have been returned to the care of their creating communities. These include the Mataatua Whare to Ngati Awa from Otago Museum and Pukaki from the Auckland Institute and Museum which was returned to Te Arawa. Paul Tapsell has noted that Western concepts of legal ownership of taonga are generally seen as irrelevant by Maori and therefore repatriation of taonga to museums in local communities can be a successful means of mediating museological concerns for long term preservation with Maori concerns for ongoing community interaction, provided this interaction is fostered and facilitated on equal terms.⁴⁹ While regional museums remain under resourced, however, their ability to fulfil this role successfully will be limited.

Although museological concerns to ensure the longest possible physical survival of taonga are pertinent in public institutions and they may be subject to conservation practices and treatments, the priorities of their Maori owners may not be identical and the resources may not be available to facilitate ongoing conservation programmes where these are desired. If the Crown is to seek to ensure the continued enjoyment of taonga

⁴⁹ Tapsell, Paul, *Op cit.*, p. 350 ff.

Maori by their creators and the wider community, it may be required to take steps to guarantee their safe keeping, whether in Crown, local or tribal authority ownership, as was envisaged under the Treaty of Waitangi.

The Taonga Maori Protection Bill, currently in its second reading and report back phase, may have significant implications for the management of taonga Maori. This legislation may see taonga managed separately at a national level and it may also take on aspects of the Antiquities Act. If this is the case the opportunity for a coordinated national heritage strategy may be almost gone. The Bill's development does indicate discussion of the management and protection of taonga at the highest political levels. The Maori Heritage Council established under the Historic Places Act 1993 has also suggested that it could separate from the Historic Places Trust.⁵⁰ The Council's Mission requires it to:

provide policy and operation advice to the Board and staff of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust; and to actively assist iwi and hapu Maori with the preservation and management of their historic resources.⁵¹

It has considered specifically the issue of registration of heritage sites and items and considers:

The significance of marae and its whare tipuna and structures are inseparable and because each marae has its own traditions and history belonging to its owners and their ancestors, registration appears inappropriate because it implies ranking of people and ancestors. Marae buildings are rarely considered for registration under the Historic places trust although some features within a marae complex eg a tree of monument, have been registered. Maori are suspicious of the registration of Marae buildings because of the implications of interference from outside agencies.⁵²

In this light it becomes necessary to seek a separate system for the recording of Maori heritage which is considered appropriate by creating communities and which may not involve the assessment of relative significance.

⁵⁰ Department of Conservation, *Historic Heritage Management Review*, p. 30.

⁵¹ Historic Places Trust, *Maori Heritage Council Strategic Plan*, p. 1.

⁵² ICOMOS/Historic Places Trust Register Workshop, Proceedings, p. 2.

New Zealand government has involved itself in the conservation of cultural property through a number of mechanisms however it lacks a cohesive policy for heritage conservation and initiatives have been ad hoc and fragmented. The most focussed attempts to provide an umbrella agency responsible for promoting cultural property conservation and for advising government on the development of appropriate policy were the two Ministerial Advisory Committees established within the Department of Internal Affairs between 1979 and 1991. These were the Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property and the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council. The work of these groups is discussed in detail in subsequent chapters

2.2 RE-THINKING THE REVOLUTION: A RESPONSE TO MARKET ECONOMIES

While economic rationalism has revolutionised the operation of New Zealand's public sector in recent years, this section will demonstrate that a significant critique of its application to heritage functions has also developed. It will review the recent writings of a selection of Australasian social theorists, community and heritage sector professionals who are beginning to activate this critical analysis. Economic rationalism has impacted negatively on many traditional areas of government service delivery including heritage conservation.

Government involvement in heritage activities has traditionally been justified in economic theory by applying the market failure argument which concludes that market forces will not deliver museum services of sufficient quantity or quality.⁵³ Museums are seen to produce public goods. These are benefits which accrue to the population in general whether or not individuals participate first hand as consumers. Because it is impossible to exclude those not paying for a service from enjoying it, it is impossible to recoup the real cost of its production.

Nick Merriman has conducted research into community use and support of museums in

⁵³ Gale, Stephen, *Museums and the Community*, Discussion Paper in McKinlay Douglas Ltd, Op cit., p.5.

the United Kingdom and has concluded:

[M]useums, as part of the dominant culture, tend to be recognised as legitimate even by large numbers of those who do not participate in them.⁵⁴

Participation in museum visiting becomes an expression of incorporation into the ranks of the cultured and Merriman found that nearly all people are interested in the past even if they do not visit heritage centres. A total of 91% of Merriman's interviewees considered that the past was worth knowing about although this degree of support was higher than the proportion of the community who make direct use of heritage facilities.⁵⁵ Support for the continued existence of heritage facilities is expressed by a broader base of the community than those who chose to use them directly.

A recent survey conducted in New Zealand by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs found that over 90% of New Zealanders "agree that cultural activities help to enrich people's lives, bring people together in local communities and enable us to express ourselves."⁵⁶ In this survey 96% of respondents felt that New Zealand's historic places and buildings should be protected,⁵⁷ while 79% felt that cultural activities should receive funding from government.⁵⁸ If government is to respond to the wishes of the community, continued government involvement in cultural activities is to be expected.

CCAC was established within the Department of Internal Affairs but a conflict and potential overlap arose when the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was established in 1990 with the primary objective of advising government on the development of policy for cultural issues. A number of Internal Affairs' heritage activities, especially in policy development, transferred to the new Ministry at this time but CCAC and a number of other heritage functions remained with Internal Affairs. These became increasingly difficult to justify in the operational priorities of the Department which has recently established a Heritage Unit to unite its remaining heritage functions within a single body. This development creates new potential for an umbrella heritage organisation within government. Its development to date is discussed in Chapter Seven.

⁵⁴ Merriman, Nick, *Beyond the Glass Case*, p. 65.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵⁶ Ministry of Cultural Affairs, *How Important is Culture? New Zealanders Views in 1997*, p. 4.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Other concepts within the public good model which have traditionally supported state involvement in heritage funding are the expansion of the state's role as a tool in deepening the meaning of citizenship by mitigating the distributive consequences of market processes, and state intervention in the economy in the interest of guiding its development and building an appropriate infrastructure.

Fred Block has questioned the validity of these arguments for government involvement in cultural activity.⁵⁹ The public good concept is part of a paradigm which Block considers to be fundamentally flawed and superseded. Integral to this conception of the state's role in the economy are two assumptions which he holds to be untenable. These are,

1. the notion that the state and the economy are analytically separable; and
2. the belief that, economically, any society can be positioned on a single developmental continuum.

Block advocates a new paradigm which rejects the state intervention focus. State action always plays a major role in constituting economies therefore it is not useful to view states as lying outside economic activity. While the old paradigm focuses on quantitative variations in the degree of state intervention, the new paradigm seeks to identify qualitative differences in state activity and focuses on commonalities among states. Whereas the previous argument was based on two sets of prejudices derived from a distrust of both the state and the market, Block recognises that economic activity always involves some combination of state and market forces. His fundamental analytical axis is the variety of ways in which state action and markets are combined.

The inadequacies of the old paradigm as applied to the funding of cultural activities are highlighted in Brokensha and Tonks' recent report on economics and the arts in South Australia. The increased role of economists in the arts funding debate in that country, and the consequent government interest in economic analysis of the arts, is seen to stem

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 8.

⁵⁹ Block, Fred, The Role of the State in the Economy in Smesler, N.J. and R. Swedberg (eds) *The Handbook of Economic Sociology* p. 691-710.

from a 1976 report to the Industries Assistance Commission in which arts organisations are criticised for failing to make their case for government assistance in economic terms.⁶⁰

Two reasons are identified for a link between economics and the arts.⁶¹ The first is intellectual; economics is the science of best using society's means for the ends which society chooses therefore economists should strive to eliminate waste in the cultural world so that society's artistic objectives can be better achieved. The second justification is practical; the material world inevitably impinges on artistic ambitions and the arts must respond to the economic arguments used in a comparative sense in other industries.

Brokensha and Tonks see this interaction of economics and the arts as the result of a search for a solid rationale for a public arts funding policy beyond the vague and unquantifiable public good argument.⁶² They also point out that not all of the implications and functions of artistic endeavour can be reduced to economic rationalisations. They quote Throsby and Withers' statement:

The aesthetic, psychological and social underpinnings of the desire to experience arts performances are matters upon which economists can shed little light.⁶³

In mainstream economics intrinsic arguments about the benefits of cultural activities (arguments that the aesthetic experience is beneficial per se for example) are invalid because they are seen to result in dictatorial assertions on the quality of various tastes. The rejection of the notion of intrinsic value implies that only externalities are acceptable justifications for arts funding and requires that consumers be fully educated and aware of the issues and implications of the arts in society as it is the consumer who must demand the delivery of specific services from government in this interpretation.

Throsby concludes that in providing a basis for the systematic review of the market for the arts, economists have contributed significantly to clarifying and directing the public

⁶⁰ Brokensha, P. and A Tonks, *Culture and Community: Economics and Expectations of the Arts in South Australia*, p. 11.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

debate on such issues as government intervention in arts funding however cultural policy cannot be based entirely on economic premises and rationales.⁶⁴

Brokensha and Tonks' conclude:

Policy-makers in a pluralist, mixed economy such as Australia need to take into account the attitudes and requirements of both producers and consumers and they do, but as long as the intrinsic benefits of the arts remain unarticulated, the justification of arts and cultural funding will remain narrowly-based and perhaps insecure.⁶⁵

There is a need for definition and quantification of the benefits of cultural activity and for the cultural sector to advocate these to government.

To date clear parameters and mechanisms for evaluating outcomes in terms of these have not been extensively developed in the heritage sector. This has resulted in policy couched in vague terms such as 'access', 'participation' etc. Brokensha and Tonks assert that these concepts can be interpreted to meet the needs of almost any situation and are open to exploitation by a relatively small group of well equipped and informed beneficiaries (for example major metropolitan museums with professional staff aware of bureaucratic systems and processes and able to exploit these) at the disadvantage of the majority.⁶⁶

Museums have always quantified their inputs. It is now time to seek similar frameworks for the evaluation of outputs in the interest of public accountability. Developing a means of evaluating the outcomes of cultural funding may force funding bodies and organisations to evaluate fundamental issues of goals, publics and methods of delivery. Lack of attention to quantifying and evaluating outcomes is held to retard the willingness of both private and public sectors to expand funding.⁶⁷ Peter Boag was able to quantify financial and resourcing inputs for CCAC with relative ease. Analysing the success and benefits of its outcomes was more difficult. These evaluations had to be

⁶³ Ibid., p. 14.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 15.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

based largely on the opinions and perceptions of Council members, client communities and economic rationalisations of the efficiency of its spending.⁶⁸

Brokensha and Tonks note that the development and acceptance of the concepts behind the framework are as important as the numbers produced in seeking to quantify the outputs of cultural activity. They conclude that such frameworks and data will allow the policies and objectives of both funding bodies and cultural organisations to be stated and discussed in meaningful and verifiable terms rather than the generalities which abound in the sector at this time.⁶⁹

The Australian Department of Finance concluded:

[T]here remains a clear case for government involvement in national cultural heritage on the grounds of the public goods provided, but the level of public investment is necessarily a matter for political judgement.⁷⁰

Thus the government philosophies which became dominant in New Zealand in the 1980s and which focused on the application of private market forces to the public sphere, the diminution of government activity in service delivery and strict control of government spending, created an environment where the political decision could be made to withdraw funding from cultural property conservation by discontinuing the operation of CCAC.

Although the logic of market failure makes a case for government funding of many museum activities, it may be difficult to convince funders because of subjective differences in belief as to the character of particular services and the extent to which they have public good.⁷¹ A recent Museum Directors' Federation/Museum of New Zealand survey on this issue in New Zealand concluded:

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

⁶⁸ Boag, P. *Review of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council*, p. 9 -10, 19, 21 - 24.

⁶⁹ Brokensha, P. and A Tonks, Op cit., p. 27.

⁷⁰ Department of Finance Discussion Paper, *What Price Heritage? The Museums Review and the Measurement of Museum Performance*, p. 29.

⁷¹ Gale, Stephen, Op cit p. 11.

The practical problem museums will always face, when seeking to justify public funding, is that the costs are easily quantified but the benefits less so.⁷²

The initiative for establishing such criteria and educating funders as to the value of museological activity must, perhaps, lie with the heritage sector itself. Such action will require an adequate forum which can express the concerns and views of the sector with sufficient expertise and diversity. The newly established Museums Aotearoa incorporates advocacy as one of its major functional areas and may be more effective in this role than previous groups.

Service performance reporting is the performance evaluation model currently required by legislation for all public sector entities in New Zealand. It involves a cycle of target-setting, recording results against these targets and reporting both. Service performance reporting measures non-financial targets, supplementing the financial budgeting and reporting cycle.⁷³

George Thompson has questioned the validity of this model in the museum context. He considers that the primary objective of performance reporting should involve the determination of the nature of the optimum performance of an organisation and analyse actual operations against this. It should not merely record activities against a potentially idiosyncratic, irrelevant or limited set of targets. Thompson argues that museums are a distinct class of organisation with a particular combination of resources and objectives.⁷⁴ He holds that two major ideologies have dominated the determination of museum objectives in recent decades:

1. The move within the museum profession to provide equitable access for all to museum activities as a response to the alienation and elitism perceived in the past, and
2. The move within public sector management to apply private market principles to public sector activities. This has involved a move away from trust in professionals and procedural rules towards short term contracts, competition and a business focus

⁷² McKinlay Douglas Limited, *Op cit.*, p. 17.

⁷³ Thompson, George D. *Performance Measurement in Public Museums and New Zealand's Service Performance Reporting model*, p. 2.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4 - 5.

which stresses utilisation of collections and the impact of those programmes on the community.⁷⁵ Performance objectives linked to object utilisation could override conservation concerns if emphasis is not placed throughout all the necessary areas of effective collection management.

Accounts of the New Zealand public sector traditionally represent it as a single chain of accountability and reciprocal responsibility or authority.⁷⁶ The assumption follows from this that plans are formulated at the top of the ensuing hierarchy and passed down for implementation at the bottom. Bureaucracies are, therefore, flawed because they produce organisations unable to deal effectively with the many inevitably conflicting priorities present at every level of their structure. 'Knowledge' work, which relies on professional expertise such as that required by many museum personnel, involves a large component of self-direction and teamwork and demands a less dictatorial approach from management.⁷⁷

Museum professionals are held to require autonomy and decision making authority as well as the empathy of other parties with similar professional values. The task prioritisation and procedures of professionals may differ from those of their organisational colleagues. This is particularly noticeable where levels of professional training are newly increased as is often the case in the museum profession today. Peer evaluation takes on a more important role in such contexts than line management. Specialist personnel also have the power to thwart attempts to implement goals of which they do not approve.⁷⁸

Organisations with simple goals, stable environments and well understood technologies require a routine and bureaucratic management style and top level goals may be considered to be identical with those of the organisation as a whole. In professional organisations top level goals tend to be vague statements about what the organisation claims to be and do with the aim of eliciting support and providing legitimacy. Trust in

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 5 - 7.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 10 - 11.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

professional planning is required to allow the flow of realistic information about organisational purposes and activities:

[M]anagement and professionals need each other ... and should share tasks and authority ... replacing “control through rules and regulations” with controls that rely on professional discretion and self-regulation.⁷⁹

Control should provide management with the information it needs for supervision and feedback and to establish parameters within which professional discretion can be exercised without causing it to erode.⁸⁰

It can be concluded that the optimization of performance in changing, knowledge-based enterprises requires an organizational environment which operationalizes the contributions of the organization’s major constituents. The incorporation of professional interests into the performance determination and evaluation cycle to offset the influence of the external funding interests can be seen as liberating the organisation’s professional constituent. ... Failure to incorporate professional into the performance determination and evaluation cycle criteria results in uninformed and suboptimal decisions, low motivation and resistance.⁸¹

Thompson holds that endowments of capital are the primary sources of influence over the objectives and actions of organisations. Accountability involves the obligations that arise from entrustment of capital to agents. Traditionally capital has been regarded as limited to physical resources and accountability models have reflected only the claims of funders. This results in goal setting by a small managerial elite.⁸² Thompson suggests, however, that organisations possess both physical and cultural capital. Professional authority is based on cultural capital which is granted to individuals via professional membership, educational qualifications and community recognition.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 12.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 13.

⁸² Ibid., p. 13 - 14.

Only output reporting is mandatory in the public sector and it has been demonstrated that non-financial elements of performance are often rejected as inappropriate because they cannot be reliably measured. They may also be rendered meaningless through the application of irrelevant measurements. Attributions of outputs may be employed as measures of efficiency per se but Thompson points out that calculating efficiency requires a ratio of measures. He concludes that the formulation of goals as ratios is underdeveloped in this country. The input-output performance cycle also favours short term over long term goals and does not take account, for example, of investment of resources in conservation treatment or object storage in previous time periods in considering the effectiveness of its use in a current exhibition.⁸³ Thompson holds:

The alternative accountability model suggests that these problems may be circumvented by incorporating into formal museum performance evaluation, firstly, the museum profession's own approaches to planning and control and, secondly, a basis for the acknowledgment of cultural capital.⁸⁴

Service performance reporting, then, is underpinned by the input/output/outcome paradigm while specific standards and evaluation techniques are increasingly accepted within the museum profession and its constituent disciplines. These are not easily accommodated in the service performance model which can be blinkered in its adherence to accounting and commercial management theory. Acknowledging accountability to cultural capital allows the adoption of professional evaluation techniques including educational qualifications, museum accreditation, professional ethics and exhibition evaluation techniques.⁸⁵

Thompson also considers the role of position measurement in determining the performance of museums. A museum's position (what it is as an entity distinct from its activities) determines what it can be expected to do and might be enhanced or eroded by its performance. An exclusive focus on outputs may ignore the effect of actions and inaction on a museum's position. Service performance reporting needs conceptual tools

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

to measure performance not only in terms of outputs but also of how the organisation's position has been enhanced, retained or eroded.⁸⁶

Thompson concludes:

By the failure of its designers to accommodate the implication for performance arising from the cultural capital vested in the museum profession, service performance reporting may be doing public museums a disservice.⁸⁷

He holds that recognition of this situation would help circumvent narrow and unrepresentative goals, the inability to meet measurability criteria and short-termism.⁸⁸

Brett Wilkinson has specifically considered the role of accounting in museum performance and notes:

In considering the role of accounting in a museum context, ... we need to be aware that whilst having an appearance of neutrality or objectivity, accounting information reflects a selective view. Accounting is an active participant in creating organisational reality⁸⁹

Although the quantification of outputs appears rational and impartial, Wilkinson holds that it can be used to legitimise and justify actions which have already been decided upon and that it can play an important role in what is seen as problematic, possible, desirable and significant.⁹⁰ Accounting principles are also heavily biased towards what the accountant is able to measure and chooses to measure.⁹¹ Thus, the problematic issues become those which are not easily explained in accounting terms and the impulse is to seek to reduce these to quantifiable statements, an action which may produce inaccurate or incomplete data, or to remove them from the equation altogether.

In effect, accounting reform in museums may come to serve only the interests of the dominant ideology of the free market which is driving the reforms. The result may simply be the reduction in government spending through shifting ownership and responsibility for collections to the private sector, legitimised by

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁸⁹ Wilkinson, Brett, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

accounting measurement. This is in contrast to the stated goals of accounting change in the public sector of increasing society's welfare by ensuring accountability and the effective use of social resources. In the museum context, with high uncertainty of objectives and high uncertainty of cause and effect relationships in respect of particular decisions, it is possible to ... see accounting measures adding legitimacy to decisions which have already been made, such as reductions in public funding levels or sale of collections items.⁹²

Thus, criticisms levelled against CCAC in government's 1991 review of its activities, which flow from a private market influenced accountability stand point, may have served to legitimise an underlying and pre-existing decision to cease government funding of cultural property conservation and its service delivery functions in this area as a result of the dominant climate of funding cutbacks and withdrawal from service delivery.

Wilkinson concludes that both the social and market based approaches to public sector management have their places but considers that the former are being usurped by market mechanisms through an increased emphasis on market based accounting decision support and accountability.⁹³ He holds:

It would seem considerably more sensible ... to move away from private sector style commercially oriented measures and towards measures of a non-financial nature. The latter are fundamentally more consistent with the stated objectives of museums.⁹⁴

To achieve this he advocates:

reliance on a broad range of measures, and ones which focus on the measurement of the extent to which the museum has fulfilled its mission.⁹⁵

In this construction, careful drafting and review of museum mission statements becomes increasingly important and this will also facilitate improved operational focus and the achievement of relevant and meaningful objectives.

⁹² Ibid., p. 26 - 27.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 31.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 30.

A recent Australian Finance Department review of heritage funding and activities (*What Price Heritage?*) sought to develop performance indicators for the heritage sector. The review was an attempt to examine Commonwealth involvement in the development of museums, to identify duplication and scope for economies and to limit calls on Commonwealth resources to meet recurrent funding needs.⁹⁶ As such it obviously stemmed from a political standpoint very similar to that of the New Zealand government and aimed to find opportunities to reduce government involvement in ongoing museum funding.

What Price Heritage? put forward a set of performance indicators based around costs per square metre of exhibition space and costs per visitor. Tony Bennett sees this approach as flawed and advocates instead the development of performance indicators which take account of collection management and exhibition as well as the mission statement of the institution.⁹⁷ He holds that the review findings portray an underlying impetus towards the diminution of the commonwealth's role in heritage funding and, specifically, towards encouraging a more entrepreneurial approach to heritage with revenue targets and performance indicators stemming from this ideology.⁹⁸

Bennett sees *What Price Heritage?* as an attempt to impose economic rationalism on cultural policy planning but feels that it does not provide a clear enough basis for gathering and assessing information that will contribute to the development of appropriate policy. The basic problem with the review is seen to:

consist in the general assumptions framing the ways in which the question of establishing performance indicators for museums is related to that of calculating their contributions to the public good.⁹⁹

What Price Heritage? asserts the public good argument as the main justification for government expenditure on cultural heritage but Bennett notes that many heritage

⁹⁶ Department for the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories, *Discussion Paper: What Value Heritage? A Perspective on the Museums Review and the Performance of Museums*, p. 1.

⁹⁷ McKinlay Douglas Limited, *Op cit.*, p. 45.

⁹⁸ Bennett, Tony, *Museums and the Public Good: Economic Rationalism and Cultural Policy*, p. 37.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

benefits contain elements of both public and private goods.¹⁰⁰ Without a means of calculating public good benefits it is impossible to determine the degree of public good within heritage activities. While private good benefits are calculated using market principles, public good benefits are judged to be largely incalculable and only capable of qualitative assessment. In this light public good benefits can only be the residue when private good benefits have been calculated. Bennett argues that there is an imperative need for independent indices capable of rendering public good benefits to some degree independently knowable and quantifiable.¹⁰¹ He holds also that public good benefits can only be rendered determinate and calculable in light of stated and definite government policy objectives:¹⁰²

Where government policies and objectives are not clearly specified ... a calculus for measuring public good benefits will remain unobtainable. And, so long as this is so - so long as decisions at the margin are based on hard figures for private good benefits lined up against intangible public benefits - there are no prizes for guessing in which direction that margin will move. But nor will there be any disguising the fact that, in this instance, economic rationalism will pave the way for an irrationally ordered set of policy options.¹⁰³

No such policy exists in New Zealand but heritage activities, and specifically conservation initiatives as these were incorporated in the functions of CCAC, have been questioned and found wanting by the application of the principles of economic rationalism. The development of government policies and objectives for heritage activities could facilitate meaningful quantification of heritage outputs in this country. Ironically, the Lottery Grants Board, the biggest funder of cultural property in New Zealand outside the national organisations, continues guided by a set of criteria developed by government officials with no direct experience of the heritage sector and the outputs and outcomes of grants made are not assessed against clearly articulated objectives.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 41.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 42.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 43.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p. 49.

What Price Heritage refers to a 'policy climate' which has developed in the last twenty years in Australia and which has framed the subsequent development of heritage policy.¹⁰⁴ In New Zealand a similar situation has arisen with regard to government initiatives in cultural property conservation. The ICCCP was established in 1979 as an interest group based sector representative committee charged with policy formulation and service delivery. This model was then adopted for CCAC and has not been seriously reconsidered in light of the needs of the sector. Proposals for a body to replace CCAC examined its structure but largely in light of administrative and government philosophical concerns. Once an institutional mechanism has been established for the fulfilment of a government responsibility, it is easy for subsequent initiatives to be fitted into the same mold. CCAC followed ICCCP in a very similar format and without detailed analysis of the success of such a body in this role.

What Price Heritage? equates the distinction between private and public goods with that between the measurable and the immeasurable. Bennett considers:

This procedure is illegitimate since it converts a contingent distinction between what is and what is not measured in the findings in the discussion paper into an essentialist opposition.¹⁰⁵

He notes that public good benefits have been measured elsewhere, in national population surveys for example, and that models could be drawn from these examples in seeking to quantify heritage benefits.¹⁰⁶ The role of museums in the broader circulation of heritage knowledge within the community could be quantified by reference to the media. The media has a significant role in circulating heritage information and often draws on the expertise and holdings of museums in doing so. Bennett suggests a content analysis of museum related features in newspapers as a means of quantifying outputs in this area:

[I]t is misleading to contend that [museums'] heritage influence is limited to their role in collecting, maintaining and exhibiting artefacts within their own

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

walls. ... [M]useums play a much broader role in the maintenance and development of public good benefits.¹⁰⁷

The public and private good analysis is also a construct of neo-classical economics and as such is open to the general criticisms levelled against that paradigm. For example:

[T]he notion of the public good is necessarily unspecifiable if it is supposed to be something that exists independently of the government's interest in, and responsibility for, the formulation of citizenship.¹⁰⁸

In conclusion, Bennett holds:

What Price [Heritage?] does not offer a reliable means for even posing a set of meaningful policy options, let alone deciding between them.¹⁰⁹

He states, further:

It is clear that, if the financial perspective is to be countered, a much more sophisticated set of performance indicators needs to be proposed and this, in turn, will require the development of a much more elaborate and refined information base. Indeed, it seems likely that it is the absence of such an information base - and of a correspondingly elaborate set of performance indicators - that has allowed Finance to occupy ground that ought already to have been occupied by a more sophisticated statistical apparatus appropriate to the policy needs of the museum sphere.¹¹⁰

A response to *What Price Heritage?* was also developed within the Australian government by the Department for the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories (DASETT). The review grew out of a failure on the part of the Department for the Arts, Heritage and Environment and the Department for Finance to agree on the fundamental role of Commonwealth government institutions or the means of effectively monitoring their performance. *What Price Heritage?* represents the Finance

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 48.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 50.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 50.

Department's approach to the situation.¹¹¹ DASETT inherited the task from the Ministry for Arts, Heritage and the Environment and put forward a response focusing on the value rather than the price of heritage. Agreeing that performance indicators for museums are important, DASETT held the Finance Department's models to be inappropriate and meaningless. The issue had not been given detailed consideration and no informed debate had taken place.¹¹²

DASETT contends that museums will have different emphases even when their objectives are similar and performance must ultimately be measured against these. Regular review of objectives should be undertaken to ensure that they continue to reflect the evolving role of museums. It is necessary to ensure that increasingly scarce resources are utilised in meeting sensible and appropriate objectives without unnecessary waste or duplication and this requires an effective and agreed system of performance measurement.¹¹³

DASETT also holds:

The reality is that in most museums the majority of costs will be associated with acquisitions, conservation and research of the collection - the reservoir of our cultural heritage. Where the proportion of total costs devoted to these functions is low, it probably indicates that collections are not being cared for, nor developed, nor researched adequately.¹¹⁴

As museums have worked to create community support for their activities through generating high profile and well attended public programmes, less publicly marketable activities such as collection management and conservation have often taken a back seat. This situation may in part be derived from the imposition of flawed performance measures on museum activity. Visitor numbers and perceptions of museum programmes can be readily accommodated within private market accountability models. Because they can be readily quantified and assessed in these terms such performance

¹¹¹ Department for the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories, *Op cit.*, p. 1.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 12 - 14.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

indicators become the cornerstones of overall museum performance despite the fact that they represent only a portion of most museums' stated objectives and missions.

DASETT considers conservation to be among the vital functions of museums which will require the highest level of funding support. This is not taken into account in the review's analysis of cost per visitor and cost per square metre of exhibition space:

[T]he effectiveness and efficiency of collection institutions can only be measured over time in terms of the mandate, nature and role of each institution. The major criterion on which performance can be judged will be the institution's mission statement which must define its specific purpose and give some sense of its priorities and methodologies.¹¹⁵

What Price Heritage? presented the findings of a review which took place over two years. This is not considered sufficient time to determine major operational trends. It is based around the activities of a restricted number of organisations and DASETT sees problems in seeking to apply such findings across the board to a diversity of institutions. The review did not refer to the mission statements of institutions but DASETT clearly sees this as pivotal to the development of relevant and meaningful performance indicators. DASETT's response also warns that a "feast and famine" approach to government funding is wasteful and damaging to development and performance. The onus is seen to lie with institutions themselves to set and refine performance measures.

In conclusion, DASETT holds that the proper development of museums is essential to national identity:

Until this is accepted there is a serious danger that the only consideration will be the cost factor without an understanding or recognition of the benefits. Without that understanding there is no basis for practical decision making The challenge is to achieve an accepted approach to identifying and relating costs to benefits to enable sensible decisions based on informed value judgements.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

While it is necessary to develop functional performance indicators for museums, it is also necessary that these be determined by the value of museums in society as much as by their costs.

Brian Easton has considered the increasingly economic analysis of publicly owned assets in New Zealand and has concluded that heritage assets should be treated and assessed in a different manner to other government property.¹¹⁷ He notes inconsistencies in the way heritage assets are valued and administered by government and sees this as a result of ad hoc and varied legislative measures in the area.¹¹⁸ Often heritage assets are in the care of government departments but the role of these departments is essentially management, not trusteeship, so they will inevitably be ruled by current government philosophy and focus, potentially at the expense of broader issues such as preservation and continued public ownership. As economic efficiency and output based accountability are the major areas of focus of today's government, these motivations must also be fundamental to the operation of the departments charged with the care of heritage assets.

Parliament is the effective trustee of government owned heritage material but cannot discharge this responsibility directly. Easton has suggested a model whereby Parliament (not government) appoints boards of trustees for its heritage assets.¹¹⁹ Appointments should be based on the expertise and integrity of candidates, rather than interest group representation, and the boards would meet occasionally to review the state of the assets in their care and to assess their management. The trustees would report annually to Parliament. Existing government agencies (the Department of Conservation, National Archives, Te Papa etc) would continue to manage the heritage assets but ownership of them would be with another Crown entity. Heritage assets would be listed in the *Financial Statements of the Government of New Zealand* as 'restricted assets' to distinguish them from those which could be treated in a more commercial way.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ Easton, Brian, *The Commercialisation of New Zealand*, p. 185.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

Easton advocates the creation of a category of Crown asset to be known as the Public Heritage Assets which

are those assets owned directly or indirectly by the Crown which are preserved and conserved, and because of their cultural, historic and or environmental significance, have restrictions on their use, on their transformation, and (as a general rule) they may not be alienated (ie privatised). Thus they are not in practice treated in a normal commercial manner.¹²¹

Public heritage assets would be those owned directly or indirectly by the Crown, and would include the collections of the National Archives, the Alexander Turnbull Library, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the conservation estate and heritage buildings.¹²² Easton's model is inclusive of both moveable and immoveable cultural property as well as the natural environment.

Heritage assets with similar characteristics would be grouped together and a board of trustees appointed for each grouping. Easton suggests that an officer be appointed to oversee the Trustees and their appointment in each area of interest. With regard to the conservation estate, for example, he suggests that the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment take on this role and also that a Parliamentary Commissioner for Archives be appointed. These officers could possibly be located with the Ombudsmen.¹²³

In considering the archives area in more detail, Easton envisages that the Parliamentary Commissioner's role would involve overseeing the trustees and reporting to Parliament. The Commissioner would also work with the trustees to establish standards for the keeping of archives and would report to Parliament on how well these standards had been attained and the funding implications of this activity. It would be compulsory that the standards apply to all Crown entities and to local government. Acceptance of the standards would be voluntary for archives outside the public sector (eg corporations, iwi, trusts and community organisations). The Commissioner would not have a role in

¹²¹ Easton, Brian, *Archives and Public Policy*, p. 60.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p. 60.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 60 - 61.

assessing the significance of archival collections, a function for which Easton does not provide a model. Local governments would be expected to place their heritage assets into a parallel trusteeship arrangement.¹²⁴

Like central government, local government underwent a major review in the late 1980s and the implications of that review are still being identified and refined. A philosophy was adopted which reflects the characteristic central government policy of the period with its underlying commercialist agenda.¹²⁵ Greater attention was placed on local government activities as cost centres rather than services to be provided for the population and this philosophy is a particular problem in both local and central governments in areas such as cultural activities where outputs are not easily quantified.¹²⁶

This reform began with the Local Government Act 1989 which brought local government accountability responsibilities into line with those required of central government under the Public Finance Act 1989. The Local Government Amendment Act 1996 extends local government accounting reform and requires long term planning in determining how funds will be applied and accounted for.¹²⁷ It requires that the costs of any expenditure should be recovered from individuals or groups of individuals in a manner which reflects the extent to which the expenditure benefits them directly.¹²⁸ This clearly seeks to overcome the public good rationale for government spending and to impose a private good logic based on quantification of expenditure. It is doubtful whether a private good analysis can account for all of the social and community benefits of museum activities and this regulation, which comes into force on 1 July 1998, may further limit the ability of museums to advocate for continued funding on the basis of community value. “[T]he impact of the legislation is likely to be an increased utilisation of user-pays funding structures.”¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Easton, Brian, *The Commercialisation of New Zealand*, Op cit., p. 188.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 192 - 93.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 193.

¹²⁷ Wilkinson, Brett, Op. cit., p. 8 - 9.

¹²⁸ Ibid. p. 9.

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 10.

Historically, local government has had a long history of volunteer involvement in community activities such as cultural heritage management. In more recent times Easton perceives a conflict between commercial and community philosophies. Pressures which have resulted from this conflict have included the impetus to corporatise and to create a core of paid staff in museums and other heritage institutions. This has resulted in dropping levels of volunteer labour and in falling private donations within a general operating environment of financial stringency.¹³⁰ Easton feels, however, that:

the local level of government may have to play a more important role in the governance of the New Zealand of the future. It seems likely that the new electoral regime of Mixed-Member-Proportional representation will slow down the ability of the central government to take decisions. It may be that the policy implementation gap can in part be filled at the local level...¹³¹

Following Easton's model, it is possible to envisage the establishment of a Parliamentary Commission for Cultural Heritage Conservation which would manage a board of trustees appointed to oversee this function, promote conservation standards to public and non public owners of cultural property, and advise government on policy and priorities in the area. Easton does not explain how the envisaged initiatives and standards are to be resourced and how a body unable to supply funds could ensure their implementation. In light of the restructuring and fiscal stringency facing local government it is also difficult to imagine that a network of local authority trustees and management officers would be sustainable or welcomed by regional administrators.

A case is made nonetheless for a continued central government role in the funding of cultural activities. The public/private good analysis may remain a useful rationale for this intervention, but it will be necessary to develop quantifiable and appropriate means of determining public as well as private goods if the demands of output based accountability are to be met by heritage agencies. The service performance reporting model may require revision in line with Thompson's observations if it is to provide a meaningful evaluation of museum effectiveness. Easton's model of specialist trustee

¹³⁰ Easton, Brian, *The Commercialisation of New Zealand*, Op cit., p. 199.

¹³¹ Ibid., p. 199.

boards for heritage assets could be applied to heritage conservation however it is an ambitious programme and one which would require considerable resourcing.

The cultural sector must present a unified framework, analysed in accordance with administrative and economic terms of reference, but also making a logical quantified case for the unique attributes which both define its role and value in society and add weight to calls for financial support. Establishing a general framework and consensus as to the attributes of cultural activity, as well as analytical methods of their quantification, is a huge task but one to which heritage professionals in this country must afford greater attention if the future of heritage funding is to become more secure.

It is clear that ICCCP and CCAC were to some extent victims of circumstance. They were conceived and constituted in a period of interventionist government but CCAC continued to operate in this manner during and after government moved away from this mode of administration. The committees represented a cost to government in a period which focused on cost cutting and did not seek to meet the requirements of private sector style accountability. As Chief Executive Officers gained increasing personal responsibility for the performance of their departments and were required to account to government in financial terms, initiatives which involved spending without an easily quantified return for this investment became difficult to defend and vulnerable to dissolution in the interests of meeting the demands of the dominant political ideology.

CCAC did succumb to this change in political philosophy however, as will be demonstrated below, these factors do not completely explain its demise. Chapters One and Two have provided a discussion of the wider context within which the rise and fall of ICCCP and CCAC may be analysed. It is now necessary to look at to work of the committees in detail in order to determine the nature of their achievements and shortcomings. The Conclusion will return to the broader contextual discussion in order to seek a fuller understanding of these issues.

CHAPTER THREE

THE INTERIM COMMITTEE FOR THE CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY

3.1 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INTERIM COMMITTEE FOR THE CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY

The Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property was established in 1979 by the Minister of the Arts as an interim body pending the creation by statute or Cabinet recommendation of a permanent conservation council. It was a response to several years of increasing focus on cultural conservation issues in the heritage community reflecting an international trend towards the improvement of standards of collection care and the incorporation of conservation principles into heritage collection management. The Lottery Board began allocating funds for the conservation of artworks through a specially established Advisory Committee in 1976. Grants for the conservation of museum objects began in 1978 and for general conservation purposes in 1979.

The Advisory Committee tabled its report in October 1976 and found:

there is sufficient plant in [New Zealand] to cater for the immediate conservation needs ... the best way to provide immediate care for the works of art in need of conservation treatment is by the provision of qualified personnel and training.¹

Further, they "... did not consider that the purpose of the fund would be best served by making cash grants to existing institutions ...".² This focus on the training of professional conservation staff for New Zealand's institutions became a cornerstone of the policy and activities of both ICCCP and its successor CCAC.

¹ QEII Arts Council of New Zealand, *Final Report of the Conservation Working Party*, p. 3.

² Boag, P., *Op cit.*, p 4.

The report also sought to establish a definition of cultural property which was to embrace "almost all kinds of material objects associated with cultural activity".³ For the purposes of the definition, cultural property was divided into two categories:

- i. first, moveable cultural works such as books, manuscripts, paintings, sculpture, other objects of artistic, historic or archaeological origin;
- ii. second, immovable works such as monuments or architecture, art or history, archaeological sites and buildings of historical or architectural interest.⁴

While the inclusion of books and manuscripts in this definition carries by implication an inclusion of the preservation of some of the ideas and concepts surrounding the creation of material cultural property, the definition seems to limit itself to physical items. Books and manuscripts are viewed more in terms of their physical conservation needs and no mention is made of the need to preserve the stories and oral traditions which surround the creation of many items of cultural property, especially in this country.

The definition includes both moveable and immovable cultural property, a notion which has potential for effective use of limited resources. It also encompasses to some extent the cultural concerns of Maori for whom there is no distinction between moveable and immovable heritage. It needs to go further in this area to encompass the intangible traditions and tikanga which are an essential part of the creation and understanding of taonga Maori. The relationship between these elements and conservation of the natural environment also deserves attention.

The working party identified the inadequacy of New Zealand's existing conservation facilities to be largely a result of social factors:

One major difficulty affecting the preservation of New Zealand's cultural property is the comparative shortness of New Zealand's history, allied with a rapid rate of change, particularly in recent years. The combination of these factors resulted in the lack of development of an adequate historical sense; consequently, many important items of cultural property have already been lost to posterity. The impact of European civilisation on the Maori people in New

³ QEII Arts Council of New Zealand Op cit., p. 3.

⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

Zealand has had the effect of discouraging them, in some cases, from giving full value to their own cultural traditions. As a result of these social factors, the preservation of New Zealand's cultural property has not received due attention in the past.⁵

A clear need was identified for advocacy in the area of heritage conservation with a particular focus on the unique needs of the cultural heritage of Maori.

The Working Party recommended the establishment by statute of a Council for the Conservation of New Zealand's Cultural Property to be administered by the Department of Internal Affairs. It was proposed that this body be responsible for

1. a national conservation laboratory,
2. the coordination of a network of specialised conservation laboratories throughout the country,
3. making recommendations to government on levels of expenditure for conservation purposes,
4. making grants for specific conservation projects,
5. public education,
6. the training of technical conservation staff, and
7. the collection and dissemination of conservation information.⁶

A national symposium on cultural conservation was held at Takapuwahia Marae, Porirua in October 1978 with the active support and involvement of the Department of Internal Affairs. A large number of heritage groups were represented, including the Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand (AGMANZ), the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand (ARANZ), the New Zealand Federation of Historians, the New Zealand National Commission for UNESCO and the QEII Arts Council. The outcome was again a recommendation for an institutional response in the form of a statutory national conservation council, to evolve in a similar way to the Film

⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

⁶ Ibid., p. 5.

Commission and with a focus on providing skilled conservation personnel and adequate resources for their work.⁷

The Film Commission was established as an interim body in 1977 following intensive lobbying and publicity from interested parties. The following year it achieved statutory foundation under the Film Commission Act 1978, with a legislative function to “encourage, and also to participate and assist in the making, promotion, distribution, and exhibition of film.”⁸ The Film Commission retains this function to the present day, working both to promote and direct the long term development and viability of the film industry and to provide direct funding support for individual projects.

Bill Sheat, a key player in the legislative establishment of the Film Commission commented:

I think we were very fortunate in having a sympathetic Minister for the Arts in Alan Highett, who was very receptive and was able to get the idea through on a Cabinet level. He was also instrumental in getting funding for the Commission from the Lottery Board.⁹

The importance of a supportive Minister with access to Cabinet authority is highlighted in the Film Commission’s development.

The main problems with the provision of conservation assistance identified by the Department of Internal Affairs at this time were,

1. neglect of types of material not covered by the existing advisory committees, which focused on art and museum objects and thus did not address the needs of items such as film, photographs, maps and machinery;
2. the false distinction made between artworks and museum objects - it was felt to be more productive to focus on the nature of materials, not what was made from them or where they were kept;
3. some differences in emphasis between the two Lottery Board committees; and

⁷ Boag, P.W., *Op cit.*, p. 7.

⁸ New Zealand Film Commission, *A Short History of Film in New Zealand 1977 - 1994*, p. 5.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

4. the lack of a unified approach to the whole conservation issue.¹⁰

Although the 1976 committee's definition encompassed the built environment and archaeological sites, these classes of cultural property were omitted from the issues identified by the Department. Government involvement in cultural property conservation began to focus specifically on moveable cultural property despite the perceived need for an inclusive approach fostered by a single umbrella organisation.

ICCCP was the Minister's response to these issues and the sector's call for increased attention to cultural heritage conservation. It was not to be the permanent body which the sector had advocated but was to determine conservation priorities and strategies and to advise government on the best means of achieving a sustainable solution to the country's cultural conservation needs.

The key to the Committee's success was held to lie in its composition which was to encompass an awareness of conservation needs and technical knowledge in a broad range of subject areas, to represent the concerns of the many interest groups involved, to have a good geographical coverage and to avoid individuals too closely involved with any potential major client institution.¹¹

ICCCP's terms of reference were to

[a]dvice the Minister for the Arts on all aspects of the conservation of cultural property, especially:

- i) The development of services and facilities;
- ii) The need to develop a national conservation laboratory and, if so, its management, functions, funding and location and relationship to existing services and facilities;
- iii) The need for legislative or other action to provide better for the conservation of cultural heritage;
- iv) The need for research into the conservation of objects of indigenous materials;
- v) The education and training of professional conservation staff;

¹⁰Letter, Minister for the Arts to Secretary for Internal Affairs, 14 August 1979, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/13/1/1.

¹¹ Ibid.

- vi) The distribution of money approved by Government or the Lottery Board for conservation purposes.

This very wide mandate demanded a great deal from the new body and required it to act in both policy formulation and service delivery. ICCCP was to develop and pursue long term priorities and goals as well as fulfilling an immediate role, particularly in the distribution of funds.¹² These terms of reference set a precedent for such conservation bodies which carried through to CCAC. In his 1991 review of cultural property conservation measures, Peter Boag concluded that the burden and breadth of these terms of reference may be a direct cause of the frustrations that were perceived with the operations of ICCCP.¹³ It is interesting to note that while the terms of reference indicate that government funds may be forthcoming for heritage conservation, at this time no Vote money was committed to this purpose. ICCCP was funded from the Minister's discretionary fund and Lottery profits.¹⁴

In order to take an informed and strategic approach to conservation funding, the Committee needed to understand the nature of the country's collections of material cultural property and their conservation needs. This was to be achieved through a national survey and report commissioned by ICCCP in 1979.

3.2 THE STOLOW REPORT

Canadian conservation consultant, Dr Nathan Stolow, undertook a national survey of conservation services, facilities and training and presented his recommendations in August 1980. He advocated that ICCCP continue in operation until the transition could be made to a permanent conservation council once new structures and programmes were in place. He also advocated that ICCCP not respond to any new requests for funds for conservation recruitment, training or projects until it had developed a comprehensive policy in these areas based on consultants' studies, including his own report. He felt

¹² Boag, P.W., *Op cit.*, p. 9.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

only projects of limited duration and funding should be pursued at that time, citing travel costs to attend overseas conferences as an appropriate request.¹⁵

In reviewing the conservation training programme offered at the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Stolow voiced some concern noting:

The emphasis is on keeping the programme financially solvent by conserving and restoring considerable quantities of objects - hardly conducive to methodical conservation training.

He concluded that the course should be discontinued after December 1981 and places found for existing students elsewhere. The programme's facilities were to be maintained for use by the Dunedin Public Art Gallery and related facilities in the region.¹⁶

Stolow advocated the development of a conservation training programme to be established in 1981 or 1982 within a National Conservation Institute, under a training coordinator.¹⁷ The Institute would be located in Wellington and Stolow felt it would be "... a practical means of coordinating and promoting the development of the conservation of cultural property in New Zealand."¹⁸ Stolow also advocated that the National Conservation Institute work with the New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute, Rotorua, to introduce conservation training as part of the curriculum for training of Maori artists and craftspeople, suggesting that a sub committee of the permanent council be established to give this project and the issue of conservation of taonga the necessary national attention.¹⁹

The Institute would report through a Directorate to the proposed permanent conservation council which would determine its funding, policy, and programming priorities. The Directorate would not be actively involved in conservation work or research but would function as a policy making and coordinating body. It would organise and coordinate conservation training programmes and assist in the

¹⁵ Stolow, Dr Nathan, *Report on Conservation and Training Programmes in New Zealand and Recommendations for Development of a National Institute*, p. 1.

¹⁶ Stolow, Dr Nathan Preliminary Findings, background material accompanying agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix C, p. 1.

¹⁷ Stolow, Dr Nathan, *Op cit* p. 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

development and coordination of a network of regional conservation centres. Account would be taken of available resources and facilities and collection strengths in determining the location of the regional centres. Initial funding would come from the conservation council, but after time it was envisaged that the institutions benefiting from the regional laboratories would assume the major operating costs. The Directorate would assist in the establishment of basic conservation services in individual institutions with sufficiently large or specialised collections.²⁰

It was envisaged that the Directorate would coordinate conservation materials purchasing, information provision and contract research through other organisations including universities and government departments. It would also act as adviser to the Government on conservation and technical matters relating to international exhibitions and exchanges. "The overall goal would be to promote and build up a conservation profession in New Zealand, particularly in the field of Maori art, and ensure the maintenance of high international standards of practice."²¹

The National Institute's training programme was to be apprenticeship based and to include training under specialist conservators located at various art galleries, museums and other venues, with an initial core training phase at the Institute. It was also envisaged that the Institute offer a series of short term advanced level conservation courses to existing conservation staff who may wish to further their career or improve their theoretical background. Short courses would be staged for other museum staff and would be offered regionally, emphasising particular conservation themes and concerns and local resources.²²

Stolow's report was a detailed review, conducted by a conservation professional and intended to provide concrete procedural guidelines for the advancement of cultural property conservation in New Zealand. It was an ambitious plan and one which was to prove to be beyond the financial and philosophical scope of New Zealand's government

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

²¹ Ibid., p. 3 - 4.

²² Ibid., p. 2.

at the time. It is also questionable whether such a complex and extensive network of conservation facilities and training was warranted or sustainable in the New Zealand environment.

Sarah Hillary, Conservator at the Northern Regional Conservation Service which was established in accordance with Stolow's model, agrees that the plan was overambitious:

It was an ideal and mirrors the Canadian situation. Things are being scaled down even there now. A country our size couldn't support such a system then and financially things are even worse now. ICCCP started the Northern Regional Conservation Service and then things ground to a halt. No other laboratories really got going. This was probably influenced by the great expense involved in setting up the laboratories. City Councils were unable or unwilling to support them.²³

ICCCP adopted Stolow's report as its foundation document and continued to advocate for the enactment of his recommendations:

The Committee believes that Dr Stolow's report confirms the view already expressed by the QEII Arts Council and the symposium on conservation held in 1978, on the urgent need in New Zealand for the establishment of an organised and properly funded conservation service.²⁴

The Council seems, however, to have been unable to act upon Stolow's advice to suspend consideration of new requests until additional consultants' reports had been commissioned and comprehensive policies formulated. Such action may well have been difficult for a body operating with limited resources and part time personnel who had significant commitments elsewhere, but the Committee's records show little attempt to undertake these background tasks before embarking on an extensive programme of funding and proactive initiatives. ICCCP's funding commitments, particularly in professional training, proved to be an ongoing burden for CCAC and also curtailed the

²³ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

²⁴ Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Response to the Stolow Report, 1980, background material accompanying the agenda for the first meeting of CCAC, Appendix E

later body's ability to take the time to develop focused strategic policy and utilise resources to these ends.

3.3 ICCCP PROGRAMMES

TRAINING

The Stolow Report had identified a set of national requirements for conservation staff. Thirteen conservation positions existed in 1980 and Stolow held that a further 28 positions were required. These would be made up of 7 conservators, 18 trainees and 3 technicians and would be divided between the seven proposed regional conservation centres. This number was seen as sufficient to meet then current needs and made no provision for private sector or future requirements.²⁵

ICCCP's main priority was the training of professional conservation staff overseas while supporting AGMANZ in raising awareness of conservation issues among existing museum staff:

The conservation of our cultural property is dependent on an adequate supply of properly trained staff - all else follows from this. Whilst we await the report of Dr Nathan Stolow we are regularly considering applications for grants for conservators to attend overseas conferences as refresher courses as well as for courses to continue their conservation education.²⁶

Even at this early stage, however, it was also noted that:

the first essential where any funds are extended for these purposes is that there is a job available for the conservator on return to New Zealand.²⁷

Salary subsidies were suggested to facilitate the creation of conservation positions in institutions.²⁸

²⁵ Stolow, Dr Nathan, *Op cit* p. 178 - 9.

²⁶ ICCCP, Background paper to Emphasise the Need to have a Policy for Budgeting for Refresher Courses and Continuing Education, background material accompanying agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix C, p. 1.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

In 1980/81 the percentage of the Committee's income to be spent on training was to increase from 50% to a minimum of 70% and ICCCP would investigate the possibility of bringing overseas experts to New Zealand to conduct short training programmes. This was seen to be a more efficient use of funds when compared to the high cost of sending a single student to overseas training courses.²⁹ Attendance at AGMANZ Diploma workshops and other conservation training courses was to be subsidised for existing museum staff.³⁰ The perceived advantages of supporting these training opportunities were that it would involve personnel already working in the profession, it would provide curatorial staff with necessary housekeeping skills and knowledge and it would provide an incentive for greater involvement of conservation professionals in curatorial concerns.³¹

The Committee was taking steps to identify specific gaps in New Zealand's cultural conservation profession and to train conservators to fill these. A meeting was held in August 1981, for example, between ICCCP and individuals and organisations interested in the conservation of houses and other carved objects to discuss the Stolow Report. As a result of this meeting ICCCP resolved to find two young Maori with sufficient background and training to focus on the conservation of their cultural heritage.³²

In response to a lack of professional conservation training in New Zealand ICCCP had funded students to study overseas³³ and had subsidised salaries for conservation professionals to provide workshop based training for other museum staff. The Committee had also funded internships at the Auckland City Art Gallery and Auckland University.³⁴ Following the introduction of pre-training internships by ICCCP the Director of the conservation training programme at the Canberra College of Advanced Education noted an overall improvement in the standard of New Zealand students.³⁵ In

²⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

³¹ Ibid., p. 2.

³² Ibid., p. 3.

³³ Suspensory loans were provided for this purpose and were non repayable if students returned to work in conservation in New Zealand for a specified period in an approved institution. Ibid., p. 4.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 4.

³⁵ Letter, Dr C. Pearson, Principal Lecturer, Cultural Heritage Science Division, School of Applied Science, Canberra College of Advanced Education, to Advisory Officer, CCAC, 10 August 1987, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/19.

1985 the decision was made to emphasise conservation training in overseas institutions and ICCCP's programme of internship based training within New Zealand was discontinued. Internships did continue but functioned as introductory prerequisites for admission to the conservation training programme at the Canberra College of Advanced Education (now the University of Canberra). This programme became the chief venue for the training of New Zealand's conservators.³⁶

Sponsored students completed a Bachelor of Applied Science: Specialisation in Conservation of Cultural Materials at the National Centre for Cultural Heritage Studies at the Canberra College. This three year programme aims

to train conservators to fully understand what they are doing and why they are treating a work or artefact. In the first year of study students are taught scientific methods and chemistry. There is emphasis on the technological history of cultural artefacts and what causes their deterioration. The second year of study introduces artefact preservation, conservation philosophy and ethics, while the final year of the course offers advanced theory and a refinement of practical skills in a specialist area of conservation.³⁷

Graduates from the Canberra programme can specialise in one of three areas; objects, paintings or paper conservation.³⁸

By 1986 ICCCP had funded nineteen individuals to attend conservation training programmes overseas (8 at the Canberra College of Advanced Education and 11 at courses in England, Canada and Rome) and eight students would be studying with the aid of ICCCP funding in 1987. Seven of these would study in Canberra and the eighth in London. Four would specialise in the conservation of ethnological material, one in museum objects, one in paper, one in fine art and the other in archives conservation.³⁹ ICCCP had also funded 20 conservation internships within New Zealand and provided seeding salaries for 25 conservation positions, only one of which was listed as ongoing

³⁶ Letter ICCCP to Minister of Internal Affairs, 25 November 1985, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/13/4.

³⁷ University of Canberra, Faculty of Applied Science, National Centre for Cultural Heritage Science Studies, *Undergraduate Courses: Conservation of Cultural Materials*, p. 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁹ Summary of ICCCP activities 1979 - 1987, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/13/1.

in 1987. Twenty seven individuals had been funded to attend workshops and conferences overseas and four major research projects had been undertaken.⁴⁰ Three of the Conservators trained by ICCCP were in private practice in 1987.⁴¹

CONSERVATION POSITIONS ESTABLISHED

In an effort to encourage the establishment of conservation positions in New Zealand and to justify the investment made in training conservation professionals, ICCCP established a sliding scale salary subsidy scheme for new conservation positions at public institutions. The Committee was aware that its actions could acutely influence the activities of the future permanent conservation council:

We have a limited life and we should not make major decisions which might not be in line with the opinions of the permanent body which will replace us.⁴²

It felt, however, that it had been forced to action on the issue of training and would have to seek employment for the trained conservators returning to New Zealand.⁴³ Without positions to return to in this country, graduates would seek employment overseas and the investment in their training would be lost.

A National Conservator position was established at Auckland City Art Gallery in 1976 and filled in 1978:

The role of the National Conservator is to advise and assist galleries around the country with their current and future conservation needs and includes practical assistance. The Committee and the Auckland City Art Gallery both contribute to the salaries of the two overseas trained conservators employed at the Gallery who share the task of National Conservator.⁴⁴

Although this position was subsidised by ICCCP, it required skills beyond those of a recent conservation graduate and was filled by more experienced overseas personnel. A

⁴⁰ These were, a PhD project at Waikato University in 1980, a waterlogged wood research project at Auckland University Anthropology Department, in 1984, and flax fibre research projects at Otago University Chemistry Department in 1984 and 1985, *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Chairperson's remarks, 14 February 1985, background material accompanying the agenda for the first meeting of CCAC, Appendix H.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

position was also established within the Anthropology Department of Auckland University to undertake research into the conservation of waterlogged wood at a laboratory also funded from ICCCP sources.⁴⁵

The position of National Textile Conservator was approved by ICCCP in November 1982 and established at the National Museum. The National Textile Conservator was to spend half of his or her time on technical and treatment work and half on preventive conservation. In 1985 clients of the service included AGMANZ Diploma students (workshops), the Historic Places Trust and the National Symposium of Quilters (lectures). A consultation and information service was also provided.⁴⁶

Also in 1985 ICCCP entered into an agreement with Otago Museum for a Conservation Officer. For three years ICCCP would provide the salary for the position and would also contribute \$30,000 towards the establishment of a laboratory. In approving this application ICCCP noted that it was necessary to establish a policy for reporting and the review of such positions. A six monthly report would be required from the conservator and an annual visit would be made by the Committee's Advisory Officer who would also present a report.⁴⁷

The establishment of conservation positions was listed as a current priority at the end of the ICCCP period and it was envisaged that this would continue to be encouraged through the provision of a three year sliding scale salary subsidy "... to give institutions an opportunity to budget for the positions and absorb them into their establishment."⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Report on Operations and Progress Since Establishment, 1986, background material accompanying agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix D, p. 3.

⁴⁵ Department of Internal Affairs, Ministerial Briefing Paper, 1987, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL 11/15/1.

⁴⁶ Background Paper, National Textile Conservator, background material for the first meeting of CCAC, 1987, Appendix 1.4G.

⁴⁷ Background Paper, Otago Museum Conservation Officer, 1985, Background material for the first meeting of CCAC, Appendix 1.5C.

⁴⁸ Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Report on Operations and Progress Since Establishment, 1986, background material accompanying agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix D, p. 4.

REGIONAL LABORATORIES

In response to Stolow's recommendations ICCCP began several initiatives aimed at establishing a national network of regional conservation laboratories. These projects also involved the creation of several conservation positions utilising the Committee's seeding salary scheme.

Stolow advocated that existing conservation units become regional conservation centres providing staffing and programme assistance for institutions as an outreach function. New conservation centres were to be established where necessary and linked through the Directorate. The main thrust of the Directorate would be in ethnology "which is of the highest priority in New Zealand", specifically in the Maori community.⁴⁹

With regard to the establishment of a network of Regional Conservators, ICCCP's chair concluded:

They will require working space and equipment at their base institution, transport to take them around their regions and access to both public and private collections which have important cultural property. They will charge fees for their work which will help to finance the service. In my view this regional service may require on-going financial assistance as it seems smaller collections will not be able to afford the service and therefore may not ask for it.⁵⁰

The task for the Committee was to determine how funds could best be provided and to plan for the number and type of conservators that would be likely to be needed.⁵¹

ICCCP advocated strongly that there should be a clearly defined cut off point for financial assistance for Regional Conservators. It was planned that full support be given for the first two years and that the subsidy decrease by 20% each year after that until the sixth year when no financial assistance would be given. Positions created within

⁴⁹ Stolow, Dr Nathan Preliminary Findings, background material accompanying agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix C, p. 2.

⁵⁰ Interim committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 14 February 1985, Chairperson's remarks, background material accompanying the agenda for the first meeting of CCAC, Appendix H.

⁵¹ Ibid.

institutions for the institution's own benefit would continue to be subsidised for three years only.⁵²

The Northern Regional Conservation Service (NRCS) was established as the first regional laboratory in April 1984. It was a joint venture between the Department of Internal Affairs (through ICCCP) and the Auckland City Council. The Service would operate on a trial basis subject to review after nine months and act as a pilot for the regional conservation service recommended in the Stolow Report. It would cover the geographical area from New Plymouth to Napier northwards and would focus on fine art collections. Conservation work for privately owned material or material from outside the region could be undertaken with the approval of ICCCP. The Regional Service would advise on preventive conservation issues and carry out treatments.

The Committee requested that formal written agreements be drawn up between the laboratory and its clients and that a list be compiled of regional work done that could be charged for and a reimbursement paid to ICCCP. The Service's priorities would be determined by the Regional Conservators in conjunction with the owners of material cultural property, museum directors and curators. In determining conservation priorities, these parties would take account of the significance of the material in question, the urgency of its conservation needs and the priority of preventive conservation over cosmetic treatment. Publicly owned material would take priority over privately owned, and account should also be taken of the current policies and priorities of the funding committee.⁵³ This last condition was a potential area of conflict when ICCCP moved away from direct funding of the Regional Conservation Service. Financial survival would be a priority for the self funding independent service. In this climate work which ensured an adequate and regular income would become of the utmost importance.

⁵² ICCCP, Notes on the Northern Regional Conservation Service, 1986, background material to agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix 1.4D.

⁵³ ICCCP, Agreement between ICCCP and Auckland City Art Gallery about the operation of the Northern Regional Conservation Laboratory, 1985?, background material to agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix B.

The Regional Conservators would observe accepted codes of ethical practice and would carry out only that work which was within their professional capabilities and the scope of the facilities available to them. A formal written system would be initiated for arrangements with clients, establishing costs and recording treatments.

The initial task would be to visit institutions in the region to establish conservation priorities. Following this, the first year's plan would be devised and distributed to institutions in the region. It was intended that a 'participating institutions' scheme be instigated for the Regional Conservation Service. If institutions accepted the Service's annual plan, they would be eligible for participating institution status and their conservation programme would be incorporated into the Regional Conservation Service's schedule of work which would include treatments, surveys, advice and workshops. Participating institutions would pay an annual fee⁵⁴ and would be given preference over non-participants. A subsidised hourly charge for the Regional Conservators' services would also be offered to participating institutions.⁵⁵ The participating institutions scheme did not succeed and Sarah Hillary attributes this in part to the increased paperwork it demanded. Only a few of the major institutions took part and the scheme was soon abandoned.⁵⁶

Client institutions would be responsible for the costs of transportation of items for treatment, including insurance, and materials would be charged at cost. The Auckland City Council would be responsible for the financial management of the service.⁵⁷

⁵⁴This would be .1% of the institution's total budget or \$50, whichever was higher. ICCCP, Agreement between ICCCP and Auckland City Art Gallery concerning the operation of the Northern Regional Conservation Laboratory, 1985?, background material to agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix B. This charge was altered for the first year of the Service's operation to a fixed charge of \$50. After that, the option of .1% of total budget was reintroduced. Letter, Director, Auckland City Art Gallery to Chair ICCCP (for Secretary of Internal Affairs), 29 March 1985, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/13/5/1.

⁵⁵ Participating institutions would pay \$17.56 per hour, and non-participants \$27.85 per hour, ICCCP, Agreement between ICCCP and Auckland City Art Gallery about the operation of the Northern Regional Conservation Laboratory, 1985?, background material to agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix B.

⁵⁶ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

⁵⁷ Letter, Chair ICCCP for Secretary of Internal Affairs to Director, Auckland City Art Gallery, 7 March 1985, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/13/5/1.

The Northern Regional Conservation Service submitted its first report to ICCCP in December 1984.⁵⁸ During its first nine months of operation, the Service had identified 146 collections in the region, including nine private museums. Of that total, nine were considered major museums and held collections which included works of art, architectural plans, photographs and books. This presented a wide variety of conservation challenges and it was expected that the diversity of the material identified would grow.⁵⁹

Three priorities were identified by the NRCS at this time,

1. Education of current museum staff in preventive conservation,
2. improvement of facilities, especially storage, environmental control and transportation, and
3. treatment of works of high priority, and stabilisation and improvement of conditions for collections.

Education of staff was seen as vital to avoid damage to collections. Priority was to be given to paintings and works of art on paper as these media reflected the expertise of the Service's staff. However a far greater and more diverse need had been identified in the collections of the region.⁶⁰

The Service had achieved a good initial response from its client institutions, especially for the opening round of free collection surveys. These had focused on the condition of the collections, estimated costs for treatment, suggestions for protection, provision of contact details for conservation suppliers, and references and information about specific problems.⁶¹

In this initial period the NRCS had provided services for a diverse range of clients including regional institutions, public and profit making organisations and private conservators and restorers. It had also supervised and trained ICCCP sponsored interns. A number of requests had been received from organisations outside the northern region

⁵⁸ Northern Regional Conservation Service, Report on the Northern Regional Conservation Service, April - December 1984, background material for the first meeting of CCAC, Appendix D.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

although the policy had been adopted that no work could be carried out for these groups unless this was requested by ICCCP. The Northern Regional staff found this policy difficult to implement as they felt professionally obliged to answer any request for advice.⁶²

Eight institutions had so far accepted participating institution status. The charging system had proved complicated and an alternative method was suggested. The proposal was to divide ICCCP's funding for regional conservation activities into three components,

1. Establish a fund to contribute to the cost of treatment of works of national importance and other conservation projects where funding is a significant barrier.
2. Research costs should be wholly subsidised as it is of long term benefit to all.
3. Workshop costs should be subsidised so that staff from throughout the region are able to attend. This proposal was motivated by a marked lack of attendance by staff from institutions outside Auckland.

The Service also requested adequate facilities and clarification of its place within the Auckland City Art Gallery structure and suggested that its staff should attend ICCCP meetings to advise on regional matters.⁶³

The Northern Regional Conservation Service Report of July 1987 indicates an increasing focus on treatment of objects, and also notes the publication of a book entitled *The Care of Art and Museum Collections in New Zealand*.⁶⁴ This is one of the few such publications to deal with these issues specifically for New Zealand conditions and has continued to be revised and reprinted.

In 1987 projections were that ICCCP's subsidy for the Northern Regional Conservation Service would fall from 50% in 1987 to 15% by 1991. However this would require that the service recover almost \$100,000 in fees and it was felt that this would be

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁶² Ibid., p. 4.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 6 - 8.

unachievable in the time frame. A more realistic objective was seen to be a continued subsidy of between 15 and 30% after 1991. This level of ongoing funding was held to be acceptable in comparison to overseas models in countries where institutions were wealthier than here and more able to contribute to the cost of conservation programmes themselves. To provide continuity of work the Northern Regional Service felt it should be able to carry out treatments on significant items in private collections. These would be given a lower priority than publicly owned items but the work would be charged for at a higher rate, thus creating greater potential for financial independence. Disaster assistance was seen as an area of the Service's activities which should be highly subsidised or free.⁶⁵

A second regional conservation initiative undertaken by ICCCP was the Northern Regional Archaeological Conservation Laboratory which was proposed by Prof. R. C. Green of the Anthropology Department of Auckland University in September 1982. In September 1985 ICCCP made a grant of \$24,000 to the University for the first year of a two year contract for an Archaeological Conservator. The Conservator would provide professional services for archaeological material on the same terms as the Northern Regional Conservation Service provided them for art collections and would focus specifically on the conservation of waterlogged wood.⁶⁶

In 1986 clients of the Archaeological Conservation Laboratory included the New Zealand Forest Service (Oruru excavations, Northland field conservation), Wanganui Museum (condition reports and treatment projects for artefacts) and Taranaki Museum (Te Atiawa carving conservation). The Laboratory also produced a handbook for archaeologists entitled *First Aid for Artefacts in the Field*.⁶⁷

A Southern Regional Conservation Laboratory modelled on the pilot scheme at Auckland was proposed for the Dunedin Public Art Gallery. In 1982 the Gallery

⁶⁴ Northern Regional Conservation Service, Report on the Northern Regional Conservation Service, July 1987, background material for the first meeting of CCAC, Appendix F.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶⁶ Services would be charged out at an hourly rate of \$35. Northern Regional Archaeological Conservation Laboratory, Report of the Northern Regional Archaeological Conservation Laboratory, January - June 1986. Background material for the first meeting of CCAC, Appendix F.

applied to ICCCP for a grant to purchase equipment to develop a regional laboratory. ICCCP considered that greater support for the project was needed from the Dunedin City Council and refused the application until this could be secured. In April 1983 a second application by the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, this time for a salary subsidy, was refused on the grounds that it would be chiefly for maintaining the Gallery's own collection.⁶⁸

The Gallery's proposal for a regional laboratory was formalised and resubmitted in February 1984. It suggested that the laboratory would have two staff, one funded by the Dunedin City Council and the other by ICCCP. The equivalent of one full time staff member's output would be directed to Dunedin Public Art Gallery work and the other to regional work covering the geographical area south of the Waitaki River. The proposal also considered the possibility of the laboratory taking on responsibility for the whole of the South Island, reducing its scope to oil paintings when another centre was established in Christchurch.⁶⁹ Work would be charged for in the same manner as the other regional laboratories and the proceeds would be passed back to ICCCP.

The Dunedin project considered the ongoing involvement of a national co-ordinating body to be of great importance, stating in its proposal:

For a Regional Conservation Centre to function properly it is important that there should be some kind of professional commission or referee to adjudicate in any disputes and to have responsibility for the oversight of standards.⁷⁰

The proposal was accepted and the position of Southern Regional Conservator advertised in December 1984.

By 1987 two regional conservation services were operating in the North Island focussing on archaeological material and fine art collections. Over time the running costs for both laboratories were absorbed into the budgets of their host institutions

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Background Paper, Southern Regional Fine Arts Laboratory, 1987, Background material for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix F.

⁶⁹ Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Proposal for a Southern Regional Fine Arts Laboratory, 1984, p. 2-10. Background material for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix F.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

however only the NRCS continues to provide a regional service and this focuses almost exclusively on treatment projects as cost recovery and income generation are priorities.

OTHER CONSERVATION INITIATIVES

ICCCP approved the principle that ownership of cultural material carries with it a responsibility for the owner to provide for its long term care and preservation. The Committee felt, however, that it had a role in assisting owners to discharge this responsibility.⁷¹

Funds had been provided for general conservation purposes and these grants included sponsoring bulk purchasing of materials by the Wellington Cultural Conservators group on the grounds that “[t]he high cost of basic materials has been seen as one of the greatest obstacles to increased conservation activity.”⁷² ICCCP funds had also aided in the establishment of an Emergency Conservation Unit in Wellington which focussed on disaster salvage for cultural material. Two thermohydrographs were purchased and placed on a rotational circuit around all art gallery premises to provide reports on public and storage areas as information for organisers of touring shows. A once only salary grant was provided to the New Zealand Film Archive, equipment was purchased for training seminars, tape/slide training programmes were purchased by the Waikato Art Museum and the Auckland City Art Gallery received a subsidy towards the establishment of a national conservation programme technical library.⁷³

LEGISLATIVE STATUS

ICCCP’s terms of reference required it to advise the Minister of Internal Affairs on “[t]he need for legislative or other action to provide better for the conservation of cultural heritage”. While the creation of a permanent conservation council by legislation had been advocated for several years, ICCCP’s chair considered that this

⁷¹ Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Chairperson’s remarks, 14 February 1985, background material accompanying the agenda for the first meeting of CCAC, Appendix H.

⁷² Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Report on Operations and Progress Since Establishment, 1986, background material accompanying agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix D, p. 4.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

mechanism for furthering the cause of cultural conservation was not without its problems:

If we stand out for a Statutory Body or Quango, we may easily meet delays and frustrations. One of the commonest complaints about government spending is the money given to Statutory Bodies. It is of course money which is denied to both governments and government departments It also means that a growing Quango may ask for bigger grants each year as their work increases. Naturally, there is some reluctance to be too open handed. The alternative is to ask a government department (Internal Affairs) to set up their own department, funding it from its resources. This might avoid legislative barriers but it would need great enthusiasm and dedication by a department which has many ramifications and many responsibilities. Setting up a new Quango in an election year may be extremely difficult, but its ultimate freedom from departmental restraints may make the effort worthwhile. It all seems to leave the unfortunate Interim Committee in limbo.”⁷⁴

ICCCP focussed increasingly on the need for a permanent body to develop and focus the momentum which it had established. Government was slow to take action in this area, however, and the Committee found it necessary to force the issue.

3.4 THE FIRST INTERREGNUM

By the middle of 1982 ICCCP members were becoming frustrated with government's inaction. They considered that they had largely achieved the ends for which they had been established and that the Committee had been in existence for too long. Members requested a meeting with the Minister to discuss ICCCP's future and the establishment of a National Conservation Council on the Film Commission model. They considered late 1983 or early 1984 to be a reasonable target date for the establishment of a statutory National Conservation Council with the Conservation Institute to follow later.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Chairperson's remarks, June 1984, background material accompanying the agenda for the first meeting of CCAC, Appendix G.

⁷⁵ Letter, Secretary of Internal Affairs to Minister of Internal Affairs, 29 April 1982, and 20 May 1982, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/13/1/1.

ICCCP stressed that the government's 1981 manifesto stated a policy intention to implement Stolow's recommendations and requested that steps be taken in this direction by the inclusion of a bill to establish the National Conservation Council in the following year's legislative programme.⁷⁶ In fact government had significant reservations about the need to establish another statutory body and the question of drafting a bill did not receive serious attention until 1984. Action was suspended following the change of government in that year.⁷⁷

The National Council was intended to mark a new phase in cultural property conservation.⁷⁸ Initially training had been a priority and ICCCP had made significant advances in this area. In 1978 there were only four trained conservators working in New Zealand. By 1984 there were at least twelve, nine of whom were New Zealand citizens. It was becoming evident that the number of trained conservators would soon exceed the number of positions available and the creation of conservation positions through seeding salaries became the primary focus.⁷⁹ ICCCP's terms of reference required it to fund conservation training and simply to advise on other conservation issues but it took an active role in seeking to establish new conservation positions.

In assessing activities to date in 1986, ICCCP identified four major priority areas for its operation. These were

1. Evaluation of existing services, facilities and training;
2. Education and training of professional and technical staff; and later
3. Encouragement of institutions to establish positions and to employ New Zealand conservators as soon as they became available;
4. Review of its own operations and a move towards the establishment of a nationwide conservation service under the control of a National Conservation Council.

⁷⁶ Letter ICCCP to Minister of Internal Affairs, 21 June 1982, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/13/1/1.

⁷⁷ Agenda for meeting between ICCCP and Minister of Internal Affairs, 16 February 1984.

⁷⁸ New Zealand Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, background paper for the Minister of Internal Affairs, 4 December 1984.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

The Committee felt that the Stollow Report had discharged the first priority task.⁸⁰ Training was seen to be an ongoing process necessary to ensure that sufficient numbers of conservation professionals were always available in the required fields. The form and extent of this training would be dependent on the funding available to the Committee in the future. ICCCP now turned its attention to the fourth objective stating:

The Committee considers that its structure should now be reviewed and a move should be made towards the establishment of a nationwide conservation service under the control of the National Conservation Council. A National Council should be set up with an administrative director to draw all the conservation threads together and legislation drawn up to set up the Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property as a statutory body. The Committee is in the process of formulating a proposal to the Minister for the establishment of a Council.⁸¹

Dissatisfaction with government's inaction grew and in November 1985 ICCCP members advised the Minister of their intention to resign as of March 1986.⁸² In April of 1986 the Committee met with the Minister and agreed to persevere for a further six months with the recommendation that a working party be established to look at the future of conservation and provide background data for the permanent council.⁸³ ICCCP continued to maintain that establishment of a Council by legislation and secured Vote funding was the only way to ensure ongoing care of the nation's cultural patrimony to the highest standards.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Report on Operations and Progress Since Establishment, 1986, background material accompanying agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix D, p. 2.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁸² Letter ICCCP to Minister of Internal Affairs, 25 November 1985, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/13/4.

⁸³ Letter, ICCCP to Minister of Internal Affairs, 2 April 1986, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/13/4.

⁸⁴ Letter, ICCCP to Minister of Internal Affairs, 6 May 1986, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/13/4.

3.5 AN EVALUATION OF ICCCP: ACHIEVEMENTS AND SHORTCOMINGS

ICCCP made a number of advances in the cultural property conservation cause in New Zealand. The Stolow Report provided an important foundation document to begin planning for a strategic approach to funding and a number of New Zealanders had received training to enter the conservation profession in this country. The first of a proposed network of regional laboratories had been established and advocacy was underway for the creation of conservation positions in New Zealand's heritage institutions. Conservation research had been supported through a PhD fellowship provided at Waikato University to study the conservation of waterlogged wood, and four individuals had been funded to attend overseas conferences.⁸⁵

ICCCP was eager to ensure that the Committee and its cause had a significant profile and were understood by its client sector. To achieve this it fostered the production of several publications. As well as those mentioned above, which were produced through the Committee's regional conservation activities, it produced a journal *Topics of Conservation*. The journal sought to publicise the Committee's concerns, services and initiatives as well as conservation issues generally. To this end, it detailed conservation equipment available through the Committee's Advisory Officer for use in institutions (thermohydrographs, lux meters etc) as well as outlining the activities of related organisations and providing contact details for conservation suppliers and relevant conferences and workshops.

By the mid 1980s the Committee was adamant that it was time for government to appoint a permanent conservation council to take over these initiatives and to develop them into an ongoing and inclusive conservation programme.

There were some shortcomings with ICCCP's operation however. It had continued to fund conservation projects and training despite Stolow's recommendation that it

⁸⁵ Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Report on Operations and Progress Since Establishment, 1986, background material accompanying agenda for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix D, p. 4.

withdraw from this activity until extensive consultancy and strategic planning had taken place. This resulted in funding that was often ad hoc and reactive. Although it was intended to be an umbrella organisation, the Committee and Stolow's report had focussed almost exclusively on museum and art gallery collections to the exclusion of libraries, archives and other collecting organisations. Despite its adoption of the QEII Working Party's inclusive definition of cultural property, ICCCP had also focussed on moveable material cultural property only.

Stuart Strachan, Hocken Librarian and member of CCAC, recalls:

[A]lthough [ICCCP] was ostensibly concerned with the preservation of cultural property, it excluded vast amounts of what I thought was important cultural property from its ambit - chiefly what was found in archives and libraries. It was very much seen as a creature of museums and art galleries.

...

I think originally it rose out of AGMANZ initiatives and relationships which they had. Archives' presence was new at the time and libraries tend to think in information terms rather than cultural property terms, so they were kind of on the outside.

...

When the Stolow Report appeared I was very angry at the fact that it didn't have anything about archives in it and sent off a letter to the ICCCP.⁸⁶

Although the Committee did not explicitly exclude these collections from its operations, it is clear that there was a sector perception that this was the case. ICCCP's publishing and publicity activities did not alter this perception even though it was communicated to the Committee early in its career.

ICCCP had embarked on the establishment of a network of regional conservation facilities in line with Stolow's recommendations without significant feasibility research and difficulties were evident in moving the first of these laboratories to financial

⁸⁶ Interview with Stuart Strachan, June 1997.

autonomy. While it attempted to target training needs to perceived areas of need in museums and art galleries, ICCCP had committed significant funds to this purpose without first ensuring that graduates would be able to find work in New Zealand institutions. It had also been unsuccessful in establishing a permanent cultural property conservation council whether by legislation or other means. This failure was no doubt influenced by changes in government structure and philosophy during the Committee's period of operation.

As negotiations continued for a body to replace ICCCP, a meeting was held of Museums in the Central North Island with the objective of forming a united front for applications to the new council. The group considered its present conservation concerns, its plans and its specific needs.⁸⁷ The Museums represented considered that the bulk of the urgent work which needed to be done in their institutions could be completed in house with basic level training for existing staff and basic facilities.⁸⁸

They recognised the need for accessible, professional conservation laboratories to undertake treatment of objects but were reluctant to send material too far or to have to wait too long.⁸⁹ They wanted subsidies to use particular laboratories or prioritising of conservation work on a national or regional level and the application of resources in accordance with this. The best way to achieve such prioritisation was seen to be the development of a national register of cultural property and the meeting felt that this would be a relatively easy task.⁹⁰

Research was seen as a low priority for cultural conservation funds in all areas except textile conservation. Information gathering and dissemination and training were seen as more important. Where research was supported the group emphasised the need for dissemination of the results.⁹¹ The meeting felt that the past need for regional laboratories had been overcome and that a new phase in heritage conservation should

⁸⁷ Minutes, Meeting of Museums in the Central North Island, 6 July 1987, Background material for first meeting of CCAC, Appendix 1.5B.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

begin and be focussed on self help. Although the group advocated that the National Textile Conservator's position be made full time, it considered that there was no longer a perceived need for a wide range of independent regional facilities. Training for technicians and the establishment of conservation positions with a regional component within institutions were seen as more important. The Museums represented felt that they could sustain the employment of two conservators between them and that half of those positions could be devoted to regional work.⁹²

While only representing part of the cultural property community, this meeting indicates a desire in the sector to move away from large scale regional services and professional training towards a policy focussed more on treatment and on tangible results at the level of individual institutions. This is also a move away from the structure proposed by Stolow, placing greater emphasis on the role of individual institutions and existing staff in meeting the conservation needs of New Zealand's cultural property.

Both the museum sector and the Interim Committee expressed a desire for a new conservation body which would draw on the achievements made to date and transform these into a conservation programme with direct and ongoing benefits for the country's cultural property collections. This call came at a time of significant downsizing and cut backs in government and the desired permanent council did not eventuate. The ICCCP members' resolve to resign in 1986 forced government to act to establish the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council but this result was another interim body still lacking statutory foundation. CCAC and its operations will be considered in the next three chapters.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 7- 8.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CULTURAL CONSERVATION ADVISORY COUNCIL

In the next four chapters CCAC and its operations will be investigated and analysed. This chapter will consider the choice of a ministerial advisory committee format as the Council's constitutional foundation and will discuss the background to the nomination of its first members. In the following two chapters CCAC's funding policy and programme will be investigated and compared to stated objectives. Particular reference will be made to the grants allocated by the Council and funding trends will be highlighted. The Council's single biggest project, the Taonga Maori Conference, will be discussed and its impact analysed. Chapter Seven will consider the review of CCAC and its operations and the events surrounding its dissolution.

On the recommendation of the Minister of Internal Affairs, government approved the formation of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council in March 1987 to replace ICCCP. Established by Cabinet's Social Equity Committee, CCAC was to function as a Ministerial Advisory Committee, administered by the Department of Internal Affairs, and to meet four times a year to submit funding applications for approval by the Minister as well as developing broader policy and practice guidelines. Despite a continued lack of statutory foundation, CCAC was to be the chief body advising government on cultural conservation issues.

It was noted at the time of its establishment that the scope of the Council's work was likely to expand and to require increased resourcing:

The public expectation regarding the preservation and care of New Zealand's cultural heritage, particularly Maori Taonga, is such that it is reasonable to assume that the Council's activities will expand.¹

In proceeding with the project government was therefore impliedly accepting an ongoing and increasing role in cultural property conservation.

Until 1990 CCAC was a function of the Arts and Cultural Heritage Division of the Department of Internal Affairs. The Division's functions were then divided into policy and service delivery. A new body, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, was created to carry out the policy function. CCAC was seen as a delivery body and in January 1991 was housed temporarily in the delivery arm, the Constitutional Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs, with the intention of allowing the Minister of Cultural Affairs to formulate a recommendation on the body's most appropriate future form and location once the Ministry was fully functional later in 1991.² This perception of CCAC as essentially a service delivery body is in conflict with the broader policy aims of its terms of reference. It may be seen as evidence of the body's inability to give sufficient weight to policy issues in light of the huge demands placed on its resources by procedural considerations and, particularly, its funding role.

4.1 MINISTERIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES

Ministers of the Crown are able to seek policy advice wherever they wish and often seek this advice from persons or groups outside government. Opinions expressed in this manner will generally be analysed in accordance with departmental input. Consultancy may be formalised and a ministerial advisory committee created. These committees may also exercise delegated powers on behalf of the Minister and are subject to the same accountability mechanisms as government departments. Ministerial advisory

¹ Memo, Office of Minister of Internal Affairs to Cabinet Social Equity Committee, 28 November 1986, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/13/4.

² Letter Ainslee Witazek, Department of Internal Affairs to Taonga Maori Conference delegates, 5 August 1992, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45. In fact, the review of CCAC's operations and functions which followed was conducted by the Department of Internal Affairs and the

committees may be established under legislation or simply at the Minister's request and may be created for just one task or have a more permanent or continuing role. They may include departmental staff and may have their own staff and budget or be serviced by the relevant government department.³

CCAC was a ministerial advisory committee which was established at the request of the Minister of Internal Affairs without legislation. It included representatives of the Department of Internal Affairs as well as outside experts and was to be given long term objectives, although the Council's intended lifespan was unspecified. It was serviced by the Department of Internal Affairs and received funding from the Internal Affairs Vote and the Lottery Grants Board. It had one dedicated staff member, an Advisory Officer, who was also a staff member of the Department of Internal Affairs. Because the Department was the Council's chief means of access to the Minister, through the Advisory Officer and senior management, the importance of supportive and informed departmental staff cannot be overestimated.

By definition a ministerial advisory committee provides advice to a Minister in a specific area of specialisation. In practice, however, CCAC operated essentially as a specialist distributor of funds, particularly Lottery funds, for cultural property conservation. While the Council's terms of reference required it to advise the Minister in relevant issues, this role was underdeveloped. The ICCCP experience should have indicated that this sort of body would inevitably focus on funding at the expense of policy advisory functions. Constituting the Council as a ministerial advisory committee meant that it was vulnerable to shifting political ideologies and, as the atmosphere of stringency and cutbacks deepened in the public service in the early 1990s, the Council's functions were easily discontinued. It had no security of tenure and no independent stable budget. Constituting the Council as a ministerial advisory committee may well have been influenced by considerations of political expediency. Its failure to secure

funding of central government involvement in cultural property conservation remains largely within that body's agency.

³ Personal Correspondence, Ann Aspey, Solicitor, State Services Commission, to Kerry McCarthy, 7 July 1997.

legislative status made it even more vulnerable to dissolution in the face of shifting political priorities.

4.2 CCAC MEMBERSHIP

The membership of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council comprised a chair (nominated by the Minister of Internal Affairs), three members recommended by sector groups (one by AGMANZ, one by ARANZ and one jointly by the Maori and South Pacific Arts Council (MASPAC) and HPT), two members with appropriate technical skills and the Secretary of Internal Affairs or his or her representative as *ex officio*.⁴ The Council would take an inclusive view of cultural property conservation and seek to represent and service a wide range of cultural property interests.

Mina McKenzie was nominated as chair in July 1987. She was considered “a highly respected and experienced museum professional”⁵ and an individual who “would bring a depth of managerial experience to the position and an extensive knowledge of and sensitivity to the complex issues involved in the conservation of cultural property.”⁶ Her previous experience in professional organisations and involvement with Maori issues were seen as advantageous as was her credibility in a wide range of areas within the profession and the broader community.⁷ CCAC member Waana Davis recalls:

[S]he was a fine listener and networker, well known in both cultures. She was decisive and worked for her people. ... She had the energy to do. She was a believer in ‘true’ biculturalism and the place of Maori.

...

It is my opinion that Mina secured the position of things Maori in museums throughout Aotearoa...⁸

⁴ Memo, Office of Minister of Internal Affairs for Cabinet Social Equity Committee, 28 November 1986, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/13/4.

⁵ Ministerial Advisory Document, Secretary for Internal Affairs, 2 July 1987, p. 1, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/15/3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1 - 2.

⁸ Interview with Waana Davis, January 1998.

The ARANZ representative was Stuart Strachan whose archival management skills and senior involvement with relevant professional organisations made him the favoured nominee.⁹ He recalls:

I was down here in Dunedin at the Hocken Library and I think I was selected because I was South Island and because I had a lot of archives expertise which I think they were a bit conscious was lacking from the original formula of ICCCP. I think I was also appointed as an archivist who was really outside the government system so to speak. I wasn't identified with National archives or national Library. They avoided those kind of government/public servant appointments in the membership of the Committee.¹⁰

Te Aue Davis was the MASPAC/HPT representative. Her involvement with ICCCP and extensive knowledge of issues surrounding taonga Maori were important factors in her selection as was her involvement with both nominating organisations.¹¹ Bill Milbank was the favoured AGMANZ nominee because of his representation of fine arts and art galleries. His managerial skills, experience with touring exhibitions, interest in conservation, profile in professional organisations and involvement with Maori issues also supported his inclusion on the Council.¹²

In considering the two other positions on the Council, Internal Affairs was mindful that it was:

desirable to achieve a balance with the Council of background both professional and community, geographic spread and gender. The above nominees and Chairperson would bring to the Council experience in museums, archives and libraries and art galleries, and come from Palmerston North, Wanganui, Dunedin and Auckland. Maori concerns are well represented by Mrs McKenzie and Ms Davis.¹³

⁹ Ministerial Advisory Document, Secretary for Internal Affairs, 2 July 1987, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/15/3, p. 2.

¹⁰ Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

¹¹ Ministerial Advisory Document, Secretary for Internal Affairs, 2 July 1987, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/15/3, p. 2.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

It considered that the remaining two positions should reflect expertise in professional conservation and archaeology or anthropology.¹⁴

Jeavons Baillie was nominated as the Council member with professional conservation expertise. His background in the conservation of library collections, works of art on paper and archaeological material as well as emergency conservation treatment and planning were seen as important skills. His managerial skills, local and overseas experience and presidency of the New Zealand Professional Conservators Group (NZPCG) were also influential.¹⁵ Dr Ngahua Te Awekotuku was appointed for her anthropological expertise, sympathy with the issues of cultural conservation, curatorial experience and advocacy skills.¹⁶

Managerial experience, awareness of Maori issues and professional credibility were clearly important skills in the Council's membership. A spread was achieved among museum, art gallery, archive professions and anthropology and conservation were represented as specific disciplines. A 50:50 gender balance was achieved but only one Council member was resident in the South Island. Nevertheless, CCAC's attempt to bring together prominent members of a wide range of cultural property professions and communities to focus on strategic means of addressing common needs and concerns goes beyond simple interest group based advocacy. It is a model with potential to create an efficient and inclusive means of guiding the application and improvement of standards of care for cultural property throughout wide professional and community circles.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

4.3 CCAC TERMS OF REFERENCE, POLICY AND PROGRAMME

4.3.1 TERMS OF REFERENCE

CCAC's terms of reference echoed and extended those of ICCCP and were:

- a) To advise the Minister of Internal Affairs on future developments of cultural conservation requirements;
- b) To identify, set and promote national priorities for the conservation of our material cultural property;
- c) To decide allocations of funding made available for conservation purposes;
- d) To identify and arrange employment and training opportunities for people to carry out conservation work;
- e) To promote the future establishment of a New Zealand Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property.¹⁷

CCAC was to be an active body which would not only give policy advice but would also be instrumental in the allocation of funds for conservation purposes and in the training and employment of conservation professionals. The responsibility for arranging employment opportunities for conservation staff made explicit a role which ICCCP had been fulfilling through perceived necessity for some time. It also served significantly to amplify the operational burden for CCAC.

While CCAC was still to work towards the establishment of a permanent council for cultural property conservation, reference to the development of legislation has been removed. The constitutional structure of the permanent council is, thus, not limited to statutory enactment.

During CCAC's period of operation changes in government philosophy sought to separate policy formulation from service delivery functions. The combination of the two functions within a single agency fell out of step with current philosophy and the body proposed to replace it was a policy only council with no direct delivery component. The Council inherited ICCCP's financial responsibilities, especially in training, and this meant that 85% of its funds were committed in advance at the

beginning of the new body's first financial year. CCAC's ability to exercise discretionary power over its finances and programmes was, therefore, initially very limited.¹⁸

4.3.2 POLICY

CCAC began to develop its formal policy document at a three day retreat at Paraparaumu in 1987. A draft policy document was circulated for sector input in 1988 and comments were received from a wide range of cultural property organisations including the National Art Gallery, the Hocken Library, MASPAC, HPT and the Pleasant Point Railway and Historical Society.¹⁹ The Director of MASPAC expressed concern that yet another group was developing its own policy with no attempt by major government departments and agencies to tie these initiatives together.²⁰ While CCAC prioritised the development of policy to guide its funding activities, this statement indicates that sector interests perceived a more acute need for an overall coordinating body, policy and strategy.

CCAC's policy document sought to outline the Council's priorities and the programme proposed to meet these. It was adopted in 1989, two years after CCAC had begun to distribute funds for conservation purposes. The Policy included a statement of intent which outlined the Council's accepted role:

“Ki te kanaaki i nga Taonga tuku iho a nga tipuna hei whakamau maharatanga mo nga uri o naianei me nga uri whakaheke.

To ensure that this country's Taonga tuku iho/material cultures, Maori and others, and their essential elements are conserved as a rich legacy for present generations and those yet to come.

¹⁷ Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Kaupapa Policy Document*, p. 1.

¹⁸ Department of Internal Affairs, Ministerial Briefing Paper, 1987, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL 11/15/1.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ MASPAC Comments on draft CCAC Policy, 12 April 1988, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL 11/15/13.

To ensure that the Treaty of Waitangi is observed in regard to Taonga tuku iho.”²¹

The Council also envisaged its scope extending beyond New Zealand, intending to foster research into Pacific Island materials.²² This acknowledges both New Zealand’s close relationship with the Pacific Islands and the substantial collections of Pacific Island artefacts in museum collections in this country.

CCAC’s bicultural stance is indicated throughout the policy document and is made explicit in the statement which follows the listing of the Council’s terms of reference:

All the statements in this policy acknowledge the different perspectives of Maori and Pakeha: the two principle cultures in Aotearoa/New Zealand, and the uniqueness of taonga Maori to this country.

The Council’s bicultural policy and operations were considered on the whole successful. Waana Davis, CCAC member from 1989 until 1991, recalls that Maori Council members

were articulate, confident and competent. We had/have a vision and were able to achieve the vision. We all could ‘talk the talk’ in both cultures, in both languages.²³

Although the policy document gives no formal definition of cultural property, it is viewed in a bicultural sense being referred to throughout as taonga tuku iho/material cultural property.²⁴ Taonga tuku iho include concepts and oral traditions, language and songs, houses and natural phenomena, as well as the need to keep taonga ‘warm’ through continued association with the living culture which created them:

Taonga are much more than merely functional objects. They have hidden histories; they record significant relationships; they contain unspoken narratives, all of them. Yet on the institutional storage shelf, or behind shining gallery

²¹ Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Kaupapa Policy Document*, Op cit., p. 1.

²² Ibid., p. 3.

²³ Interview with Waana Davis, January 1998.

²⁴ Refer for example, Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Kaupapa Policy Document*, Op cit., p.1.

perspex, or imperious upon a towering plinth, are they not consciously decontextualised?²⁵

Conservation of taonga Maori will require reference to much more than their physical nature. Taonga tuku iho are taonga which possess antiquity and are especially valued for this reason. The greater the antiquity associated with a taonga the more mana and tapu it possesses.²⁶ The use of this phrase implies that the Council will be primarily involved with the cultural property of previous generations, not contemporary works.

CCAC's objectives were further defined in nine areas. It would:

1. seek to establish the current extent and condition of New Zealand's material cultural property and to assess the available and required resources for its conservation;
2. advocate appropriate conservation policies to central and local governments, appropriate Maori authorities and other organisations;
3. monitor and evaluate all the activities which affect the conservation of material cultural property;
4. make recommendations on new and existing legislation affecting the conservation of material cultural property;
5. foster widespread support for cultural conservation in the New Zealand community ranging from the general public to tohunga and cultural conservation practitioners;
6. assist the growth of conservation knowledge and understanding amongst all those responsible for the care of material cultural property;
7. recognise, affirm and to foster Maori conservation methods;
8. develop necessary cultural conservation resources by maintaining and strengthening existing programmes which had demonstrated to the Council appropriate standards of traditional and scientific practice, and by establishing new conservation programmes;
9. promote research on the conservation of New Zealand materials used in making material cultural property.²⁷

²⁵ Te Awekotuku, N. *Who Called this a Club? Issues of power, naming and provenance in Maori collections held overseas*, p. 1.

²⁶ Mead, Prof H.M. *The Nature of Taonga in Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Taonga Maori Conference*, p. 167.

²⁷ Te Awekotuku, N. *Op cit.*, p. 1.

The policy document then considers the specific areas in which the Council would operate. These were:

CONSERVATION SERVICES

While recognising the complementary nature of remedial conservation, CCAC considered that the greatest long term benefit for the country's material cultural property would derive from successful programmes of preventive conservation and resolved that this would be reflected in its distribution of funds.²⁸

The Council's basic funding principle stated that primary responsibility for payment of necessary preventive and remedial conservation costs rests with the owners or guardians of material cultural property. Every institution housing cultural property has a prime responsibility to ensure its care. This was held to imply that Government institutions with statutory responsibilities for material cultural property must provide in-house conservation for the collections in their care and advisory services for related cultural property of national significance held elsewhere. It was also seen to require other major institutions to accept the responsibility to provide for the conservation of the collections in their care by establishing in-house conservation services sufficient for their needs in preventive conservation and routine remedial treatment. Small institutions would be encouraged to accept the responsibility to make financial provision for the conservation of their collections by engaging services as required. Maori authorities would be encouraged to accept this responsibility for those taonga tuku iho they decided to preserve by engaging appropriate services or initiating conservation projects.²⁹

The Council would promote the development of a national network of conservation services to undertake work beyond the capability of individual institutions or authorities and would subsidise the cost of approved conservation projects undertaken or supervised by appropriate conservators. Its assistance in these projects would generally

²⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

be in the form of a financial subsidy based on the applicant's contributions in cash or in kind.³⁰

TRAINING

CCAC aimed to coordinate and develop cultural conservation training programmes in cooperation with communities of interest. In preventive conservation this would include hui, in-service training and formal courses for the kaitiaki of taonga Maori, for the staff of museums and related organisations and for others responsible for the care of material cultural property.³¹

CCAC would support and promote the training of:

1. Cultural conservation scientists and cultural conservation technicians;
2. Curators, registrars, kaitiaki and others responsible for the care of cultural property;
3. Institutional managers.³²

In allocating funding for this purpose it would take into consideration priorities for the conservation of different types of cultural property, the number and expertise of conservators already working in New Zealand or presently training and the number of related professionals. It would also take account of the suitability of the training proposed and of the need for up-to-date knowledge of conservation practice and theory.³³

The Council was to be involved in the training of conservation personnel across a range of cultural property related professions and at a number of different technical levels. It also envisaged taking a role in the ongoing upgrading of skills for these personnel.

RESEARCH

CCAC recognised that sound cultural conservation practice depends on a thorough understanding of the materials and processes which have contributed to the creation and condition of the cultural property. It proposed to support research on the conservation

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

of New Zealand and Pacific Island materials in order to develop techniques and materials for remedial treatments. It would also seek to ensure access to current cultural conservation literature and would identify centres where research could be undertaken.³⁴

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND ADVOCACY

In developing this policy the Council had also considered its role in public relations and advocacy.³⁵ It felt that the successful conservation of the nation's heritage could be achieved only with widespread public support and commitment. An effective public information programme was required. Although this information was needed by all New Zealanders, particular care was to be given to those charged with the care of the country's material cultural property. Throughout its career the Council became increasingly concerned with its public and client profile and took steps to improve understanding of its role and objectives.

4.3.3 PROGRAMME

In order to fulfil these policy aims CCAC allocated funds for conservation purposes under the following programmes:

CONSERVATION SURVEY SUBSIDY SCHEME

Applications were considered for a 2:1 subsidy from any institution or community group wanting to contract an appropriate conservator to undertake a conservation survey of facilities or collections. The aim of the survey was the preparation of a five year plan identifying priorities for conservation. This planning document became a prerequisite for applications for treatment and consultation subsidies so it was advantageous for organisations to undertake a survey to provide the groundwork for ongoing conservation projects.³⁶

³³ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

³⁵ Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Statements of Policy* (Draft), Department of Internal Affairs file CUL 11/15/1. p. 6.

³⁶ Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Kaupapa Policy Document*, Op cit., p. 1.

Museums, art galleries, archives, libraries, churches, iwi authorities and marae trustees were identified as suitable organisations to apply for the survey subsidy but buildings were explicitly excluded as building surveys were held to be the responsibility of the Historic Places Trust.³⁷

The planning document resulting from the survey was to be submitted to the Council and to include information on the significance of the material surveyed in the context of the organisation's whole collection, the number of each type of item surveyed, the number of items requiring treatment, priorities for treatment and an assessment of the facilities of the institution housing the collection.³⁸

CONSULTATION AND TREATMENT SUBSIDY SCHEME

This scheme was intended to enable the Council to direct funds towards national and regional priorities and to encourage organisations to plan their conservation programmes to meet clearly articulated objectives.³⁹

Consultation and Treatment subsidies would generally be made on a 1:1 basis, although the Council reserved the right to increase its input where the object was of major cultural importance, the work was urgent and the applicant unable to make adequate provision. A conservation survey or consultation was necessary before a treatment subsidy application would be considered.⁴⁰

Priority was to be given to institutionally based conservators to carry out subsidised conservation projects but work could be passed to private conservators where this was not possible or where there would be a cost/benefit advantage in doing so.⁴¹ This action seeks to support the regional laboratories and establishment positions which the Council funded under other initiatives and also probably reflects the distrust of private conservators which was prevalent at the time. Sarah Hillary commented:

³⁷ Ibid., p. 1.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 1.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 2.

I think at the time there was a certain distrust of private conservators so the public sector felt it had to oversee all areas of conservation. That has changed now. Things are more flexible and I think institutions realise that they can't provide everything. There just isn't the space or the resources.⁴²

Today levels of training and codes of professional practice are more widely standardised and accepted in New Zealand. This is, no doubt, a legacy of the work of ICCCP and CCAC and means that private conservation practices could be incorporated into future cultural property conservation strategies with confidence. A permanent conservation council could also possibly take a role in certifying conservation professionals.

PRE-TRAINING INTERNSHIPS

This scheme specified that only candidates who had completed a one year pre-training internship or its equivalent would be eligible for funding for tertiary conservation training.⁴³

All applications for pre-training internships required the written support of the host institution's Director and acceptance by a suitably qualified conservator willing to supervise the programme.⁴⁴

ESTABLISHMENT GRANTS

Under this scheme the Council was able to assist non government funded institutions to establish permanent full-time conservation positions. Salary seeding subsidies were available for conservators on a sliding scale of 75% in the first year, 50% in the second and 25% in the third; or not more than a total of 50% funding over three years. The Council would also support applications to the Department of Internal Affairs' Art Galleries and Museums Scheme for the provision of facilities for newly conservation initiatives.⁴⁵

⁴² Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

⁴³ Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Kaupapa Policy Document*, Op cit., p. 3.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 4.

OTHER SUBSIDY SCHEMES

CCAC allocated funds for a variety of additional purposes including:

Materials

Any institution or community organisation could apply for a 1:1 subsidy on conservation materials (eg acid free boxes, envelopes) which were purchased as part of a major conservation project. Applications for a subsidy on the cost of the routine purchase of conservation materials were not considered.

Equipment

Applications were considered for a 1:1 subsidy towards the cost of new equipment for conservation laboratories or for use in environmental monitoring.

Conference/Workshop/Seminar

A 1:1 subsidy was offered towards the cost of organising a conference/workshop/seminar on any aspect of preventive or remedial conservation. Appropriate areas of funding included the travel costs for a guest speaker or the hire of special equipment. Applicants were required to demonstrate that participants were contributing towards the expenses for which the subsidies were requested. Funding would not be provided under this scheme for participants' travel or accommodation costs.

Publication/Exhibition

Applications would be considered for 1:1 subsidies towards the cost of publications or exhibitions with a significant component relating to the preventive or remedial conservation of New Zealand's cultural property.

Travel

Applications were considered for a 1:1 subsidy towards the cost of travel where the purpose related to preventive or remedial conservation of cultural property or to the training of conservators.

Travel could be internal (eg to workshops) or external (eg to an international conference). The methodology learned at a workshop or the professional peer contact gained at a conference were seen as valid areas of training for all qualified

conservators. Travel subsidies could be awarded to individuals only once every three years.⁴⁶

Suspensory loans would continue to be granted to conservation trainees for formal training overseas and both pre and post-training internships were funded at New Zealand institutions in the same way as this had been done by ICCCP. Direct grants would be made in special cases only, generally for multi-disciplinary, multi institutional projects.⁴⁷

4.4 INITIAL SECTOR CONSULTATION

CCAC's first Advisory Officer was appointed in 1987 and his first action was to undertake a review of initiatives to date and a series of interviews with the heritage community designed to gauge the perception of the service delivered and expectations for the new body.

A number of problems with the Stolow Report emerged from this process. It was felt that the background research necessary to pursue Stolow's broad recommendations had never been done and therefore no strategy for the cohesive development of conservation services was articulated. The Report was seen to be more useful in some areas of cultural property than others. Archival collections, for example, were not dealt with by Stolow but would be given a higher priority by many institutions than those which were. A national network of conservation laboratories and services was held to be unsustainable in the current economic climate.⁴⁸ It was felt that ICCCP had proceeded on the basis of Stolow's broad directions without the benefit of detailed needs assessment or feasibility studies prior to commitment to specific projects such as the regional facilities.

⁴⁶ The Art Galleries and Museums Scheme was disestablished in the late 1980s. Summary of CCAC funding programmes from New Zealand Professional Conservators' Group, *New Zealand Directory of Conservators of Cultural Property*, p. 15 - 17.

⁴⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 1, 16 - 18 August 1987, p. 3 - 4.

⁴⁸ Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Report of Advisory Officer to Minister of Internal Affairs, August 1987 Department of internal Affairs file CUL 11/15/1.

ICCCP's objectives and priorities were not clearly articulated and therefore not clearly understood. Its temporary status made members reluctant to commit a future body to a long term course of action but its ad hoc development lead to projects requiring financial commitment for a number of years to come. Concerns were again expressed that the level of training being promoted was greater than New Zealand's institutions realistically could absorb.

The Advisory Officer noted that significant consultation with Maori was required to develop a policy and programme appropriate to the cultural as well as physical needs of indigenous items.

A widespread perception was evident that the chief role of ICCCP was the provision of professional interventive conservation services through the establishment of laboratories and it was hoped that CCAC would focus more on preventive conservation standards and in-service training for all staff and communities that care for heritage material.

With regard to interventive conservation it was suggested that CCAC now begin to look beyond financial support of facilities and salaries towards increased funding of specific conservation projects. If funds were to be made available on the basis of the significance of the material in question, a method would need to be developed of evaluating the national significance of regionally dispersed collections.

It was also considered necessary to re-evaluate future training initiatives, assessing specific skill needs within each broad area of cultural property (history, fine art etc) and with regard to a realistic assessment of service provision based on feasibility studies. Feasibility studies were also held to be necessary to determine the future of regional services. Advanced conservation research continued to be seen as justified for indigenous materials only, while access to results of overseas work was required in other areas.

A working party concept was promoted to collect further data and analyse needs and it was suggested that these focus on broad subject areas including Maori collections,

'historical' collections, fine art collections, archives collections and buildings. The findings of these parties could be assessed by CCAC for the development of short and long term strategies which would enhance the case for increased departmental, local body and private sector funding.

The Council's records show little evidence of strategic planning and developments continued more in the ad hoc manner of ICCCP. CCAC's inheritance of the previous body's commitments, its short life span, its constrained budget and its broad terms of reference were causal factors in this situation but the Council does not appear to have seen a need to withdraw from funding activities to develop clearly defined strategies before recommencing work on specific projects. The Council developed a policy to guide its funding programme but quickly became immersed in this function at the expense of broader policy formulation and strategic planning. The following chapter will consider the Council's meetings in detail analysing the development of its funding role in line with stated objectives.

CHAPTER FIVE

CCAC MEETINGS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLICY AND PROGRAMMES

CCAC first met in August of 1987 and a total of nineteen meetings were held before the Council's activities were frozen in August 1991. Initially the meetings lasted several days, often taking the form of focussed retreats, but by 1989 were generally completed on a single day. The meetings served both to discuss and develop the Council's policy and programmes and to consider applications for funding. The duration of the earlier meetings may reflect the greater amount of policy work done at this time. After the adoption of its formal policy statement in 1989 the Council focussed increasingly on funding allocations and this pattern continued until May 1991 when it began to review its activities and achievements against the policy document with the aim of revising programmes to meet the changing needs of cultural property conservation.

Funding applications were received by the Advisory Officer, copied along with other relevant papers and distributed for consideration by Council members before each meeting. If specialist input was required this would be sought and circulated with the application thereby delaying its consideration until all background paperwork was completed. Because of the bulk of the paperwork surrounding applications, the Advisory Officer would prepare a one page summary and recommendation for action for easy reference by Council members.¹ This person's perception and understanding of applications was therefore extremely influential on their interpretation by CCAC and the lack of conservation and often museological expertise among some of the Advisory Officers may have influenced the process. Advisory Officer recommendations were

¹ Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

discussed and vetoed by senior officials in the Arts and Heritage Section of the Department of Internal Affairs before distribution to Council members.² This allowed for senior level input but the initial assessment of applications remained the responsibility of government officials. The Advisory Officer would also take the Chairperson through the meeting agenda in advance advising her of the business to cover and explaining issues arising. The officials in this section were therefore very influential at a procedural and programme level.

5.1 GENERAL FUNDING POLICY AND ROLE

From the 1986/87 financial year cultural property conservation began to receive funding from Vote: Internal Affairs in addition to Lottery Board income. While the amounts received from both sources increased steadily from 1986 to 1990, Lottery income continued significantly to exceed that received from Vote sources.³ In this light CCAC may be seen to have acted predominantly as a specialist distribution body for Lottery funds. Peter Boag concluded that this should be recognised and the Council designated an official Lottery distribution agency in the same manner as the QEII Arts Council or the Hillary Commission.⁴ Although this argument is broadly sustainable, it ignores the nonetheless significant input from Vote: Internal Affairs which amounted to \$601,000 or almost 27% of CCAC's total income.⁵ Boag's focus on the Council's Lottery income may reveal a preconception that the Council would best be aligned with this organisation and not act in policy advice.

² Personal correspondence, David Butts to Kerry McCarthy 1998, email 20 May.

³ Department of Internal Affairs, Memorandum for Expenditure Review Committee: Review of Co-funding, 1989, p.4, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL 11/15/1.

⁴ Boag, P.W. *Op cit.*, p. 1.

⁵ CCAC's total income amounted to \$2,236,000.00, *Ibid.*, p. 10.

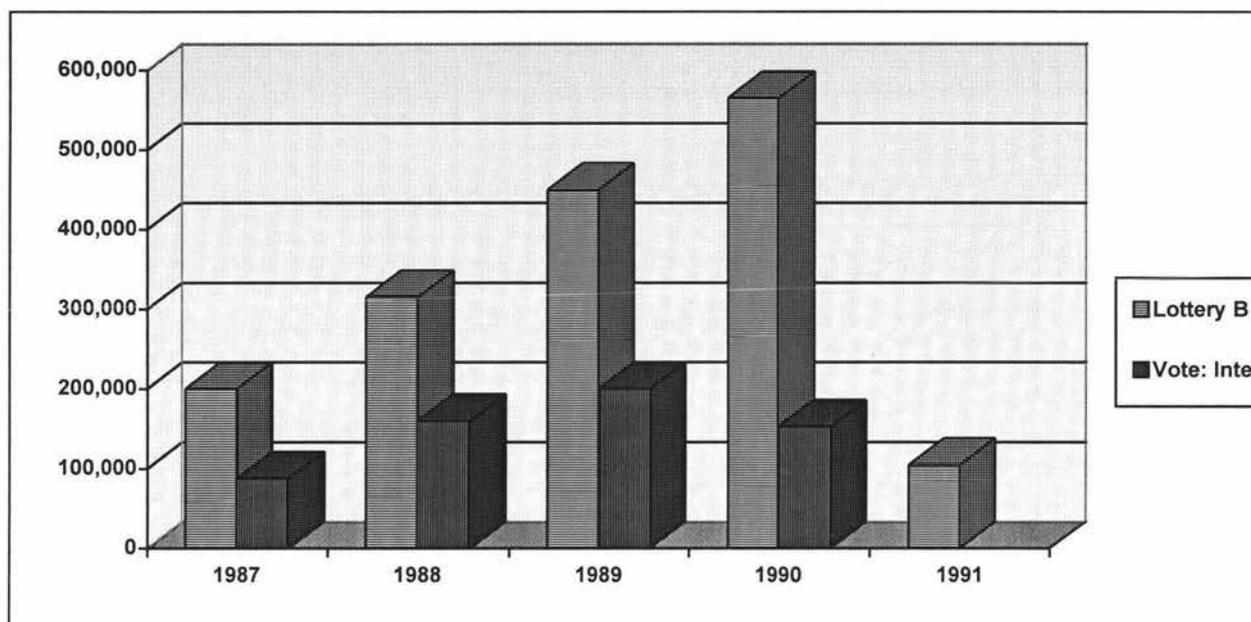


Table 1 CCAC Income from Lottery Board and Vote: Internal Affairs ⁶

CCAC began to discuss and define its policy guidelines from the first meeting. At the outset the Council confirmed that it was not bound by ICCCP and would establish its own principles and priorities.⁷ CCAC adopted a broad definition of the area in which it was to operate, holding it to encompass:

libraries, archives, museums, marae (both buildings and taonga), sites and monuments, film (sound and video), universities and research institutions, oral traditions, natural resources, works in the making, corporate collections, registered collectors, private unregistered collections, overseas collections, shipwrecks, contemporary architecture.⁸

The focus was to encompass cultural property as a natural phenomenon, as the material manifestations of human existence (both moveable and immovable), and as the traditions, ideas and knowledge which surround this material. In contrast to the policy focus on taonga tuku iho this definition gives the Council a role in contemporary cultural property and works in the making. CCAC also sought a role in the care of New Zealand's cultural property held in other countries.

⁶ Figures obtained from *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 1, 16 - 18 August 1987, p. 1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 1 - 2.

CCAC's inclusive approach to cultural property conservation is often applauded.⁹ It is also often seen as a cause of some of the Council's difficulties. Mark Lindsay, Policy Analyst at Te Papa and former Internal Affairs CCAC support staff member, commented:

CCAC spread itself way too widely. It tried to do too much and be all things for the sector. Tighter focus would have enabled clear successes to be seen and promoted. The work load became too big; the range of activities too dispersed and the focus dissipated.¹⁰

A small board with part time members, no ongoing security of tenure and support staff lacking professional conservation skills, and often even general museological training or experience, was unable to achieve all that its aims envisaged. A permanent, well resourced agency with professional staff could well have achieved more. A well established network of consultancies in combination with support staff aware of the nature of the tasks and issues facing those caring for cultural property throughout New Zealand is necessary to obtain a meaningful understanding of the nature of the country's cultural property collections and their conservation needs. Such understanding is an essential prerequisite for the successful delivery of targeted programmes of conservation assistance.

At the outset four main functions and priority areas were identified for the Council.¹¹

1. It would work to develop an understanding of the current state of New Zealand's material cultural property. Initially, this would require identification of the extent of this material, then an assessment of its condition. The Council would also assess the resources needed to achieve this and to balance this with the resources available.
2. CCAC would seek to monitor and evaluate the activities of central and local governments and private agencies with regard to heritage conservation. It would make recommendations on new and existing legislation and advocate appropriate policies to agencies and institutions.

⁹ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997, Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

¹⁰ Interview with Mark Lindsay, November 1997.

¹¹ These were refined and expanded to nine objectives in the Council's *Kaupapa Policy Statement*.

3. The Council would develop appropriate resources according to the needs identified. To do this it would both strengthen and enhance existing resources and create new resources where these were most needed.
4. It would create a supportive climate amongst the public and amongst tohunga and heritage professionals.¹²

The first of these objectives was to be achieved by the Advisory Officer's review which is discussed above. While this gave an overview of sectoral attitudes and conservation needs, the exercise did not identify the nature and extent of cultural property collections in any detail. A thorough analysis of this issue and consequent conservation requirements would be a significant project in itself and one which might require the development of a national database of cultural property. The need for such a database was stressed at CCAC's first meeting¹³ but no further steps were taken. New Zealand still lacks a national register of cultural property collections but this would be an invaluable tool in planning a strategic approach to the ongoing care of significant cultural property.¹⁴

The Council sought to address the third and fourth objectives through its funding programmes which were based on the findings of the Advisory Officer's review, sector knowledge from Council members and models established by the Interim Committee.¹⁵ The second objective was to prove more difficult to pursue as CCAC found itself increasingly cast in the role of funder. The Council had no significant input into the development of legislation and regional monitoring was carried out at the level of individual institutions rather than local governments.

While CCAC would not become involved in funding conservation projects for major central government bodies, it would have an advocacy role in all issues relating to the conservation of cultural property.¹⁶ As a short term measure, and to allow decisions to

¹²Minutes, CCAC Meeting 1, 16 - 18 August 1987, p. 3.

¹³ Ibid., p. 2 - 3.

¹⁴ See Chapter 8 for a discussion of initiatives aimed at establishing a national register of cultural property in Australia.

¹⁵ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 1, 16 - 18 August 1987, p. 3.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 4.

be made, Stolow's priorities were adopted by CCAC while the Council worked to develop and formalise its own.¹⁷

The Council's need (or desire) to approve new funding applications from the outset is fundamental to its adoption of Stolow's recommendations which by this time were already seven years old. If the Council had been able to withdraw from funding for a period to allow a thorough review of ICCCP's achievements and the current state of cultural property conservation, a more strategic and relevant funding programme could perhaps have been achieved. The Council was, however, working in an area which traditionally lacked resources and the opportunity to apply funds to areas of need was difficult to resist. Stuart Strachan attributed much of CCAC's inability to fulfil its policy advisory role to this need to distribute funds and to foster projects with tangible results for institutions:

[W]e felt it would be criminal not to use the money that was given to us, not to get it out to the various institutions and perform various programmes ... so we were always rather conscious that the advisory role to the Minister was not fulfilled.¹⁸

Jane Kominik, Policy Analyst and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and former Internal Affairs representative on CCAC, commented that the Council's advocacy role within the community and the profession was underdeveloped and that it was more comfortable with its funding role than its policy advisory responsibilities.¹⁹ Government's separation of policy and delivery functions is also complex. Mark Lindsay noted:

[T]he resolution of a policy recommendation usually needs money, and there was no other source from which the ideas could have been implemented. The model of separating policy and delivery is theoretical and often blurred in practice (eg Ministry of Cultural Affairs) and not necessarily practical.²⁰

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 2 - 3 .

¹⁸ Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

¹⁹ Interview with Jane Kominik, December 1997.

²⁰ Interview with Mark Lindsay, November 1997.

Stuart Strachan recalls that the policy advisory role presented some difficulties:

It was always rather difficult to make good an advisory role because there tended to be strong filtration through the Secretary for Internal Affairs and a lot depended on the interest of the Minister. Highett was interested. Tapsell had a kind of an interest, Bassett wasn't really interested in this area and neither was Lee. He didn't have a position in cabinet. In effect, we got our budget and really there were very few practical linkages to the Minister. We set to to devise policies and we put programmes in place.²¹

Council members clearly felt distanced from the political decision makers and operating in this way were content to fall into a funding role with the aim of providing the strongest tangible results for the sector. Strachan's comments also indicate the extent to which the Department could control the Council's ability to act. The importance of supportive senior officials and politicians is made clear. The difficulties with the Council's advocacy role may have been influenced by the nature of the Chairperson's role. Had she been funded to travel more extensively and to spend more time working with key personnel in Wellington a greater profile could have been created for the Council and more successful means of communication between all interested parties might have been achieved.

While CCAC was not successful in its policy advisory role it did make significant advances in defining its own operational and funding policies. Stuart Strachan recalls:

[W]hat CCAC did was made policy and then had the funds to do something about it. It developed programmes which were policy making and set the priorities in training and other areas. ... So, in fact, it made policy. The minister didn't make policy in this area. ... This was the amazing thing about it. We made policy and then put funds into the areas where we thought they would be most appropriate. We were largely left alone to get on with it. There was a nominal role for the minister, presenting large cheques or very occasionally coming to a lunch.²²

Again, the Council's sense of independence from its administering department is emphasised as is its lack of involvement in broader policy development.

²¹ Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

²² Ibid.

In 1988 the Council sought authority for the Chair to approve grants up to \$2,000 between meetings and without the Minister's approval where there was an urgent need.²³ This Chairperson's Discretionary Fund was not formalised until 1991 when it was decided that such allocations would require the approval of the Chair and one other Council member as well as a representative of the Department of Internal Affairs. The allocation of funds would be ratified formally at the next meeting.²⁴ This action may be seen as a response to unavoidable delays between the lodging of applications, their approval at quarterly Council meetings and the disbursement of funds to clients. Where conservation emergencies were involved it was necessary to get assistance to institutions as quickly as possible and the Discretionary Fund could circumvent the lengthy application process.

In July 1987 the Council met with Moananui a Kiwa to discuss the conservation of taonga Maori. It was accepted that information about the extent of collections and their needs was required before conservation work could begin. Maui Pomare felt that conservation was the single most important issue to surround all taonga. He gave the example of United States conservation units which he saw to be the means by which institutions convinced decision makers that they were the right places to care for artefacts and to stage major touring shows. A well resourced conservation unit indicated that an institution had the wherewithal to care for collections. The meeting also concluded that conservation required a separate government Vote.²⁵ The Report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, presented to the New Zealand government in 1996, also advocates for a separate Vote and Ministry for heritage conservation.²⁶

During 1988 CCAC turned its attention increasingly to the conservation of Maori and Pacific Island material. In October of that year, a policy hui was held with MASPAC and HPT and it was hoped that this would become an annual event.²⁷ The main topic of

²³ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 5, 7 July 1988, p. 2.

²⁴ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 22.

²⁵ Minutes, Meeting CCAC/Moananui a Kiwa, 29 July 1987, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/15/13.

²⁶ The Report is discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

²⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 8, 28 - 29 November 1988, p. 3.

the hui was the training of personnel in the conservation of indigenous and Pacific materials and in traditional preservation techniques and issues. It was decided that the three groups should work together to introduce a Maori dimension to scientific conservation training in New Zealand. The meeting also concluded that attendees would seek to identify appropriate candidates for such training and to assess the number of conservators required for taonga Maori and the best means of providing them with the necessary skills.²⁸ In this action the Council was seeking to form ongoing partnerships with related bodies and to draw on common interests and resources to develop a skill base with broad interdisciplinary application. It was also seeking to address the specific needs of New Zealand's indigenous cultural property.

Throughout its period of operation the Council continued to refine its funding role and priorities in light of applications received. Grants were made for an increasingly diverse range of activities. The Te Awamutu District Museum applied for an equipment subsidy to purchase a thermohydrograph. Instead of providing the funds, CCAC gave the Museum a thermohydrograph which it already owned.²⁹ Allocation of funds was clearly not the only means by which the Council sought to support conservation initiatives.

The policy of not funding bodies with statutory responsibilities for cultural property conservation was confirmed when the Historic Places Trust lodged an application for funding assistance in 1988. This was refused "on the basis that this Advisory Council does not subsidise statutory bodies with a prime responsibility for the conservation of their collections."³⁰ The Council did not feel that the nature of the material in question was the pivotal issue (ie whether it was movable or immovable cultural property) but considered that it should not further subsidise the statutory responsibilities of organisations which receive central government income for conservation purposes within their operating budgets. CCAC's emphasis was more regional and strove to reflect the relative significance of the items and collections in question. This statement of policy from a ministerial advisory committee could also be used by the Historic

²⁸ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 20.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

³⁰ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 8, 28 - 29 November 1988, p. 7.

Places Trust to support a case for increased funding from its Minister and indicates an attempt by the Council to engage in larger policy issues within the government sector.

However, the Historic Places Trust continued to seek funding from CCAC and in 1989 the Trust considered targeting a percentage of its subscription income, ie income derived from private sources, towards conservation treatments. The Council felt it would be able to subsidise conservation projects funded from this source as the subsidy would be against private rather than public income.³¹ This is an innovative interpretation of the Council's funding policy and one which served to inject CCAC funds into the care of a large collection of cultural property which would otherwise be outside its area of operation.³² It also indicates the Council's willingness to be involved in the conservation of built heritage as well as moveable cultural property.

Other applications refused by CCAC give further insight into the development of its funding role. An application to subsidise the cost of installation of an air conditioning system was refused by CCAC because this was seen to be part of the structure of the building and therefore beyond the Council's funding scope. The applicant was referred instead to the Lottery Board.³³ Funds for the treatment of two wooden artefacts held by a regional museum were also refused on the grounds that these items were covered by the Antiquities Act 1975 and therefore property of the Crown. CCAC considered that the Crown must be responsible for their conservation and advised the applicant to investigate funding through the Department of Internal Affairs.³⁴ This interpretation is in line with the notion that government has a responsibility for the conservation of all material covered by the Antiquities Act whether or not it is held in a central government heritage organisation.³⁵

In 1990 an application was received from a conservator in private practice who wished to establish a book conservation laboratory. The Council felt that it could not support this project for operating and establishment costs but would be willing to subsidise

³¹ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 11, 31 July 1989, p. 9.

³² Funds were allocated under this interpretation at Meeting 15, 14 August 1990.

³³ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 10, 9 May 1989, p. 14.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

client institutions.³⁶ While not wishing to support private business initiatives or the conservation of privately owned cultural material, this decision reflects the Council's desire to facilitate access for publicly held cultural property to the widest possible range of conservation services. An application received that year for treatment of paintings for exhibition was also refused. The Council considered that its programme should be driven by the conservation needs of the material in question, not by exhibition requirements.³⁷

Massey University applied for funds to contribute to the cost of establishing a conservation book collection for students in the Museum Studies Diploma. This was initially rejected on the grounds that the collection would duplicate resources already available at the National Museum Library.³⁸ The decision was reversed on appeal, however, because it was considered unrealistic for students to seek access to the material through a Library which was not set up for this function.³⁹ The flexibility of the Council's funding programme is illustrated in this example as is its openness to reasoned appeal from informed applicants.

A new funding subsidy was introduced in 1990. This Facilities Subsidy would assist community organisations in the purchase of new storage systems. The subsidy would be provided on a 1:1 basis up to a total cost of \$30,000. Applications for larger sums would be referred directly to the Lottery Board Community Facilities Committee. Applications would be considered annually and preference would be given to organisations where a conservation survey had indicated a need for new facilities.⁴⁰

The Council had some difficulty in determining how far the Subsidy would apply to the fitout of storage areas and concluded:

[O]nly applications for special storage and UV window film would be considered under the facilities subsidy, all other facilities applications are outside the scope of

³⁵ See also Chapter 2.1.2.

³⁶ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 13, 20 February 1990, p. 8 - 9.

³⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 15, 14 August 1990, p. 9.

³⁸ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 11, 31 July 1989, p. 14.

³⁹ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 12, 3 November 1989, p. 5.

⁴⁰ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 20.

the Advisory Council's policy and would be more appropriately considered by the Lottery Community Facilities Scheme.⁴¹

This policy, no doubt, reflects the relatively high cost of such projects which would be a significant drain on the Council's limited budget.

In the examples above the Council was exploring and redefining its funding role and seeking to set parameters, as well as testing out the responsibilities which other government bodies were willing to accept for cultural property conservation. CCAC was willing to be pragmatic and to extend and focus its funding activities on the basis of applications received, accepted policy and priorities and the differing needs of varied institutions and collections.

The decision was made late in 1989 that the Advisory Officer should function as a liaison officer, being a point of contact between the Council, its clients and the wider community and acting as an information disseminator and adviser to clients.⁴² In fact, meeting preparation and other administrative duties left little time for the Advisory Officer to take a proactive role in information dissemination. While the Advisory Officer was a successful contact and information point for applicants and those already aware of CCAC and its activities, the position lacked the departmental seniority and budget to initiate programmes. Further, the position was held by three different people during the Council's four years of operation. Given this high staff turnaround the time required for new Officers to familiarise themselves with the complex activities and programmes of the Council also limited their ability to take new initiatives.

Stuart Strachan recalls that the early Advisory Officers played an important role in ensuring that the Council and its aims were understood and supported by the Minister:

To begin with the Advisory Officers were very influential, but as they came and went people like me who had been there a while became more powerful because we just knew more than they did - we knew the system by then.⁴³

⁴¹ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 12, 3 November 1989, p. 6.

⁴² Minutes, CCAC Meeting 12, 3 November 1989, p. 14.

⁴³ Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

Although Council members became well acquainted with the demands and processes of the Department, they could not replace the influence of full time staff working directly within the government structure. Mark Lindsay commented:

No Ministers were prepared to fight in cabinet for something they couldn't see the value of.

...

A department can certainly undermine an agency it doesn't support. The mechanisms of departmental advice to Ministers are complicated, but suffice it to say that Ministers vary in the extent to which they accept advice given to them. Some lead, others follow.⁴⁴

Although there is no evidence that departmental staff sought to undermine the Council's operations, a degree of distancing from those in positions of authority is likely given the relatively low level of the Advisory Officer position and the high number of staff changes.

Another issue was that the Advisory Officer position was held by public service personnel or, in one case, an individual with general museological skills. No conservation professionals were employed to oversee the Council's work. Lyndsay Knowles commented:

[T]he most frustrating thing was the lack of a knowledgeable and sufficiently staffed secretariat to undertake the day to day affairs and implement Council initiatives. The notion that some level of formal conservation knowledge wasn't necessary to the efficient running of the Council affairs was, I thought, short sighted and counterproductive. Although it is important that the bureaucracy doesn't become overly expensive it is equally important that it is efficient and effective. I think the lack of a formal (legislative) structure contributed to this as did the fact that for most of the time I was on the Council it came under a part of Internal Affairs which had no connection with this area and whose management wasn't really interested. I think the staff ... did their very best but in many respects their hands were tied.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Interview with Mark Lindsay, November 1997.

⁴⁵ Interview with Lyndsay Knowles, December 1997.

The Advisory Officers were generally civil servants. They could not advise with expertise on specific conservation issues and most were not closely linked with the Council's client sector. Thus, they and the Council they administered were to varying degrees distanced from senior departmental officials, the conservation profession and the museum sector.

At its meeting of May 1991, the Council reviewed its activities in line with the policy document. Members felt that CCAC had taken significant steps towards understanding the current state of the nation's cultural property in terms of identifying its extent and condition but felt that a Conservation Programme Development Officer needed to be appointed before it could move on to assessing the available resources and those still required.⁴⁶ This was to be a fixed contract position funded from CCAC funds, not a Departmental appointment. The position was never formalised, however, and no appointment was made.⁴⁷

The Council's future membership was also discussed at this time, particularly the efficacy of having one member representing both the Maori and South Pacific Arts Council and the Historic Places Trust. It was felt that these organisations warranted separate representation on the Council, although representation of the Historic Places Trust at all was questioned since it was also a client of CCAC. Members felt that a professional conservator should always be present on the Council but that this person should not be a nominee of the New Zealand Professional Conservators' Group again because of the potential conflict of interest as the Group was also a CCAC client.⁴⁸ This decision is valid but ignores the fact that many of the institutions within which existing Council members worked were also CCAC clients.⁴⁹

The Department of Internal Affairs informed CCAC at this meeting that a management audit was to be mounted to determine how the Department could best provide services

⁴⁶ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 18, 3 May 1991, p. 3.

⁴⁷ Personal correspondence, David Butts to Kerry McCarthy, 10 May 1998.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴⁹ For example, Stuart Strachan was the Hocken Librarian, Bill Milbank Director of the Sarjeant Gallery and Mina McKenzie (Chairperson) Director of the Manawatu Museum. These officers simply declared a conflict of interest when applications from their institutions were considered and left the meeting. A similar approach could be taken by HPT or NZPCG representatives. See for example Minutes, CCAC Meeting 8, 28-29 November 1988, p. 7.

to the Council. It was advised that the Council could expect a decrease in its funding from the Internal Affairs Vote but that an adjustment upwards would be made accordingly in Lottery income.⁵⁰ This was, however, the last meeting at which CCAC was able to approve new project funding applications.

5.2 CONSERVATION SERVICES

In 1988 CCAC determined that it would focus in four areas for the delivery of conservation services:

1. It would encourage and assist in the development of a National Museum Conservation Service to monitor collections and provide advice for institutions throughout New Zealand.
2. It would encourage institutions to establish conservation positions. To this end it was seen to be necessary to identify institutions with the need and capacity to sustain a conservator for their own collections.
3. It would investigate the need for regional services and assist in their establishment where a feasibility study indicated that institutions could sustain the service. This may be seen as a reaction to some of the difficulties experienced by ICCCP in seeking to make the regional laboratories self funding. The Committee had not completed feasibility studies before establishing these services and the Council now sought to ensure that more thorough research and planning was carried out before embarking on any new initiatives in this area.
4. It would seek to establish the best and most appropriate means of delivering conservation services for taonga Maori.⁵¹

Although discussions were held with the National Museum in 1989,⁵² a successful rationalisation of the work of the two groups was not achieved. Te Papa remains unwilling to adopt a monitoring or advisory role for conservation issues and a National Museum Conservation Service has not been established.

⁵⁰ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 18, 3 May 1991, p. 7 - 8.

⁵¹ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 1, 16 - 18 August 1987, p. 10 - 11.

⁵² Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 12.

Steps were taken towards the achievement of the fourth objective, largely through targeted training for Maori in contemporary and traditional conservation techniques and issues, and through general awareness raising projects such as the Taonga Maori Conference. The objective was one to which the Council gave increasing attention during its period of operation and which would surely have been addressed to a greater extent had such a body continued.

CCAC did not establish any new regional laboratories or undertake extensive feasibility research but did devote a good deal of thought and time to streamlining the operation of the existing regional services with the chief aim of achieving their financial independence. To this end the Council resolved to move towards subsidising specific treatment projects rather than blanket funding of regional services and determined that the National Textile Conservator position was unsustainable, giving one year's notice of its intention to withdraw funding. It also considered relocating the National Archaeological Laboratory to a museum⁵³ and felt that it should seek to target 25% of the salary subsidy for this position to preventive conservation.⁵⁴

It was clear early in 1988 that the Northern Regional Conservation Service would experience a shortfall of income over expenditure in the current financial year. The Service's clients could not sustain the current level of activity and the Auckland City Art Gallery and Auckland City Council were unwilling to make up the shortfall. The idea of a combination of work on publicly owned material and private work as a means of income generation was discussed although it was felt that clear guidelines would be necessary if this option was to be explored.⁵⁵ CCAC resolved to make a further direct operations grant to the NRCS, up to a stipulated maximum and as an interim measure. The Council would still seek to focus on project subsidisation and would allocate a percentage of funds for preventive conservation.⁵⁶ From 1989 no operations grant would

⁵³ This never happened, however.

⁵⁴ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 2, 9 - 10 October 1987, p. 12 - 13.

⁵⁵ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 3, 11- 12 February 1988, p. 3.

⁵⁶ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 3, 11- 12 February 1988, p. 2 - 3.

be made. Instead clients would be subsidised for conservation projects and this subsidy would indirectly support the Laboratory's operations.⁵⁷

This change in funding policy resulted in a sharp increase in the charges made to clients as the Service strove to recover operating costs through work completed. Where projects were funded by CCAC this increased cost was met in funding subsidies but not all of the Service's public clients were eligible for CCAC grants. Early in 1991 the Council received a letter from the Historic Places Trust expressing concern at the Northern Regional Conservation Service having doubled its charge on the basis that its clients were subsidised by CCAC. The Trust could not claim a subsidy against subscriptions for NRCS treatment work and was facing a greatly increased cost for conservation services. The Council felt, however, that it was still unable to provide funds to this organisation.⁵⁸

Despite the increased charge, the Northern Regional Conservation Service continued to experience difficulty in moving towards funding autonomy and applied to CCAC for one third of its 1989/90 operating budget on the grounds that "[t]here may not be enough institutions able to take advantage of the service." The Council accepted that ongoing operations funding was essential to the immediate continuance of the Service and granted it \$20,000 plus \$5,000 at the end of the year if this was necessary, noting also that its staff would still be eligible for other CCAC funding such as travel subsidies.⁵⁹ In order to address the income shortfall from project funding the Council advocated that the Service's role be actively promoted and explained to potential client institutions.⁶⁰ The Northern Regional Conservator also felt that there was need for much greater publicity of the Council's programmes and noted that only one request for a conservation survey had been received since the imposition of the new funding policy.⁶¹

⁵⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 5, 7 July 1988, p. 4.

⁵⁸ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 22.

⁵⁹ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 6.

⁶⁰ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 20.

⁶¹ Letter, Northern Regional Conservator to CCAC, 13 October 1989, Background material for CCAC Meeting 12.

By the middle of 1989 the Auckland City Council had accepted responsibility for any shortfall in income in the operation of the Northern Regional Conservation Service. CCAC support would be reduced to treatment subsidies to clients. The Council was pleased at this outcome as it wanted to move away from subsidising salaries and also because the move was seen to signal the maturing of the Northern Regional Conservation Service.⁶²

Problems continued to be experienced by the NRCS in seeking to apply the Council's project subsidy policy, however. The Northern Regional Conservator stated:

[T]he present subsidy scheme is still not clearly understood by a high proportion of our clients, which has resulted in a corresponding fall off in work submitted to the studio for assessment.... It appears that there is also fairly widespread confusion about who is eligible to receive subsidies, and how to go about applying for financial assistance.⁶³

Sarah Hillary recalls:

I think a lot of people didn't understand what had happened. The new scheme generated a lot more paperwork for CCAC and gave them much more control over what we could do. In effect, they became the gatekeepers. It did make them much more accountable to their funders but it also increased the workload for the department and for institutions seeking funding. I think people often just couldn't be bothered with all the paperwork that was involved in applying to the Council. There was also generally quite a long delay between applying and being able to carry out the work. Previously we were given a lump sum and accounted to the Council at the end of the year for the use we had made of it. That was quite a bit simpler.⁶⁴

As the Council strove to create a paper trail to meet the needs of its administrators it also created an increasing burden for under resourced institutions seeking funding assistance. Although better resourced organisations in the major cities were the most frequent recipients of CCAC funding throughout its period of operation, the scheme did

⁶²Minutes, CCAC Meeting 11, 31 July 1989, p. 11 - 12.

⁶³Minutes, CCAC Meeting 11, 31 July 1989, p. 11 - 12.

⁶⁴ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

have potential to get much needed assistance to the regions. In increasing the paperwork CCAC also increased the barriers to access for these organisations.

The need to become financially self sufficient is also at odds with the philosophy of providing a regional service. The NRCS became less able to provide training, surveys and advice for small museums and the museums became less able to deal with the logistical requirements of the Council's application process. Thus, the Northern Regional Conservation Service (and therefore the Council itself) became distanced from the reality of its client base and increasingly focussed on securing its own survival.

Similar income generation problems were experienced by the Archaeological Laboratory and in 1988 the Council resolved to fund its operating expenses for six months in order to allow negotiations for long term funding and administration to take place.⁶⁵ The issue was next discussed early in 1989 and the Council accepted that continued operational funding would be necessary if the Laboratory's services were to continue. An operating expenses grant was made for the next twelve months, extending the six month allocations which had been made previously. It was suggested that the Conservator be approached to undertake further training to increase the scope of the Laboratory's expertise and, therefore, its potential client base.⁶⁶ While seeking to promote the service, the Council was not demanding that it achieve financial self sufficiency in the same manner as the NRCS.

An offer of appointment had been made to an English Conservator to staff the proposed Southern Regional Conservation Service at Dunedin Public Art Gallery but no response had been received. The Conservator was informed that, if he did not take up his duties by the end of March 1988, the funding would no longer be available. CCAC felt it had no commitment to funding this position after the initial three year period and, if the position was not filled at this time, it would review the whole project questioning particularly whether a works on paper or a paintings conservator was of higher priority.⁶⁷ No reply was received to this proposal and the Council agreed in principle to

⁶⁵ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 3, 11- 12 February 1988, p. 4.

⁶⁶ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 10.

⁶⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 3, 11- 12 February 1988, p. 5.

establish a paper conservation position at the Dunedin Public Art Gallery.⁶⁸ In this action CCAC was taking a broad, sectoral view and seeking to target conservation positions to the areas of greatest need. There is, however, no evidence of detailed strategic or feasibility research behind the decision to establish this service.

In May 1989 the Council recommended Ministerial approval of a grant for the costs of the first year of this new position. Previously the Minister of Internal Affairs had refused the grant on the grounds that the Dunedin City Council still had a considerable debt outstanding from the costs of staging the Te Maori exhibition. The debt had since been cleared and the recommendation was now accepted.⁶⁹ This incident is evidence of the Minister's ability to control a Ministerial Advisory Committee and also of how the Council's objectives could be influenced by extraneous factors beyond its control.

Changing employment legislation also caused the Council to question its salary seeding subsidy. It expressed concern about the general move towards contract positions, often with a fixed term, which had resulted from the Employment Contracts Act 1990. The salary seeding subsidy, whose objective was the establishment of a permanent conservation position, did not meet with this trend and the Council felt that a review was required.⁷⁰ The review was never undertaken, however, and the seeding subsidy remained Council policy.

While ICCCP was required to advise the Minister on training opportunities, CCAC's responsibility was significantly extended in that this body was to "identify and arrange employment and training opportunities for people to carry out conservation work"⁷¹ CCAC discharged its employment responsibility largely through seeking to subsidise the creation of conservation positions. These projects placed a significant ongoing burden on the Council's resources and their promotion involved considerable effort which was not well rewarded by the few new conservation positions actually established. The number of positions secured within the Council's limited period of

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

⁶⁹ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 10, 9 May 1989, p. 9.

⁷⁰ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 16, 1 November 1990, p. 3.

⁷¹ CCCAC terms of reference, clause d)

operation is not the only means of judging the success of these training initiatives however. The increased level of conservation skills among New Zealanders creates the potential for improved care of cultural property throughout the community and over a considerable period of time. An analysis of the contribution of CCAC sponsored conservation graduates to the care of New Zealand's cultural property could well reveal significant ongoing return from this investment beyond the chronological limitations of the Council and beyond its immediate sphere of operation.

As an initial step the Council wrote to a wide range of suitable organisations to inform them that trained conservators would be returning to New Zealand in the near future as well as pointing out the need for professional conservation of their collections.⁷² It then began to target specific institutions which might be able to sustain a conservation position in the long term. Canterbury Museum was identified as a suitable venue and a proposal was tabled in 1988 to fund a conservation survey for the institution's collections as an incentive.⁷³ The establishment of this position and the paper conservation position at Dunedin Public Art Gallery were the Council's priorities for resolution in 1989.⁷⁴ After considerable input from CCAC, Canterbury Museum did commit to the establishment of a conservation position and laboratory. The position was filled in 1995 (four years after the Council's operations ceased) by a senior conservator from the United States. While the Council was ultimately successful in establishing the position, it was not one suitable for a recent graduate and required expertise which Canterbury Museum was only able to find overseas. Recent graduates are least able to negotiate the difficult transition period when institutions seek to introduce professional conservation standards. The problem of finding employment for CCAC sponsored conservation graduates was not alleviated by these efforts.

In 1990 Auckland City Art Gallery advertised an Assistant Conservator position. CCAC had not been involved in the development of this position but felt that it could provide a salary seeding subsidy if the appointee were a CCAC sponsored graduate.⁷⁵ In

⁷² Minutes, CCAC Meeting 1, 16 - 18 August 1987, p. 7.

⁷³ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 8, 28 - 29 November 1988, p. 4 - 5.

⁷⁴ Meeting 9 Ibid., p. 20.

⁷⁵ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 13, 20 February 1990, p. 12.

this action the Council was seeking to influence an outside conservation initiative to achieve the greatest mutual benefit for all parties. Although the Auckland City Art Gallery may have required staff with greater or different expertise than that available among the CCAC sponsored graduates, the opportunity was created for the Gallery to receive financial assistance, on the Council's terms.

CCAC's failure to create sufficient conservation positions to absorb its graduate output is widely considered one of the Council's greatest failings.⁷⁶ Jane Kominik feels that this may be linked to CCAC's underdeveloped advocacy role. Many museums continued to feel that conservation was not a significant priority. The demand to establish new conservation positions and improved conservation standards also placed an additional burden on generally strained operating budgets⁷⁷ and may have been an unreasonable expectation for all but the larger museums.

In considering possible solutions to this problem Sarah Hillary commented:

[I]nstead of thinking in terms of creating permanent positions in institutions perhaps we need to be thinking of establishing conservators in private practices and bringing them in on short contracts for work in public institutions. It is very expensive to set up a conservation laboratory and I think that puts a lot of organisations off. If funds were provided for existing labs to extend their activities, personnel could be brought in on fixed contracts for specific projects and then return to work in the private sector. This is certainly becoming the case overseas and I don't think that we can expect things to be different here.⁷⁸

The regional conservation scheme was also considered overambitious.⁷⁹ The Northern Regional Conservation Service is its one success story but that success was not easily won. Sarah Hillary recalls that private clients were vital to achieving financial self sufficiency although public collections remained the highest priority.⁸⁰ During the

⁷⁶ Interview with Sarah Hillary November 1997, Interview with Jane Kominik, December 1997, Interview with Lyndsay Knowles, December 1997, Interview with Jocelyn Cumming, March 1998.

⁷⁷ Interview with Jane Kominik, December 1997.

⁷⁸ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

⁷⁹ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997, Interview with Mark Lindsay, November 1997.

⁸⁰ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

early years with annual allocations of lump sum funding, Sarah Hillary felt that the Service was free to develop the programmes and services that it considered important. This meant that it was able to provide training programmes and to undertake research but as cost recovery became imperative, income generating treatment work left little time for other programmes.

Treatment work has dominated our activities because of the need to generate income. The other activities are very important and need some sort of subsidy.

...

[In the early years] we were able to do surveys and training in preventive conservation but that meant we weren't able to devote a lot of time to treatments and therefore we weren't generating a lot of income. Now we are very financially focused. We have to charge for visits to regional institutions, for example, and they can't afford it so they don't ask. I think our advisory training role was very important and we can't do that without some kind of subsidy.⁸¹

Mark Lindsay commented that the regional services were not properly commercially oriented at the outset and that if they were, this would defeat their purpose of providing a service to the museum sector.⁸² The Northern Regional Conservation Service's experience of being unable to continue training and advisory roles while focussing on cost recovery activities highlights this problem. Mark Lindsay also commented that they were very expensive and that the funds injected by CCAC were of particular benefit to the host institution, the Auckland City Art Gallery.⁸³

A comparison of the Council's activities discussed above with its 1988 objectives for service delivery reveals that CCAC was largely unable to meet its targets. Most of CCAC's resources were focussed on refining projects already begun under ICCCP and on reactive funding of project applications placed before it. The issue of a National Conservator at the Museum of New Zealand had not been addressed, no detailed feasibility studies had been undertaken for the delivery of regional services and few new conservation positions had been established. The notable exception is indigenous

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Interview with Mark Lindsay, November 1997.

⁸³ Ibid.

conservation where significant developments had been made in targeting training and skills development and in general awareness raising.

5.3 TRAINING AND CONFERENCES

CCAC's training policy was adopted at its second meeting and stated that the Council would support a variety of training for a variety of staff and others associated with the care of cultural property. Particular emphasis would be placed on improving the skills of those charged with the day to day care and handling of cultural material.

Training would be seen in a bicultural light and would seek to encompass different cultural perspectives. At a meeting held between CCAC and Moananui a Kiwa Weavers in July 1987, it was advocated that conservation training for Maori should include traditional conservation skills. The programme at Canberra could provide half of the training for Maori conservators but the rest should happen in New Zealand. Experience in overseas institutions with taonga Maori would also be advantageous.⁸⁴ CCAC's post-training internship scheme was used to provide marae based training for two Maori graduates from Canberra, under the guidance of the Historic Places Trust,⁸⁵ but no similar projects were achieved at overseas institutions.

Professional conservators would be supported through internships, formal training and in service and continuing programmes. Technicians would be encouraged to undertake in service training. Formal training for kaitiaki, instructors and registrars would include a preventive conservation module, and ongoing in service programmes would also be fostered. For management personnel in service and continuing education programmes would be encouraged, particularly in preventive conservation and the means of developing and incorporating a conservation policy into an organisation's operational plan.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Minutes, Meeting CCAC/Moananui a Kiwa, 29 July 1987, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/15/13.

⁸⁵ Minutes, Meeting CCAC/Te Papa/HPT/MASPAC/Massey University, 29 May 1990, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

Ensuring ongoing contact and communication with students at Canberra was a concern for the Council and it required that they lodge six monthly reports. These reports were seldom received.⁸⁷ The Council considered the idea of splitting annual funding into two six month grants, requiring that a report be lodged before the second instalment was paid. This idea was rejected, however, as the students needed the largest proportion of the grant at the beginning of the year to cover fees, book costs etc. It was decided that it would be beneficial if students met the Council members before leaving for Canberra. This was intended to overcome the sense of anonymity and detachment which had been expressed and to promote an affiliation with the Council.⁸⁸ The Chairperson and Advisory Officer also visited Canberra in 1990 to meet with students and the course controller.⁸⁹

Late in 1989 several Canberra students provided feedback to the Council on the Canberra course. They expressed concerns about its organisation and asked that CCAC communicate this to the Canberra College of Advanced Education. The Council felt that it could not seek to influence the Canberra programme, however, and suggested looking at other courses as alternatives. Students were also dissatisfied with the level of communication from the Council and felt isolated and overwhelmed by the heavy workload imposed in Canberra.⁹⁰ CCAC's efforts to promote better communication and a sense of identification with the Council had clearly been without success.

Post-training internships were also causing some concern, especially for one graduate who was having to act as her own supervisor. The Council felt that guidelines for supervisors were needed and that interns required an organised programme of work⁹¹ In recognition of the difficulty of finding employment in New Zealand, the Council relaxed the terms of its training support. Two options were offered to graduates from the Canberra programme who were unable to find work in New Zealand.

1. They could seek employment in Australia for twelve months and then review the situation with the Council, or

⁸⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 6.

⁸⁸ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 11, 31 July 1989, p. 13.

⁸⁹ See grants approved, Minutes, CCAC Meeting 16, 1 November 1990.

⁹⁰ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 12, 3 November 1989, p. 14 - 15.

2. The Council would fund them for a twelve month post-training internship in New Zealand.⁹²

These options also secured some time for the Council to advocate for the establishment of new conservation positions at New Zealand institutions.

The annual cost for sending one student to the Canberra programme was \$11,400.⁹³ This excludes the costs involved with internships and candidate selection as well as post training internships and salary subsidies. It was clearly a very expensive training option and while the provision of properly trained conservation professionals is vital to a successful cultural property conservation programme, it was an investment which would be lost if positions could not be found for graduates. CCAC advocated for the establishment of new conservation positions but institutions were largely unable or unwilling to take up this challenge. Those positions which were created generally involved the establishment of new laboratories and required experienced, senior staff.

The Council shifted its training focus to workshops and in service training for existing staff. This focus would spread CCAC's training budget as far as possible and increase the general conservation awareness and skill level among those charged with the day to day care of cultural property.

The general move away from professional training remained with CCAC throughout its period of operation. No new pre-training internships were offered in 1988 and only one pre-training internship in 1989. This was for an individual specifically seeking a career in the care of taonga Maori.⁹⁴ The Council was targeting funding into the areas where it saw the most acute need. In 1989 CCAC set aside sufficient funds for the remaining costs of tertiary training and post-training internships for current students and resolved to focus training support elsewhere.⁹⁵

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 15.

⁹² Minutes, CCAC Meeting 2, 9 - 10 October 1987, p. 14.

⁹³ See grants allocated, Appendix Two.

⁹⁴ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 8, 28 - 29 November 1988, p. 12.

⁹⁵ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 13, 20 February 1990, p. 13 - 14.

In 1989 CCAC requested that three conservators submit budgeted proposals for one in house preventive conservation workshop each in their area of speciality. These workshops would be free to selected institutions and the conservators involved would be required to report on the outcome of the exercise to the Council.⁹⁶ One workshop would focus on museum issues, one on art galleries and one on archives. Two workshops were completed successfully in 1989 (at the Govett Brewster Art Gallery and the Otago Settlers Museum) and plans were made for a conservation of photographs seminar.⁹⁷

Funds were provided to the Museum Studies Diploma course at Massey University for the purchase of conservation related books and for the costs of a conservator to prepare the preventive conservation section of the course.⁹⁸ These funds provided access to important conservation knowledge for a wide range of current and potential museum staff and have an ongoing effect today as the resources are still in use.

CCAC discussed the training of conservation technicians at its first meeting⁹⁹ and the subject was considered again in 1990 when the Council concluded that block course training in Wellington, perhaps at the Polytechnic, would be appropriate and that it should be aimed at people already working in the sector.¹⁰⁰ This proposal never came to fruition but a technician training project was approved in 1989 when a Tongan technician was funded to train in conservation at the National Library which has a large Tongan Archive. UNESCO provided additional funding for the project.¹⁰¹ This undertaking illustrates the Council's involvement in Pacific Island issues, its willingness to include archival collections within its scope, its desire to provide conservation trained technical staff and its ability to enter into funding partnerships with other organisations.

CCAC's success in training required a significant input of time and effort and one commentator felt that this may have been at the expense of other functions such as

⁹⁶ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 8, 28 - 29 November 1988, p. 13.

⁹⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 11, 31 July 1989, p. 5.

⁹⁸ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 12, 3 November 1989, p. 5.

⁹⁹ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 1, 16 - 18 August 1987, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 15, 14 August 1990, p. 7.

¹⁰¹ Meeting 10, p. 12.

advocacy and awareness raising.¹⁰² Nevertheless, the Council's demise has left a lack of direction and focus in the training of professional conservation staff. New Zealand still lacks a conservation training programme but government does not fund New Zealanders to train overseas. There is no ongoing input from government in developing the conservation profession. Sarah Hillary is concerned about this situation and its implications for the future of conservation in this country.

There is no encouragement or support and it is becoming increasingly difficult for new conservators to train. There is the potential that we will end up with no New Zealanders in conservation. I think perhaps there could be a programme of assistance rather than necessarily funding all the costs of attending overseas training programmes.¹⁰³

It is vital that Maori be involved in the conservation of their cultural property and for this reason it is necessary that New Zealanders continue to have access to conservation training and to the conservation profession. CCAC's role in training Maori conservators and finding positions for them was particularly applauded by Jane Kominik¹⁰⁴ while Waana Davis commented:

I felt it was important to have some of our own trained and not to rely entirely on qualified overseas conservators.¹⁰⁵

It is to be hoped that this emphasis will extend to other forms of cultural property and that the place of New Zealanders in conserving their cultural heritage will be assured.

Colin Pearson, Director of the conservation training programme at the Canberra College of Advanced Education feels that the Council's scheme was broadly successful. He applauds the fact that some of New Zealand's conservators were trained at other programmes, however. Almost all Australian conservators are trained at Canberra and he feels there is some disadvantage in having so many personnel trained at the same programme. Diversity is considered healthy.¹⁰⁶ Pearson also supports the pre-training internship programme:

¹⁰² Interview with Jane Kominik, December 1997.

¹⁰³ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Jane Kominik, December 1998.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Waana Davis, January 1998.

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Colin Pearson, January 1998.

The pre-training internships held in New Zealand selected students who were motivated, given some training in conservation and would be sure to complete the course here.¹⁰⁷

He felt that there was only a small disadvantage to New Zealand students in not being able to train in this country:

As there was and still is no conservation training programme in New Zealand, and the small numbers required would not justify setting up a course, there was not much alternatives apart from relying on imported conservators, very few of whom would have been New Zealanders, and none of Maori descent.

...

[T]he cultural heritage on Australia is not dissimilar to New Zealand, and the treatments carried out on Australian artefacts would be applicable to New Zealand collections. The Maori students who came to Australia often brought Maori artefacts for conservation work so they were being trained on their own material. In addition, our training programme teaches the methodology of conservation, ie how to approach a problem, and in theory graduates should be able to work on any collection in any part of the world.¹⁰⁸

Another means by which the Council sought to ensure the discussion of conservation issues and the dissemination of information was through the staging of conferences. Conferences were supported for both conservation professionals¹⁰⁹ and others caring for cultural property.

A library and archive based conservation conference was also staged by the Council.¹¹⁰ This was chiefly organised by Stuart Strachan who recalls:

The other big thing I did was to organise a conference in Wellington on preservation of library collections. That was really quite a big event and we got

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Colin Pearson, January 1998.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Colin Pearson, January 1998.

¹⁰⁹ Funds were provided for attendance at overseas conferences and to assist in the staging of annual conferences of the New Zealand Professional Conservators' Group.

¹¹⁰ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 11, 31 July 1989, p. 5.

in a lot of people from public libraries and university libraries who never really had anything to with conservation in New Zealand before.

We brought in speakers from the United States, from the Library of Congress and a couple of people from Australia.

I think it helped, but it needs constant reinforcement, which is what is lacking now. I think towards the end the CCAC really began to become useful.¹¹¹

Other conferences which the Council hoped to support were a conference at the National Museum focussing on the preservation of natural history collections and a technology museums conference.¹¹² These projects did not eventuate but were still in their planning stages when CCAC's activities were frozen.

CCAC also funded conservation professionals to attend a conferences and advanced training courses overseas. Sarah Hillary particularly applauded this aspect of the Council's work:

Bodies like Creative New Zealand can't do that. They don't fund overseas projects and competition for funding is very strong. ... Lottery Board ... [is] only reactive. It has no mandate to ensure that conservation policies and measures are developed and pursued. It also doesn't provide funds for overseas training or professional development.¹¹³

Stuart Strachan recalls, however:

One other thing we were quite good at was making sure that established conservators had a source of funding to get to conferences.... I think perhaps some of those funds were dispersed rather too liberally! Quite a lot of people got away and the problem was always making sure that what they were going to

¹¹¹ Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

¹¹² Minutes, CCAC Meeting 10, 9 May 1989, p. 17 -19.

¹¹³ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

was worthwhile and when they got back getting the results of their activities disseminated.¹¹⁴

The need for access to impartial conservation expertise is highlighted in this example where the Council had to determine the relative merits of professional conferences. The problem of ensuring follow up and reporting after projects is also raised. While this was a problem in a number of areas of the Council's operation, there is clearly a responsibility on the part of the individual or group receiving funding to furnish this follow up documentation. The blame cannot rest entirely with the Council.

Training was clearly a major priority for CCAC and one which consumed a good deal of its time and attention. Initially it adopted ICCCP's focus on training conservation professional to work in New Zealand but in recognition of the high costs involved in this scheme and the difficulty of finding employment for graduates in New Zealand, the Council's focus shifted to providing basic conservation skills for existing personnel caring for cultural property. This training focussed particularly on preventive conservation and enabled CCAC to foster a general understanding of conservation principles across a wider section of the cultural property sector. The care of taonga Maori and increased involvement of Maori in this process were also stressed in the Council's training activities. While general skills became the focus of training initiatives in this country, access to specialist knowledge was facilitated through travel subsidies and conferences.

5.3.1 TAONGA MAORI CONFERENCE 1990

The Council's most significant conference project was the Taonga Maori Conference, staged in 1990, which brought senior staff from overseas institutions with significant holdings of taonga Maori to this country to introduce them to the living culture which created the objects in their museums and to discuss contemporary and traditional issues surrounding their conservation.

¹¹⁴ Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

The project grew out of a visit to New Zealand in 1987 by Dorota Starzecka, Assistant Keeper at the British Museum's Museum of Mankind. Following her return to the United Kingdom she wrote to CCAC's Advisory Officer stating "... things Maori will never be the same to me again." She proposed a meeting of senior conservators from European and United States museums with large Maori collections to discuss specific issues involved with the conservation of Maori material. Starzecka felt that it was vital that this meeting be held in New Zealand and be combined with visits to local museums and marae and especially Maori people as this experience would teach overseas professionals more than volumes of theory. She advocated a similar visit from New Zealand to collections in Europe and the US as a second stage:

The first should be to bring foreign conservators to you, to show them what you are doing, and why - or why not - and to show them the Maori material, on which they work here, in its cultural context, to convince them of the importance and complexities of work on this material.¹¹⁵

While CCAC made possible the first stage of this plan, the second stage has not yet taken place. This must be partly attributed to the lack of a co-ordinated national body guiding the development of heritage conservation since CCAC's demise in 1991.

Another impetus for the hui was the Te Maori exhibition. Following Te Maori, Kaumatua were concerned that the momentum established by that event would be lost if international museums were not made aware of the enduring connection between taonga and their creators. They were concerned that taonga held in overseas museums be kept warm again through contact with the Maori people.¹¹⁶ While Starzecka advocated the involvement of international conservation professionals in the hui, it was in fact curatorial and management staff who participated. This reflects a wider agenda on the part of the Council in seeking to establish lines of contact with the holders of taonga overseas rather than focusing purely on the physical needs of cultural property.

¹¹⁵ Letter, Dorota Starzecka (Assistant Keeper, Museum of Mankind) to CCAC Advisory Officer, 17 July 1987, Department of Internal Affairs File CUL/11/15/25.

¹¹⁶ Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Taonga Maori Conference*, Op cit., pp. 5 - 7.

The Taonga Maori Conference was adopted by CCAC as its major project for 1990.¹¹⁷ The Conference programme would be made up of a series of workshops and meetings and focus on the exchange of knowledge between the contributing groups. The main focus would be the relationship of objects in museums, particularly overseas, with Maori in New Zealand. Increased understanding of the special spiritual significance of cultural material for Maori was to be stressed.¹¹⁸ Conference organiser, Mark Lindsay, stated:

The conference aims to provide a common meeting ground for the exchange of knowledge in the conservation of Taonga Maori, between overseas museologists, New Zealand conservators and curators and the Maori community.¹¹⁹

The CCAC Taonga Maori Conference Working Party concluded similarly:

A primary objective of the conference is to achieve an alteration of attitude in overseas institutions that will hopefully increase access to the overseas collections for Maori people as well as creating greater awareness of where the material is housed.

They also stated:

It is hoped that once those responsible for overseas Taonga are made aware of the relationship of those objects with the Maori people in this country, their attitudes to those collections will change in an number of ways; they will become aware that conservation in a Maori sense may not be the same as in a Euro-centric or scientific sense; that conservation means preservation of knowledge as much as of the objects themselves; that a spiritual dimension exists with these collections and that it is important for Maori people to develop this relationship.

¹¹⁷ Letter, M. Lindsay to Richard Cassels, Otago Museum 2 October 1990, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/25.

¹¹⁸ Letter, J. Lindsay to New Zealand participants in the Taonga Maori Conference, 9 October 1990, Department of Internal Affairs, file CUL/11/15/25.

¹¹⁹ Letter, J. Lindsay to participating organisations, 2 October 1990, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/25.

As well as hopefully providing opportunities for New Zealand conservation students, researchers and others to gain new access to overseas Taonga, the conference will play an important role in awakening peoples' awareness and attitudes to these important but sometimes forgotten collections.¹²⁰

Mina McKenzie stated that the most lasting effect she hoped would come from the conference was the development of relationships that would show the greatness of Maori culture on the world stage.¹²¹

Issues of access and of mutual understanding are viewed as fundamental to a holistic approach to the conservation of taonga Maori. CCAC's statement of purpose included the intention that it:

ensure that this country's taonga tuku iho/material cultures, Maori and others, and their essential elements, are conserved as a rich legacy for present generations and those yet to come.

The conservation of the essential elements of taonga was seen to include the encouragement of an active relationship between them and their Maori customary owners. This was an overriding aim of the Taonga Maori Conference. It also recognised that conservation must be interpreted in its broadest sense - objects do not exist in isolation but are inextricably bound to people and to communities. Keeping taonga warm required the re-establishment of links with the people thereby conserving the mauri/life forces of the taonga themselves. The intention of the Conference was to bring those responsible for the care of taonga in overseas institutions to New Zealand and to teach them how taonga fit into Maori ritual and everyday life, and how they represent Maori traditions and history as well as forming part of contemporary Maori society and belief.¹²² An exchange of knowledge from western and Maori viewpoints and the encouragement of visits by CCAC interns to overseas institutions were also

¹²⁰ CCAC Taonga Maori Conference Working Party Minutes, Meeting 2, 2 November 1989, p. 1,2,4 Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

¹²¹ Mina McKenzie, interview with Henare Te Ua, Radio New Zealand 25 November 1990, transcript, Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Taonga Maori Conference*, Op cit, p. 171.

¹²² Ibid., p. 7 - 9.

stressed as was the need to enable tribal groups to identify their taonga held overseas and to visit the institutions where they are kept.¹²³

Six specific objectives were identified for the Taonga Maori Conference:

1. to bring to New Zealand key people from overseas museums with Maori collections to see the living culture and collections in this country;
2. to provide an opportunity for these people to meet Maori people in their own communities and to develop an understanding of the continuum that exists between Taonga from the past and contemporary Maori society;
3. to provide an opportunity for the overseas museologists to meet the New Zealand museum profession and to identify and discuss common concerns;
4. to enable Maori to meet those who care for taonga overseas and to discuss attitudes and issues with regard to conservation;
5. to create pathways for Maori, New Zealand conservators and researchers to access overseas collections and to re-establish relationships with them;
6. to arrive at recommendations that provide direction for future initiatives in institutions with collections of Taonga here and overseas.

The first four objectives were certainly achieved with the Conference but CCAC's subsequent demise has meant there is no co-ordinating body to drive ongoing projects and the Conference's objectives have not been achieved on an official or procedural level. Personal contacts and changes in attitude fostered by attendance at the Conference remain its chief international legacy. A significant publication resulted from papers presented at the Taonga Maori Conference and remains as an important tangible outcome of the issues explored there. The Taonga Maori Protection Bill indicates that these issues continue to be of great importance to Maoridom and that some Parliamentarians also continue to seek progress in this area.

Some disappointment was voiced from within the New Zealand museum profession that the conference was organised without sufficient consultation with the local museum

¹²³ Minister of Internal Affairs, Funding Approval, 28 August 1990, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

community and that insufficient provision had been made for local professional input.¹²⁴ The Department of Internal Affairs felt that this was not the case, however, and pointed out that New Zealand professionals were free to travel with the delegates if they paid their own way and that free attendance was offered at all workshops. The five confirmed New Zealand speakers were to travel with the delegates.¹²⁵ This sector dissatisfaction highlights the problems which can occur when a body such as CCAC operates largely at a governmental level. The Council's establishment was essentially a government initiative and, although there was sector support and sector representation, it appears to have been perceived as a government body developing programmes and priorities without significant sector input.

Invited overseas delegates would speak on their institution's current policies for taonga Maori, or distribute a paper outlining these, and leave a dossier and slides on collection items in New Zealand as a documentary reference record.¹²⁶ These resources were to be catalogued and housed at the National Museum.¹²⁷ Delegates¹²⁸ attended the Conference from fifteen Northern Hemisphere institutions including the Museum of Natural History in Washington, the Manchester Museum, the Ubersee-Museum, Bremen, the Museum of Scotland, the British Museum, the Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin, and the Museum of Mankind.¹²⁹ Of the fifteen representatives of these institutions, thirteen held curatorial positions, one was a director and one a conservation officer. Overseas input was clearly focused on curatorial rather than specifically conservation concerns.

In contrast, the New Zealand speakers, who also numbered fifteen, included only three curators, with six conservators attending as well as three academic staff, one kaitiaki, one public programming director and an artist and arts administrator. Five of the New

¹²⁴ Letter, Michael Volkerling, Executive Director, National Art Gallery, to Secretary for Internal Affairs, 17 July 1990, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

¹²⁵ Letter Jane Kominik, Director Arts and Cultural Heritage Division, Department of Internal Affairs to Michael Volkerling, Executive Director, National Art Gallery, 17 July 1990, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

¹²⁶ Letter, J. Lindsay to New Zealand participants, Taonga Maori Conference, 9 October 1990, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/25.

¹²⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 17, 1 February 1991 p. 5.

¹²⁸ A full list of those attending the Taonga Maori Conference is contained in Appendix Three.

¹²⁹ A sixteenth delegate, an ethnologist from England attended as a private individual, refer to Appendix Three.

Zealand speakers were from the National Museum and only two from museums outside the main centres.¹³⁰ No New Zealand speakers attended from the South Island. While this may have restricted the range of perspectives presented at the Conference, there was clearly a stronger focus on conservation in the New Zealand contingent and on providing information about taonga from a range of viewpoints.

In his welcoming speech to delegates, the Minister of Internal Affairs commented that the Conference was a unique event in New Zealand and probably rare internationally.¹³¹ It would present issues from different Maori perspectives including those of elders, academics, museum workers, artists, representatives of ancient and contemporary marae and Maori from both urban and rural backgrounds. It was hoped that delegates would come to appreciate the complex depth of feeling which surrounds taonga and to gain new insight into issues such as repatriation and museums as representatives of colonial power. Conference organisers considered that museum visits alone could not achieve this.¹³²

The nine day programme involved visits to four marae in rural and urban locations, four museums and the Whakarewarewa Maori Arts and Crafts Institute. Delegates participated in powhiri, hongi and other formal protocols and spent several nights on marae. A high point was the karanga and haka performed at the Auckland Institute and Museum by a one hundred and thirty strong welcoming group.¹³³ The importance of the Conference is highlighted in the participation of such large numbers as well as very senior and respected kaumatua and other members of the Maori community as was the formal welcome staged in Wellington and addressed by the Minister of Internal Affairs.¹³⁴ Delegates visited ancient and modern collections of taonga in museums and on marae and talked with contemporary Maori artists and modern proponents of traditional techniques.¹³⁵ They were made aware of the Maori history of the areas

¹³⁰ The Waikato Museum of Art and History and the Manawatu Museum.

¹³¹ Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Taonga Maori Conference*, Op cit., pp. 5 - 7.

¹³² Ibid., p. 9.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 8.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. 9.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. 8 - 9.

through which they travelled by bus¹³⁶ in an itinerary which allowed both formal and informal exchange of views and concerns between the visitors and their hosts.

The sixteen overseas delegates at the Taonga Maori Conference represented an important cross-section of the international museum profession. As a result of their contact with the Maori community, most now recognise that past museum policies have not been attuned to the wishes of the spiritual owners of the taonga Maori collections they hold. The delegates began to understand that, for many in Maoridom, acceptance of taonga remaining overseas is now dependent on the recognition of this spiritual ownership and the obligations that this involves. The delegates' acceptance of this, and of the need to change their museums' policies accordingly, can be regarded as the measure of the conference's success.¹³⁷

The Conference's plenary session was attended by delegates, Conference organisers, kaumatua and CCAC members. It concluded that the impact of the Conference at an institutional level would not be immediate but that overseas delegates would return to their institutions with a new understanding of the close relationship between Maori and their taonga. It was hoped that in time this would permeate their institutions' policies towards taonga.¹³⁸

Several factors were stressed for the care of taonga Maori collections in museums. These included allowing greater Maori access to Maori collections, the importance of appropriate consultation at the outset of the decision making process when conserving, curating, displaying and purchasing taonga, considering appropriate protocols when exhibiting taonga, recognising that photographs and film may be taonga and using them appropriately for display, education and research activities, and using replicas appropriately in museums.

It was agreed that it was important to augment historical collections with the work of contemporary Maori artists and contacts would be fostered between overseas museums

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

and artists in New Zealand as well as agencies such as Te Waka Toi for this purpose. Maori curatorial exchanges were advocated, particularly to Great Britain and the United States, as was the repatriation of human remains through diplomatic means.¹³⁹ Although conservation is integral to many of these activities it is clear that the concerns of the Conference were much wider.

A follow up letter was sent to delegates in 1991 informing them that they had been placed on mailing lists for key government cultural organisations including CCAC itself, the New Zealand Film Archive and Te Waka Toi. An approach had also been made to the then Ministry of External Relations and Trade asking that they be the point of contact and co-ordination for international issues raised by the Conference, particularly issues relating to the return of human remains.¹⁴⁰ These were to be the chief official means through which ongoing communication. Delegates expressed a desire to keep up the contact which had been established by the Taonga Maori Conference but also concern at the Council's uncertain future.¹⁴¹ Without a specific point for contact, such as that provided by CCAC, broad based constructive interaction was to prove difficult.

The Taonga Maori Conference publication was edited by the Conference Organiser after staff were cut from CCAC¹⁴² and only one inventory of holdings of taonga at participating overseas institutions appears in the Internal Affairs files.¹⁴³ These were not transferred to the Museum of New Zealand as had been suggested. The Council's demise has meant that the long term aims of the Conference have been frustrated and that the collation and dissemination of information about overseas holdings of taonga Maori has not occurred as planned.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

¹⁴⁰ Letter Mark Lindsay, Department of Internal Affairs, to Taonga Maori Conference delegates, 14 February 1991, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

¹⁴¹ Replies, eg Jane Peirson Jones, Keeper of Department of Archaeology and Ethnology, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, 18 August 1992, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

¹⁴² Letter, Ainslee Witazek, Department of Internal Affairs, to Taonga Maori Conference delegates, 5 August 1992, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

¹⁴³ Inventory of Taonga Maori held at Manchester Museum, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

There have, however, been some significant long term repercussions from the Taonga Maori Conference. In addition to the publication a major exhibition of taonga Maori is to be staged at the Field Museum, Chicago in 1998 and this institution has developed and maintained a strong relationship with the Tokomaru Bay people and the original owners of the whare held there. John Terrell, Curator of Oceanic Archaeology and Ethnology at the Field Museum, attended the Conference and the project may well have been influenced by this involvement. The British Museum is also to stage an exhibition of taonga Maori this year possibly reflecting Dorota Starzecka's involvement with the Conference.

Measures to reinvolve the Maori people with their taonga held overseas have been limited, however. Ngahua te Awekotuku, a CCAC member involved in the planning of the Taonga Maori Conference, has recently stated that the project's long term aim of rekindling ongoing relationships between the Maori people in New Zealand, their taonga held overseas and the institutions which care for them has not been realised:

Of the many museums involved with this expensive exercise, only a few have reciprocated by inviting Maori scholars and interns to their institutions. Only two have actively funded projects directly involving Maori participants - Chicago and Stuttgart. Surprise!¹⁴⁴

Te Awekotuku clearly sees a responsibility on the part of the institutions whose representatives attended the Conference to foster the next stage and to maintain ongoing relationships with the Maori people.¹⁴⁵ Her comment reveals a belief that this was or is unlikely to happen. She also notes the high cost of the Conference. It was CCAC's single most costly project¹⁴⁶ and the significant expenditure may be questionable given the limited tangible long terms benefits. The repercussions of the project are not yet fully realised however. The Conference must also have been an enlightening experience for New Zealand government officials and museum personnel possibly unaware of many of the issues discussed and this is likely to influence their roles in the management of taonga Maori and the development of related policy. Legislation

¹⁴⁴ Te Awekotuku, N, Op cit., p. 3.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

¹⁴⁶ \$152,128.00.

currently under development and future heritage management initiatives may reveal the Conference to have had a stronger influence than is evident to date.

The Conference was, nonetheless, a unique event and one which created tremendous potential for raising the profile of Maori collections in major international museums and for keeping alive the recognition created for this material through the Te Maori exhibition. As well as reaffirming the traditional ownership of all taonga by the Maori people in this country, it sought to rebuild cultural and personal links between taonga held overseas and the living culture of their creators. It also had potential to increase the understanding of cultural issues surrounding the conservation and preservation of taonga among those charged with their care in museums both in New Zealand and overseas and of promoting scientific research into the care of materials indigenous to this country. It is still possible for the impetus to be rekindled and to build on this experience to create a new understanding of the international use, significance and preservation of taonga Maori. A centralised, impartial and representative body charged with the promotion of the preservation of New Zealand's cultural heritage in a holistic sense could be the means to achieve the long term aims of the Taonga Maori Conference project.

5.4 PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PUBLICITY

From the outset CCAC was aware of the need to promote its services and objectives and to establish positive links with associated organisations. As a result of the Council's first meeting a letter was sent to the presidents of the Art Galleries and Museums' Association, the New Zealand Professional Conservators' Group, the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand and the New Zealand Library Association as well as the Executive Officer of the Art Gallery Directors' Council introducing the new Council and its objectives. A distribution list of interested organisations was also to be developed.¹⁴⁷

Public support and commitment were seen as essential to the effective fulfilment of the Council's responsibilities and an information programme was planned which would

¹⁴⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 1, 16 - 18 August 1987, p. 6.

reach all New Zealanders but have a particular focus on Maori, existing staff of heritage organisations, interested groups, school children and possible sponsors and benefactors.¹⁴⁸ The Council also considered developing an instantly recognisable symbol or sign for CCAC.¹⁴⁹

Peter Boag identified some difficulty with the Council's name:

[T]he name of the present Council, with its apparent emphasis on cultural (largely unidentified) conservation, has caused some confusion, particularly as people have tried to identify the body with one or more of the existing Government agencies - other than the Department of Internal Affairs - especially the Department of Conservation and the recently established Ministry of Cultural Affairs.¹⁵⁰

He advocated that it be renamed the Cultural Property Council which he believed would relieve this confusion.¹⁵¹

A Conservation Award scheme was introduced in 1990:

[t]o be made to needy institutions in recognition of their professionalism in the conservation sphere and as an encouragement towards further conservation of their collections.¹⁵²

Two Awards would be offered annually on the basis of applications received. Each Award would be a cash grant of \$10,000 made to the project judged most worthy in terms of improving the care of a collection of national, tribal or regional importance. The Awards would be made only to an institution which could demonstrate the continuing development of a budget capacity to meet its own conservation needs.¹⁵³ They would emphasise developing pride and awareness in conservation within museological and library professions and would be a prestigious acknowledgment of outstanding achievement.¹⁵⁴ As well as encouraging institutions to improve their

¹⁴⁸ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 2, 9 - 10 October 1987, p. 7.

¹⁴⁹ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 10, 9 May 1989, p. 21.

¹⁵⁰ Boag, P.W. *Op cit.*, p. 14.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹⁵² Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 8.

¹⁵³ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 10, 9 May 1989, p. 20.

¹⁵⁴ CCAC funding approval recommendation to Minister of Internal Affairs, 28 August 1990, p. 13, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15/45.

conservation standards, these Awards would function as a promotional incentive for organisations to become involved in the Council and its work.

Two Conservation Awards were presented in 1989. One went to the Wanganui Regional Museum in recognition of the innovative storage system it had developed for its Maori cloak collection, and the second to the Nelson Provincial Museum for its storage upgrade of the Tyree collection of glass plate negatives. The Southland Museum and Art Gallery received an Award for the strong focus on conservation and storage needs in its redevelopment project, and the North Otago Archives was also a recipient in recognition of its advances in archival preservation. A further Award was to be made to Te Arikinui Dame Te Atairangikahu and Tainui people for conservation activity and achievement.¹⁵⁵ It is clear that the focus of the Awards was for achievement in preventive conservation and that the Council was careful to spread this recognition across a variety of cultural property organisations.

In 1989 the Council modified its policy for acceptance of grants by institutions of amounts over \$5,000. It now required that the grant be

1. Acknowledged in the institution's publications, and
2. identified in its annual report.
3. The Advisory Officer would draft a media release outlining the project and CCAC's involvement.

This would not apply to individuals or marae.¹⁵⁶ The policy is clearly intended to create positive publicity which would also serve to make others aware of the Council's work and the potential for support of similar projects.

CCAC's ability to foster and develop partnerships was limited and concern continued to be expressed at its relatively low profile and at inadequate levels of understanding of its activities. Sectoral relationships were fostered at an individual level by the Chairperson as far as possible, but this was one among the many museum activities in which she was involved. Te Aue Davis expressed concern that many groups saw only the Chairperson.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 13.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 13.

She felt that it was important that all Council members attend meetings of outside organisations so that they would become aware of the diversity of expertise and interests represented in CCAC.¹⁵⁷ There was a need for people to be aware of the Council and its work, particularly for marae, so that they could apply for funds.¹⁵⁸

The Advisory Officer also had responsibilities in this area but this position was relatively low level in the Departmental structure and did not allow the autonomy or resources to mount a successful promotional campaign. If the Council had been established at arms length from the Department with its own Executive Officer able to work full time and to apply adequate resources to promoting its activities, the situation might have been different.

Sarah Hillary commented:

I think things were pretty confused actually. There was so much change. Mina McKenzie was an excellent figurehead and she made a lot of progress, CCAC was better understood generally than ICCCP I think. Things were improving and becoming more stable towards the end.¹⁵⁹

In contemplating the demise of the Council, however, Jane Kominik felt:

There were shortfalls in advocacy, commitment and time available. ICCCP was more powerful. I don't think it would have allowed the same outcome.

CCAC needed to change focus as it was going along. It needed to raise its profile and the general awareness of the importance of conservation. Perhaps the Council's membership was not able to do this.

...

The Council's advocacy role was underdeveloped. Its strategic position and credibility in institutions as anything other than a source of funds were limited and there was no great commitment to improving conservation activities in institutions.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 11, 31 July 1989, p. 9.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

¹⁶⁰ Interview with Jane Kominik, December 1997.

Mark Lindsay also considered that the Council was “a victim of a lack of sector support, its inability to convince successive ministers (and the sector) of its value and departmental lack of commitment.”¹⁶¹ These comments identify a number of problems with the Council which recur throughout this discussion but it is noteworthy here that they are made by government officials who may feel compelled to justify CCAC’s dissolution.

5.5 PUBLICATION

A working party to focus on publications was established in February 1988¹⁶² and a number of articles were produced for the *AGMANZ Journal* on preventive conservation issues including the preservation of library material and pest control.¹⁶³ These were commissioned from relevant professional personnel and provided much needed practical advice for cultural property organisations throughout the country. Since CCAC’s demise New Zealand has lacked a national body promoting conservation standards and no similar publication initiatives have been undertaken. The CCAC articles remain a useful resource, however, and are still used in the preventive conservation module of the Museum Studies training programme. Although these articles reached a relatively wide audience through the *AGMANZ Journal*, the Council’s decision to contribute only to this publication seems out of step with its broad focus. No similar articles were produced for archives or marae focused publications, for example.

A disaster preparedness manual was also produced with CCAC assistance¹⁶⁴ and it continued to produce a newsletter outlining its programmes and recently approved grants as well as providing contact details for conservation materials suppliers and a forum for the discussion of particular conservation issues. The proceedings of the Taonga Maori Conference were also published in 1991 and remain one of the most significant documentary resources on issues surrounding the place of taonga Maori in museums and the wider community. While the number of publications produced is not

¹⁶¹ Interview with Mark Lindsay, November 1997.

¹⁶² Minutes, CCAC Meeting 4, 12 April 1988, p. 4.

¹⁶³ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 13.

¹⁶⁴ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 12, 3 November 1989, p. 4.

large it is to be expected that, had the Council's work continued, additional significant and useful material would have been produced.

5.6 RESEARCH

CCAC noted that almost no conservation research had been undertaken on specifically New Zealand materials. This type of research would be supported by the Council and it would work to make available the results of overseas research in other areas. The National Conservator would be encouraged to establish an information service, and venues would be identified where research could be undertaken.¹⁶⁵

In May 1990 formal approval was given for a PhD research project into the chemistry of harakeke.¹⁶⁶ This was CCAC's major research project and was located in the Chemistry Department of Otago University. Harakeke is a native flax which is used in the creation of many woven taonga. The dyed sections of objects created from harakeke are vulnerable and fragile because of the acidity of the dyes used against the bare flax surface. The unique chemistry of harakeke and the causes of deterioration had never been studied and the project was in line with the Council's decision to promote research into the conservation of indigenous materials. The thesis was completed but its results were not widely disseminated. In the absence of a guiding body such as CCAC it is unlikely that this information will be extensively utilised or that other major research projects will be supported.

5.7 ADMINISTRATIVE ISSUES

As it was part of a central government body, CCAC needed to ensure that its activities met with the administrative and accountability mechanisms of its host Department. This supporting role is one which would best be overseen by Departmental officers associated with the Council but the limited staff time allotted to CCAC and the diversity and specialisation of its activities made this difficult.

¹⁶⁵ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 2, 9 -10 October 1987, p. 6.

¹⁶⁶ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 14, 28 May 1990, p. 2.

In his review of CCAC Peter Boag noted that no audit was taken of funds allocated to projects and no records were kept of the whereabouts or use of equipment purchased. He considered this to indicate a lack of comprehension of the administrative and organisational implications of actions taken and a failure to address the impact of these on the already overloaded secretariat.¹⁶⁷ The Lottery Board Environment and Heritage Committee, which is currently responsible for ad hoc funding allocations for cultural property purposes, also has no formal audit procedure for projects. Although there may be some validity to Boag's criticisms, the Council was clearly not alone among central government funding agencies in this omission. His criticisms, however, added fuel to arguments for the Council's dissolution.

In contrast to Boag's findings, CCAC's minutes indicate an eagerness to ensure improved standards of audit and project reporting from the outset.¹⁶⁸ The Council sought to standardise reports from funding recipients and to streamline reporting to the Minister.¹⁶⁹ In 1987 it resolved that any group or individual receiving project funding from CCAC should produce a written report for the Council within two months of completion of the project. Six monthly reports were also required of students at the Canberra programme.¹⁷⁰ A certificate of expenditure would be required before any treatment subsidy would be paid and that should be produced within one year of the grant being approved.¹⁷¹ Few reports were received and Council members were especially concerned at the lack of communication from students at Canberra.¹⁷² In 1989 reports were also lacking for a number of travel projects.¹⁷³ No mention was made of the need for reports on treatment projects. Despite its concerns, the Council seems to have been unable to enforce reporting requirements.

The Council never successfully rationalised its role with regard to existing national heritage organisations and did not develop significant productive partnerships with these groups. Stuart Strachan recalls:

¹⁶⁷ Boag, P.W., *Op cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁶⁸ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 1, 16 - 18 August 1987, p. 6.

¹⁶⁹ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 2, 9 - 10 October 1987, p. 2.

¹⁷⁰ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 2, 9 - 10 October 1987, p. 23.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁷² Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 6.

¹⁷³ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 9, 13 February 1989, p. 13.

One of the major areas of failing of CCAC was that the major national cultural institutions never really came to terms with us - that is the National Museum, the National Art Gallery, the National Archives and the National Library. They all felt that they had statutory responsibilities and New Zealand wide relationships and never really liked the idea ... of what you might call a competing source of authority and advice on conservation matters and particularly we were offering advice in relation to them and national institutions aren't used to that you see! One area where we did take the initiative was that the CCAC protested at the siting of the new Museum of New Zealand which for conservation purposes we felt was a very bad site, but really they took affront at this and CCAC was rebuffed and from that point on there was always rather a difficult relationship with [Te Papa] particularly as it was beginning to develop of nascent National Services programme which tended to see conservation as a natural area to go forward in.¹⁷⁴

As it transpires, National Services has not involved itself specifically in conservation to date but it appears that some sense of competition for national authority in this area was sensed in its early days. Although CCAC was to be the government's chief adviser with regard to cultural property conservation, it seems government heritage bodies were less willing to accept this authority. This may have been due to a lack of involvement with the Council and exclusion from its funding schemes but no significant effort appears to have been made on either side to overcome these problems and to develop a clearer understanding of areas of authority with the aim of providing the most successful integrated programme of care for cultural property collections. Again, the Council remained distanced from these important and influential national governmental organisations.

5.8 THE FINAL MEETING

CCAC's final meeting was held in August 1991 and consisted of a discussion between the Council, representatives of the Lottery Grants Board and the Department of Internal

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

Affairs and Peter Boag. At this meeting the Council was advised that its operations were to be reviewed as part of an ongoing process whereby all areas of government activity were to be scrutinised.¹⁷⁵

It was also advised that Internal Affairs Vote funding had been cancelled altogether and that access to the Minister's Discretionary Fund had been withdrawn. CCAC would receive funding only from the Lottery General Committee. Lottery General usually funded large organisations such as the New Zealand Ballet and the New Zealand Symphony Orchestra. If its funding role was to continue, it was possible that CCAC would become a regular client of Lottery General (like the Historic Places Trust) or that it would be established as an independent funding board.¹⁷⁶

The Council's income was to be reduced by almost 25% and funds left over from the previous year's Lottery allocation would be used to pay for the review. All other CCAC funds would be frozen until it was made clear whether or not the Council would continue to have a funding role.¹⁷⁷ The Council was advised that the Minister was unlikely to approve any new funding recommendations while the review was underway. Projects could be approved in principle, subject to the continuation of the Council, but no new spending initiatives could be undertaken.¹⁷⁸ These cutbacks were part of a general call for all government departments to make savings in their 1991/2 budgets.

Departmental staff felt that although CCAC was a Ministerial Advisory Committee, it was often perceived as simply a dispenser of funds and a supporter of conferences and research projects. Peter Boag noted that one reason why the Ministry of Cultural Affairs had been formed was because the QEII Arts Council had failed to fulfil its advisory role and had become purely a funding body.¹⁷⁹ This statement implies that

¹⁷⁵ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 19, 2 August 1991, p. 1.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁷⁷ Lottery income for the 1991/92 financial year was reduced from \$450,000 to \$350,000, Minutes, CCAC Meeting 19, 2 August 1991, p. 1.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Boag was of the opinion that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs should be the chief adviser to government on policy issues for the sector and that bodies like the QEII Arts Council (now Creative New Zealand) and CCAC should focus on their funding roles, and that he was of this opinion before he began the review. If CCAC was to become a significant policy advisory body, this could erode the position of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs. Peter Boag had been Secretary for Internal Affairs throughout CCAC's period of operation and his comments also raise the question of how the Council could have functioned successfully as a policy adviser since the Department had a strong influence over its operations and interpretation at ministerial levels and considered that it was essentially a funding agency.

There was also a perception that the Council's terms of reference were too wide and needed redefinition. The Department felt that CCAC should focus on doing fewer things but doing them very well. The Chair pointed out that CCAC was already reviewing its terms of reference and felt that a new direction and priorities were needed. The Council had decided to begin no new training projects but to focus on other essential needs in the conservation area. In particular it would like to promote New Zealand specific conservation research.¹⁸⁰

Its next phase should involve promotion of the Council's activities and investigation of establishing itself as a trust. Members felt that its status as a Ministerial Advisory Committee had not hindered its activities. It had been able to achieve what it needed to, but a number of responsibilities remained. It was now necessary to monitor and promote legislation for the conservation of cultural property and to advocate conservation to local authorities and museums.¹⁸¹ The first stage of the Council's plan involved addressing the emergency issues in conservation. These were now in hand and it was time to move to a second phase focused on ensuring that other organisations accept responsibility for the conservation of the property for which they are the guardians.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 4 - 5.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁸² Ibid., p. 5.

The Council felt that it had forced people to take note and accept conservation and conservators. Three advantages were seen to its present form:

1. It could encompass the whole area of conservation;
2. It was a non-aligned body and therefore could present an impartial overview of conservation issues;
3. It represented eclectic professional groups in its membership and senior members of these, so that the work of the Council was seen as important and was accepted by the client community.¹⁸³

It was felt that the Council was the only organisation which was able to maintain the momentum that had been established in the cultural conservation arena. It had been able to assist real and valuable projects for a small amount of money.¹⁸⁴

Department representatives questioned whether it was government's responsibility to fund the conservation of cultural property, to which CCAC responded that no other organisation could afford to do so. The Department then questioned whether the present Council was the right means of fulfilling this function and the Chair responded that it was never intended to remain in its present form. It could not be incorporated into a single government organisation such as the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa or the National Archives, however, because its terms of reference were too wide. The Chair felt that it might be better positioned as an independent trust created and operating on a similar basis to the Historic Places Trust.¹⁸⁵

Mina McKenzie felt that the Council had received international recognition for its structure, terms of reference, projects and bicultural nature. She had been invited to speak at international conferences because of the success of the Council and felt that this could not have been achieved under Te Papa.¹⁸⁶ This comment obviously indicates some concern on the part of the Council that government was eager to transfer its functions to the museum.

¹⁸³ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

Peter Boag noted that Te Papa knew little of the CCAC and its work and considered this a communication failing on the part of the Council.¹⁸⁷ The Council felt that it had a wide client base and that the need for communication was stronger with some than others. For some, funding was the most important issue. It was felt important to remain flexible in how the body responded to conservation concerns and where resources were put.¹⁸⁸ It had approached the National Museum about involvement in training conservators but it had not been interested, especially in terms of partnership with the Council.¹⁸⁹ The Chair also noted that in its training role the Council had funded students to study overseas, had subsidised the Massey University Museum Studies course, including payment for a conservator (Kate Roberts) to prepare the preventive conservation module, and had supported Historic Places Trust interns. The threads back to CCAC were widespread.¹⁹⁰

One problem that the Council had encountered was that it had grown from a previous body and was therefore forced to make up policy as it went along. It did not form a sub-committee or project group to focus on policy development and failed to give policy or legislative advice. It inherited ICCCP's interns and, once it had started to distribute funds, there was little time for anything else.¹⁹¹

CCAC questioned Lottery General's knowledge of the Council and its activities and its expertise in making judgements on conservation projects. Lottery Board representatives answered there was no conservation expertise on the Lottery General Committee and that it would seek expert advice where required.¹⁹² It was noted that applications to the Council were often quite technical and the diversity of skills represented on CCAC enabled it to deal with these issues.¹⁹³ The need to consult outside experts could further delay funding applications to this source.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 7.

¹⁹³ Ibid., p. 9.

Peter Boag asked whether the Council felt it had a regional role, in the Pacific for example. The Chair felt that CCAC was moving in that direction and that its membership of ICCROM was helpful to this end. The Council's main concern in this area, however, was the Pacific collections in New Zealand. Overseas outreach had been facilitated chiefly through the Taonga Maori Conference.¹⁹⁴

The Council was seen primarily as a funding body and the Chair felt that the Council needed long term objectives if it were to continue in this role. The Lottery Board representative at the meeting commented that changes would be needed if its funding role was to continue as the Board did not fund funders,¹⁹⁵ and that CCAC's practice of making grants to itself was unorthodox.¹⁹⁶ The Chair felt that the Council was doing important work and that it must continue. The dual policy and funding role of the Council was seen as an advantage but it would be difficult to make conservation policy without ties to curatorial policy. Closer liaison with major institutions was an immediate objective of the Council.¹⁹⁷

The Chair also expressed concern that a Maori perspective be incorporated in any review of the Council and that this should include reference to the Treaty of Waitangi. She advocated that the outcome of the review should be the establishment of a permanent body.¹⁹⁸ She also stated that the Council was about all things that are visual symbols of our culture. It was concerned specifically with the long term care of these objects and ideas and had put in place structures to carry out the work necessary to these ends. In order to achieve this it was seen as necessary that the Council remain outside institutions and the influence of pressure groups. The Department of Internal Affairs was seen as a bridge between the Council and the government as the source of funds.¹⁹⁹

In October 1992 Lottery General advised that it would commit no further funds for conservation projects arising from CCAC initiatives, as responsibility in this area was

¹⁹⁴ Minutes, CCAC Meeting 19, 2 August 1991, p. 8.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 8 - 9.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 9 - 10.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p 10.

shifting to the new Lottery Environment and Heritage Committee. It would fund the existing commitments of the 1992/93 financial year, but no further funds would be forthcoming.²⁰⁰

At this point the Council's activities were effectively frozen. No new umbrella conservation initiatives have taken place under central government auspices since this time. The major review of land based heritage management being conducted by the Department of Conservation in 1998 is likely to inform the development of government's role in the area. A major issue to be resolved is the suitability of regulatory and legislative provisions for the care of cultural property in comparison to programmes based on financial and other incentives for owners to fulfil this function. Before returning to a discussion of developments since the demise of CCAC, the Council's activities will be further analysed by considering its funding role in detail.

²⁰⁰ Letter, Adviser, Lottery General to SAO Trusts and Fellowships, 16 October 1992, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL/11/15.

CHAPTER SIX

GRANTS MADE

Because CCAC is now perceived as having been largely preoccupied with its role as a funding agency it is important to provide a detailed analysis of this component of its work. This Chapter will consider the Council's funding activities in geographical, functional and spending analyses and will also investigate its contributions to projects concerned specifically with the conservation of taonga Maori. It has been possible to gain access to the minutes for seventeen of CCAC's nineteen meetings. Grants were approved at sixteen of these meetings and a number of trends may be detected in the Council's allocation of funds.¹

6.1 GEOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

Of a total of 244 grants approved in the material surveyed, 164 were made to organisations while 80 were for the primary benefit of individuals. Of the grants approved to organisations, 78 went to groups in the North Island and only 36 to the South Island. Grants were also made to 6 national organisations, while 8 of the organisations receiving grants in the North Island also had a national focus, as did 3 of the South Island groups. CCAC made 25 grants to itself, largely for travel and other Council expenses, and one was made to a Pacific Island focussed group located in the North Island.²

Grants were made for a range of purposes and a full listing of grants surveyed is contained in Appendix Two. Projects approved by the Council in the North Island include 4 treatment subsidies (works on paper and a French clock) and 2 equipment grants (for a fume hood and microscope) at the Auckland Institute and Museum. The Auckland Public Library received a survey grant and funds for treating a collection of

¹ Refer to table of grants approved by CCAC, Appendix Two.

² An additional 18 grants were made to multiple or unspecified groups, *Ibid.*

letters. The Dowse Art Museum was successful in obtaining funding for a conservation survey and three treatment projects (works on paper, paintings, ceramic and glass). The Tongan Women's Association was assisted in staging a workshop on the conservation of tapa, and Orakei Marae and Nga Tapuwae College both received CCAC grants for conservation treatment of paintings.

In the South Island the Hocken Library secured two treatment subsidies (paintings) and an equipment grant (thermohydrograph). Onuku Church received a consultation subsidy for its altar panels and the Presbyterian Church Records Committee received a materials subsidy to assist in the transfer of journals to microfilm. Otago Museum was granted two salary seeding subsidies, a survey for its brass collection and two materials subsidies (storage of Maori cloaks and bronze collection). The Canterbury University School of Fine Arts also received a materials subsidy for improved storage of its painting collection.

There is a clear dominance of North Island organisations receiving funding from CCAC, and within the North Island, Auckland was the geographical area which received the largest number of CCAC grants. Organisations in this city received 27 grants, while 51 grants in total were made in the rest of the North Island. Auckland also had the highest number of institutions receiving grants (10).

Wellington received only four grants made to three organisations, probably reflecting the location of the headquarters of many of the country's major national cultural organisations in this city. These bodies were outside CCAC's target client base but there are many other cultural organisations in the capital and it is surprising that Wellington received the fewest grants of any of the main centres given that the Council was based there and it could be expected that organisations in the capital would be most aware of government funding initiatives and mechanisms.

A geographical comparison of grants made to the upper and lower North Island³ shows the upper North Island, predictably, receiving the most grants, being 42 projects

³ Taupo is used as the dividing point between upper and lower North Island.

approved at 19 organisations, while the lower North Island received 33 grants for 15 organisations. This indicates the upper North Island receiving approximately 20% more grants than the lower at approximately 20% more institutions. If the main centres are removed from the equation, however, the lower North Island fares considerably better receiving approximately 48% more grants than the upper. This situation no doubt reflects the larger number of regional museums in this area.

In the South Island, Dunedin received the overwhelming majority of grants at 22, compared with 14 for the remainder of the Island. This outcome may have been influenced by a relatively high awareness of conservation issues in the city resulting from the location of New Zealand's only conservation training programme at the Dunedin Public Art Gallery in the 1970s. The presence of a Dunedin based CCAC member may also have influenced this outcome although the institution he managed (the Hocken Library) received only 3 grants. Stuart Strachan was also the only Council member from the South Island and this lack of representation may have influenced the number of applications from other areas in the region. Like Wellington, Christchurch has a surprisingly low representation in grants approved by CCAC, receiving only 7 grants to 3 organisations in the material surveyed. This is despite the Council's active efforts to involve Canterbury Museum in its projects. Only 7 grants were made to organisations outside the main centres.

A similar split of the South Island into upper and lower,⁴ shows the south of the Island receiving the most support from CCAC, although only one of the area's 23 grants went to an organisation outside Dunedin. The northern part of the Island received a total of 13 grants, 6 of which went to groups outside Christchurch.

Viewing the country as a whole, there is little difference between the number of grants made to regional organisations as compared to organisations in the main centres. In the North Island, however, regional groups received more grants from CCAC than did main centre organisations, while in the South Island, the overwhelming majority of grants went to main centre groups. The success of the regional organisations from the North

⁴ Timaru is used as the dividing point between upper and lower South Island.

Island may have been influenced by a period of growth and revitalisation which occurred in these areas during this time, and also by the fact that the Council's chair was very active in the cultural property sector in the lower North Island at the time.

Approximately 81% of the grants awarded by CCAC were to organisations. Predictably, larger institutions in the main centres were the most common recipients but Wellington and Christchurch received surprisingly few grants in comparison with the other main cities. Regional institutions in the lower North Island fared particularly well and the Council itself was a frequent recipient of funds for travel and operations purposes. Although the number of grants made for Council costs is significant, this amounts to only 1.75% of its total allocated budget.

6.2 THE RECIPIENTS

Perhaps reflecting a greater level of conservation awareness due to a longer history of professional conservation services in this area, fine art organisations and collections received the greatest number of CCAC's organisation specific grants (29). Museums were the next most prominent organisations (18 grants), while 5 went to specifically Maori organisations, 3 to historic houses and 2 each to non fine art collections in archives and libraries. While still catering predominantly to museums and art galleries the Council was attracting clients from throughout a wider sphere of the cultural property community.

The diversity of organisations applying for CCAC support was on the increase as the Council became established and better known towards the end of its period of operation. All of the four grants allocated at CCAC's first meeting, for example, were awarded to individuals for travel and training purposes. In contrast, at its 18th meeting the Council awarded 15 grants, only four of which went to individuals. Only one grant allocated at this meeting went to a museum and of the four grants made for fine art collections, two were located in historic houses and one at a university. The New Zealand Puppet Theatre also received two grants at the 18th meeting, one went to a specifically Maori organisation and one to a public library.

Most organisations (28) received only one grant from CCAC, while the highest number of grants per organisation was 7 going to two metropolitan museums, the Auckland Institute and Museum and the Otago Museum. The lack of repeat applications among almost a third of the 61 groups who received funding from CCAC is a question which deserves attention.

Given the short time frame in which the Council operated and the time required to complete many conservation projects it is not surprising that applications for further projects were largely only lodged by major metropolitan museums. Also, the Council's grants were subsidies against the input of applicant organisations. Better resourced institutions were more able to provide initial core funding for conservation projects than were small and voluntary groups although these were often the very organisations most in need of assistance. Major institutions such as the Auckland Institute and Museum were aware of the Council and its functions from the outset and actively sought funding. They were also part of ICCCP's traditional museum and art gallery focused client group. More diverse organisations (such as archives, libraries and marae) and those with limited resources needed time to become aware of the Council and its operations and to understand and fulfil application procedures and requirements.

A recent Te Papa training needs survey indicated that of just over 500 museums operating in New Zealand, 400 were staffed by volunteers. Approximately 80 had between 3 and 18 paid staff and the nine major museums employed 60% of the total paid staff in the sector.⁵ Kaitiaki Maori are estimated to number only 8.26% of the total paid staff in New Zealand's museums and this small representation is concentrated in Te Papa and the Auckland Museum.⁶ Given these resourcing statistics it is not surprising that a relatively small number of larger organisations fared better in obtaining CCC funding.

CCAC itself was the most frequent recipient of grants with a total of 25 approved in the material surveyed. Of this number, 13 were for Council members' travel and expenses,

⁵ Presentation by Anne Pattillo, Te Papa National Services, Canterbury Museum, December 1997.

⁶ Pattillo, Anne et al, *Museums' Training Framework: Building a Stronger Museum Sector*, p. 2.

7 for conference or workshop planning, 2 for promotion, 2 for publication and one for the purchase of equipment to be owned by CCAC, held at Auckland Museum and used for conservation projects on Marae.⁷ Conference planning received the most funding in this category (\$161,128.00) although if the costs for the Taonga Maori Conference (\$152,128.00) are removed the conference figure is reduced to only \$9,000. In this analysis Council members' travel and expenses become the highest cost at \$41,403.60, while promotion received \$21,000 and publication \$10,000.⁸

6.3 FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

Table 2 indicates the number of grants made in the Council's various functional areas from 1987 until 1991. It shows a general growth in the overall number of applications approved with a marked increase in 1990 followed by a sharp drop off in 1991 when CCAC's activities were frozen. The most significant increases were in preventive conservation and treatment and consultancy with travel subsidies also receiving a high number of grants. These areas of investment were also consistently highly supported throughout the Council's period of operation, as was training although this began to drop off from 1990 reflecting the move away from training conservation professionals in Canberra. Research received the fewest grants and promotion and publication were not common areas of spending. Problems with sector understanding of the Council and its operations are not surprising given the minor focus on promoting its activities.

⁷ The amount of this grant was not specified so it is not included in the funding breakdown which follows, Minutes, CCAC Meeting 15, 14 August 1990, list of grants approved.

⁸ This amount is for one of the two publication grants only as a figure was not specified for the second, Minutes, CCAC Meeting 5, 7 July 1988, list of grants approved.

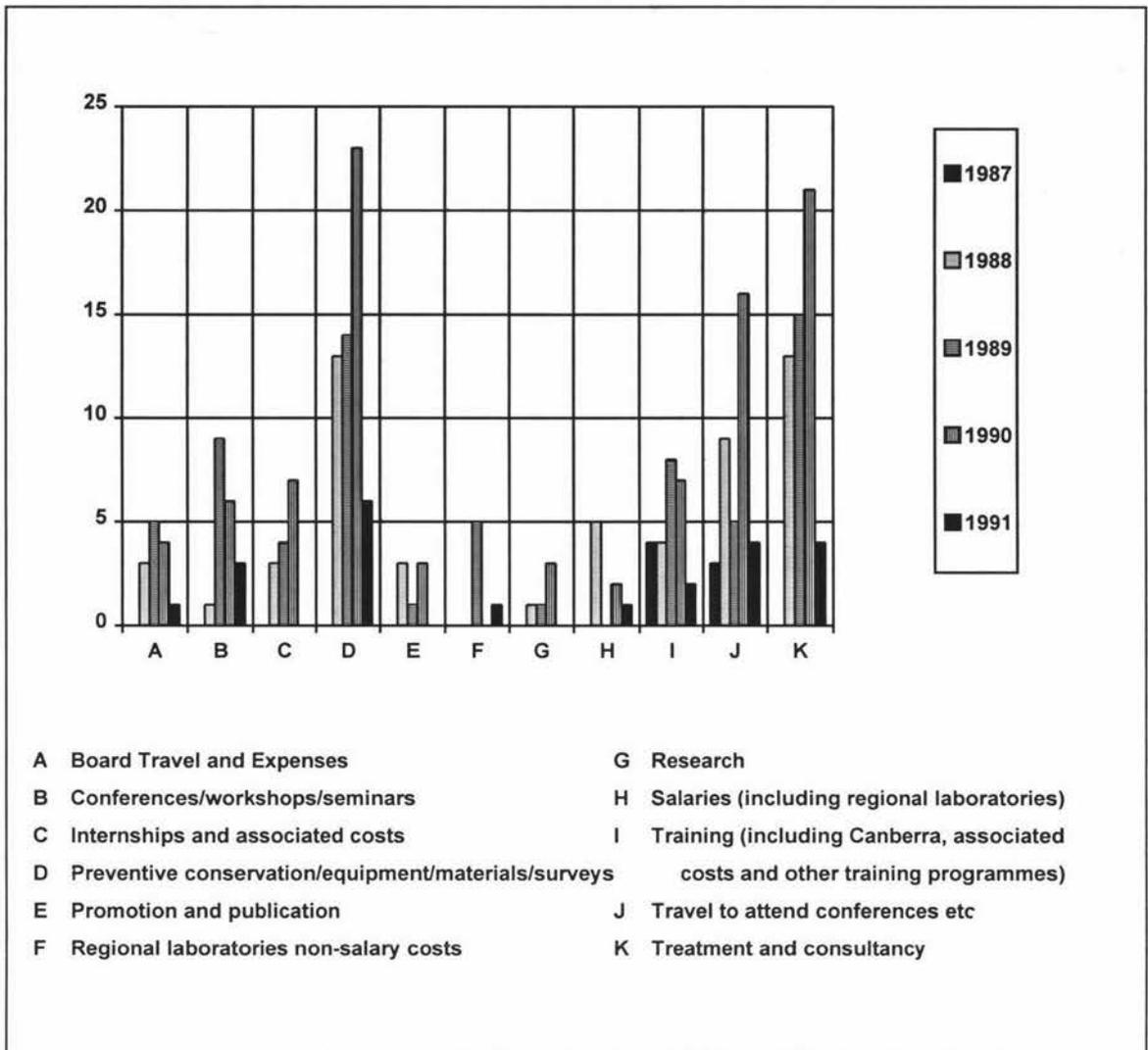


Table 2 Functional Analysis of CCAC Grants 1987 - 91

Organisation costs for conferences, workshops and seminars received 19 grants, only 2 of which were held in the South Island. Approval was given for 8 salary subsidies and 6 grants were made towards the operation of the regional laboratories. Despite the Council's policy priority for preventive conservation, the most frequent single category of grant approved to institutions was conservation treatment (42 grants for treatment and 10 for consultations). There is a significant gap to the next most common categories, conservation surveys and materials, which received 18 grants each. A total of 14 equipment grants were made, however, and given that the main focus of all three of these categories was preventive conservation, treatment and preventive conservation received a very similar proportion of the total grants approved by CCAC (approximately 32% for treatment and approximately 31% for preventive conservation).

The Conservation Award scheme further underlines the Council's commitment to preventive conservation but this analysis of the number of grants approved indicates that it did not actually give priority to preventive conservation over treatment. The amount of funds allotted to treatments also significantly exceeds that allotted to preventive conservation.⁹ This may be due to a lack of communication by the Council of its objectives and a perception in the sector that conservation, and therefore CCAC, was primarily about treatment. It also indicates that Council funding was chiefly reactive and determined by applications received. If it had been able to take a more proactive and educational role and to establish a national and widely accepted and understood conservation policy before beginning project funding, it might have been more successful both in determining areas of actual need and targeting support to these.

Of the 80 grants made primarily for the benefit of individuals, the largest number were for travel to attend conferences and refresher workshops throughout New Zealand and overseas. Grants made for this purpose totalled 38, perhaps reflecting a high level of awareness among existing conservation personnel of the operation and functions of the Council.

Training was the next most common category with 22 grants approved. Of this number 16 were for training at the Canberra College of Advanced Education, 5 were for training at other overseas centres or with existing conservation staff, and 1 was for attendance at an intensive Maori language course by a CCAC sponsored intern. Again, a broad interpretation of the skills required to care adequately for taonga is evidenced in the Council's decision to fund the latter project. Other overseas training funded by the Council including supporting two conservation students to train in England, one to complete an MA in film archiving in England and one to attend a rock art conservation course in Australia.

Internship grants numbered 14. Only 3 of these were at post-training level, the remaining 11 being introductory internships required before candidates would be considered for formal training overseas. Although the material surveyed does not

⁹ See Spending Analysis, Chapter 6.4.

record all of the grants approved by CCAC, it seems that the Council had little more success in achieving post training internships than in convincing institutions to establish permanent conservation positions.

6.4 SPENDING ANALYSIS

Amounts were not specified for a number of grants made by CCAC and in some cases the amount approved was a maximum limit. It is, therefore, not possible to determine the total amount of funding disbursed by the Council but it is possible to trace a number of trends in the purposes to which CCAC's funds were put.

If internships, funding for professional training, travel and conference/workshop/seminar organisation are viewed as a single grouping whose main priority was training of professional and other personnel in conservation methods and practices, training was by far the single greatest expense for CCAC at \$332,251.92¹⁰ or approximately 15% of the total funds allocated to the Council. Conservation treatments and consultations received the next highest funding total at \$240,592.58.¹¹ The Council's most costly single project was the Taonga Maori Conference (\$152,128.00) while the total operating and salary costs for the regional laboratories were only slightly lower at \$144,500.00.¹² Research was also a high cost for the CCAC at \$104,360.00, while equipment, materials and surveys for preventive conservation initiatives were allocated \$91,778.98.¹³ Costs incurred by Council members and the Chair amounted to \$39,153.60.

Monies allotted to publication were relatively low (\$16,311.25), and \$21,000 was invested in promoting the Council and its activities. Given that so few funds were applied to promotion it is not surprising that the Council's activities were not universally understood. This issue was receiving increased attention at the time

¹⁰ This is made up of internships (\$97,118.92), professional training (\$144,939.50), travel (\$57,937.50) and conference/workshop/seminar organisation \$32,256.00.

¹¹ This amount includes \$168,208.88 for consultations and \$72,383.70 for treatments.

¹² This cost includes operating expenses (\$74,000.00), non salary costs for the regional conservators (\$27,500.00) and salary subsidies for the regional conservators (\$43,000).

¹³ This amount includes \$35,275.90 for equipment, \$26,740.54 for materials and \$29,762.54 for surveys.

CCAC's activities were frozen so it is likely that the investment would have increased had the Council continued and that this would have improved levels of understanding.

It is not possible to determine the relative costs of salary seeding subsidies as the amount was specified for only one minor project in the material surveyed,¹⁴ but this does indicate that, while securing positions for newly qualified conservators was a strong concern for the Council and one to which they devoted a good deal of time and thought, relatively few funds were actually deployed for this purpose. This may be due to a reluctance or inability on the part of cultural property organisations to accommodate conservation positions into their long term budgets at that time.

It is clear that CCAC felt it had little choice but to adopt ICCCP's prioritisation of training and focussed the majority of funds in this area. The training focus did shift over time from expensive professional training programmes to providing in service training for existing non conservation staff of cultural property institutions. Preventive conservation measures received the next highest amount of funding from the Council, while conservation treatments received considerably less support, in line with CCAC's policy focus on improving levels of preventive conservation. The regional laboratories represented a valuable service for the cultural property community but were also a significant ongoing cost for the Council. Given that these only covered the Northern part of the country they also represented an even greater concentration of funding support in that region. Research was an unexpectedly high cost for the Council and one which has had few long term tangible results. The major harakeke fibre research project was completed and its findings exist as a thesis resource, however they were not widely published or disseminated.

6.5 MAORI INITIATIVES

In the material surveyed CCAC made a total of 35 grants for specifically Maori initiatives. This is approximately 14% of the total number of grants allocated and of this number 31 were for organisations (approximately 19% of the total number of grants

¹⁴ \$6,146.00

made to organisations) and 4 for the primary benefit of individuals (approximately 5% of the total number of grants made to individuals).

The Council allocated \$362,905.00 to Maori initiatives in the material surveyed. This is approximately 16.25% of its total income and exceeds the amount targetted to training which is the Council's highest general spending category. Although Maori initiatives across all of the classes of CCAC's activities account for the highest proportion of its spending, if the Taonga Maori Conference and the Council's research projects are removed from the equation only \$138,917.00 was allocated to other Maori initiatives, or approximately 6.2% of CCAC's income.¹⁵

Of the 31 grants made to organisations 11 were made to museums (at 6 institutions in the North Island and 1 in the South Island), 8 to other non-Maori organisations (3 to Auckland University, 4 to Otago University and 1 to the Historic Places Trust) and 6 to Maori groups including Haumaria Waka, Te Wehi O Te Rangi Trust Board and the Ngati Pahuwera Soc. Inc. Waiora. Consultations were the single most common category of grant approved for Maori purposes (6) and 3 of these were for Maori groups outside the museum sector. Three treatment subsidies were awarded for Maori projects but these do not follow on from the consultation grants. Two treatment subsidies were made to a marae group and one relates to a property owned by the Historic Places Trust.

Although the care of taonga Maori had been identified as a priority since the Stollow Report, this analysis of CCAC's funding reveals that it was not successful in distributing resources to those caring for taonga outside the mainstream museum sector. As was indicated in the general analysis of funding, this may be due to a failure on the part of the Council to promote and target its services sufficiently well and to a lack of resources on the part of potential clients making applications difficult. It is also

¹⁵ Funding for Maori initiatives was also made available at the meetings for which no data is available. Access to this data could alter the percentage of the Council's total budget allocated to this purpose significantly. A major grant of approximately \$50,000 was made to Auckland Museum for the restoration of a whare nui in the Museum's collection, for example, but this grant is not included in the material surveyed here. Because of privacy issues it has not been possible to gain access to specific information about the individuals whose training was supported by CCAC but a number of these were Maori, representing a further significant commitment to providing appropriate conservation skills for

possible that Maori groups considered conservation of particular taonga in the care of hapu and iwi to be inappropriate and that they were reluctant to involve a government bureaucracy in the significantly spiritual and ultimately personal activity of caring for taonga tuku iho.

As well as its contributions to the training of Maori conservators, the Council's prioritising of the care of taonga Maori is revealed in the two major projects in this area which it initiated. The Taonga Maori Conference is widely heralded as one of the Council's great achievements and one which has ongoing influence in the debate over the future role of government in the care of taonga which frames the current review and development of relevant legislation. The Harakeke research project was the first of its kind to consider the chemistry of a material unique to New Zealand and although the results were not widely disseminated, they do exist as a resource for professionals. CCAC's own targeted initiatives for the care of taonga Maori were successful and advances were made particularly in the storage of cloak collections in a number of museums, but it did not make a significant impact on the care of taonga tuku iho outside the mainstream of museum activity.

CCAC continued to operate in much the same manner as ICCCP, the body which it replaced. It was instrumental in raising the profile of conservation in the cultural property community and assisted an number of New Zealanders in acquiring professional conservation skills. It raised the profile of taonga Maori in New Zealand government and abroad and brought previously marginal organisations such as libraries and archives within the scope of government cultural property initiatives. It dispersed funds for a number of conservation purposes throughout the country but was not successful in developing a national conservation policy or establishing legislation for cultural property conservation or the establishment of a permanent conservation council. Stuart Strachan recalls:

I was aware at the time that this was probably one of the last relatively free spending institutions. It was a late bloom so to speak in that we had money to

taonga Maori collections. (Grant information is from Personal Correspondence, David butts to Kerry McCarthy 1998, email 20 May.)

disperse in a relatively unfettered fashion on a whole range of conservation projects and were in a position, in fact, to make things better. The problem was that the funding for CCAC came from two sources, Vote: Internal Affairs and the Lotteries Board, and Internal Affairs, as part of an economy measure, didn't really see CCAC as a high priority in its own terms.

The Secretary for internal Affairs began to withdraw funding as they were required to make cuts so we became more and more dependent on the Lotteries Board and the Lotteries board began to look askance at this because it was really saying, well if you're just giving out our money, we might as well give it out ourselves.¹⁶

The Department of Internal Affairs reviewed its priorities in light of current government philosophy and did not consider CCAC and its activities sufficiently important to continue its funding. The sector did not lobby strongly for the Council's continuation and the Lottery Board, also seeking financial efficiency in the economic rationalist climate of the 1990s, questioned CCAC's validity if it was simply an extra level of bureaucracy in the distribution of the Board's funds. An official review of CCAC and its activities was commissioned and this was to mark the final chapter to date in central government's attempts to coordinate the conservation of moveable cultural property at a national level.

¹⁶ Interview with Stuart Strachan, July 1997.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SECOND INTERREGNUM: EVENTS SINCE 1991

7.1 THE REVIEW OF CCAC AND THE BOAG REPORT

Following the change of government in 1990, Graeme Lee became Minister of Internal Affairs and Chair of the Lottery Grants Board, both functions which traditionally held responsibility for CCAC. The Minister of Internal Affairs was the Minister to whom the Council reported and provided advice. Internal Affairs was also responsible for a portion of the Council's income, while the Chair of the Lottery Grants Board had discretionary authority to make annual funding allocations to CCAC and other bodies not covered by the Board's official distribution committees.

During 1990 and 1991 all government expenditure underwent intense scrutiny in light of current priorities. As part of this exercise the Minister of Internal Affairs called for a full review of CCAC's operations and a justification for its continued existence.¹ Peter Boag, who had been Secretary of Internal Affairs from 1986 until June 1990, was commissioned to undertake the review. Boag had been the senior government official advising the Minister of Internal Affairs, and through him Parliament, on CCAC and its activities throughout its period of operation. His opinion of the Council, its functions and importance was the single most pivotal factor in determining its understanding and support at the highest political levels. Boag was now also to determine the final outcome of the previous twelve years of work by the ICCCP and CCAC in promoting cultural property conservation throughout New Zealand. Boag's nine terms of reference and key findings are detailed in Table 3. While the Review appears to envisage the continued existence of a centralised cultural conservation body in some form, its future status and role and, specifically, its funding activities are questioned.

*Boag Review Terms of Reference**Key Findings*

<p>1. To identify the role and purpose of the Council which will enable it to:</p> <p>a) meet its objectives effectively, and</p> <p>b) be accountable to the Minister of Internal Affairs</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The role of the Council would be to assess national priorities, fund them, educate New Zealanders about them, oversee policy and procedures and liaise and advise widely in this area.² • It would be designated a Lottery distribution outlet and presumably be subject to the normal accountability mechanisms for such a body.³ • It should be the principal adviser in the area to the Minister and institutions.⁴ • It should be fully accountable for all its activities and report annually to the Minister and thus the wider community on its activities.⁵
<p>2. To identify the most appropriate status of the Council.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A national body should be retained. • It should be renamed the Cultural Property Council and have both an advisory and a funding role. • It should be designated a Lottery distribution outlet.⁶ Its status is not further defined but the report impliedly accepts that it will be a ministerial advisory committee.⁷
<p>3. To review the current Terms of Reference in order to identify what</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Council would no longer have responsibility for funding or

¹ Boag, P.W., Op cit., p. 4.

² Ibid., p. 1.

³ Ibid., p. 1.

⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

⁵ Ibid., p. 23.

⁶ Ibid., p. 2.

⁷ It is referred to in these terms in the discussion of its role in the establishment of a permanent conservation body, Ibid., p. 23.

<p>should be retained, modified, or dispensed with.</p>	<p>subsidising employment and would negotiate with Te Papa about respective national responsibilities for the training of professional conservators and the delivery of conservation services.⁸</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It should consider extending its responsibility to cover immovable cultural property.⁹ • It would not promote the establishment of a permanent statutory conservation body.¹⁰ • The Council would provide advice to the Minister of Internal Affairs and other interested ministers as required.
<p>4. To identify whether the Council should have a funding role and if so what type of funding programme it should be engaged in and have responsibility for.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Council would have a funding role.¹¹ It would not have a role in funding conservation employment. The funding role is not further defined.
<p>5. To identify the size and type of membership the Council would require in order to ensure effective delivery of its objectives</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members should be appointed by the Minister of Internal Affairs on the basis of individual merit and skill, not as sector group representatives.¹² • The number of members is not specified although it is advocated that the Council be “relatively small”.¹³
<p>6. To assess the role of the Department of</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It would need to be clear about the

⁸ Ibid., p. 2.

⁹ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 23.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 2.

¹² Ibid., p. 1, 23.

¹³ Ibid., p. 2.

Internal Affairs in servicing the Council.	<p>type of servicing it would require and to enter into an agreement with the appropriate government agency for this purpose.¹⁴</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It should determine its own staffing and advice needs.¹⁵
7. To assess the relationship (if any) with the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • This role is not discussed, but the Council is to clarify its relationships and the appropriate division of responsibilities with other conservation service providers.¹⁶
8. To give consideration to the concept of a NZ Council for the Conservation of Cultural property.	The Council would not be involved in the development of a permanent conservation council. ¹⁷
9. Any other matters which may be relevant to this Review. ¹⁸	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is still a need for a central conservation body but it should consider regional operations and administration.¹⁹ • It should be renamed to overcome confusion with the name of the previous council (CCAC).²⁰ • The Council should adopt the 1976 QEII Working Party's inclusive definition of cultural property.²¹

Table 3 Boag Review Terms of Reference and key findings

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 23 - 24.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

¹⁸ Ibid., Annex A.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 1 and 3.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 1.

²¹ Ibid., p. 2.

At the same time as the Boag Report was commissioned, a review was undertaken of the operation of discretionary grants under the Lottery and Gaming Act 1977. In 1990 this concluded that while discretionary funding would continue it would be severely curtailed and funding decisions for CCAC were to be transferred to the Lottery General distribution committee. Lottery General were aware that CCAC was to be reviewed. While agreeing that sufficient funding should be available for CCAC's immediate requirements, the Committee was unwilling to make a more permanent decision on funding levels for cultural property conservation until the review was completed.²²

Peter Boag noted considerable sector interest in cultural property conservation. The demand for input was so great that the time frame for the review had been repeatedly extended, even then allowing the opportunity to consult only a cross section of those who wished to be involved.²³

Boag concluded:

Without exception, everybody consulted endorsed the concept of a body such as the CCAC. The conservators saw the Council both as an important reinforcement of the significance of their activities and also as a body with the potential to impress upon the Government and, indeed the whole of the New Zealand community, the importance of the conservation of our cultural property, in the context of the preservation of our heritage. Museum and Art Gallery managers, and indeed those to whom they are accountable, such as Local Bodies, also acknowledged with some enthusiasm the importance of the Council, particularly its provision of an objective consultancy service, which usually helped to persuade the various institutions, and their owners, of the importance of conservation policies and practices and, indeed, of the necessity of investing their own money in conservation activities if their various collections were to be adequately looked after.²⁴

The review concluded that there was universal endorsement for the importance of the adoption of a national policy on the conservation of cultural property and for a central

²² Ibid., p. 4 - 5.

²³ Boag, P.W., Covering letter, *Review of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council*.

²⁴ Boag, P.W. Op cit., p. 19.

body to assess national priorities, fund them and educate New Zealanders about them. It acknowledged the input of government and board members to date and recognised a strong support for the continued existence of a body such as CCAC to oversee policies and practices, assess priorities and advise government and institutions on cultural conservation issues.

However, Boag identified some confusion about CCAC's role and he advocated modification of its constitution and terms of reference to overcome this. Previous terms of reference were seen to be incongruous in requiring the body to act in both an operational capacity and in an advocacy role for the establishment of a statutory Council with long term philosophical objectives. Boag felt that other government agencies would be more suited to exploring the issue of statutory foundation for the Council if this was to remain a priority,²⁵ but did not specify which agencies he felt would be better suited to this role.

CCAC's statement of objectives had amounted to an attempt to take responsibility for all activities in New Zealand concerned with cultural conservation as well as seeking a role in the care of cultural property in the Pacific region. Boag felt that clients had seen this as unfocussed and were concerned that they had not received a clear statement of the body's conservation priorities.²⁶

Boag felt that the success of CCAC and ICCCP had been largely in the areas of training and awareness raising. A general affirmation was noted in the sector of the notion that all but the very small institutions should aim towards conservation self reliance. Boag concluded that this implied that it was no longer necessary for a central council to assume responsibility for training and employment. The conservation community was now of sufficient size and the provision of government funding assistance for training did not carry an automatic assurance of employment. Boag hoped, however, that larger institutions would develop their own programmes, including provision for employment of their own trainees.²⁷ He advocated that individual major institutions take

²⁵ Ibid., p. 25.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 24.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 25.

responsibility for funding the training of conservation personnel to meet their requirements. It is difficult to see why institutions would be willing to make this investment when conservation graduates could be recruited from overseas.

Significant progress had been made since the 1970s and the most important single factor in this progress was central government leadership of the Ministerial Advisory Committees and the funds they had made available, especially for training. Individual institutions and community groups had accepted the priority of conservation policies and practices, but this was not universal and there remained a need for resources to assist these groups to put their plans into action.²⁸

It was recognised that adequate funding, especially from government sources, was an ongoing problem, but continued funding was vital if the momentum that had been built up in the previous ten years was to continue. Lottery Board support was seen as essential in this area.²⁹ Most of CCAC's income had come from Lottery sources so that the Council was seen to operate essentially as a redistribution committee for Lottery profits set aside for cultural property conservation. In recognition of this, and to ensure the continuance of the Council's essential work, Boag recommended that it be designated an official Lottery outlet under the Lottery and Gaming Act 1977.³⁰

Boag noted the wide demands placed on CCAC by its terms of reference and saw the ensuing policy statement as a very ambitious move:

[T]he council was apparently committing itself in a very public way to a programme that would be difficult if not impossible to achieve even if it were to be given vastly increased resources.³¹

Given the breadth of its terms of reference, however, it is difficult to see how CCAC could have limited the scope of its objectives without failing accordingly to address the demands of the terms of reference.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 23.

²⁹ Ibid, p. 1 - 2.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

³¹ Ibid., p. 18 - 19.

In assessing CCAC's funding activities Boag noted that as its income base grew, so did the diversity of uses to which this was put. These included travel, conference attendance, publications, research, consultancy, interventive conservation, conservation surveys and equipment purchases, as well as the one off Taonga Maori Conference and the Conservation Awards which were introduced in 1988. A small collection of equipment was purchased by CCAC in 1988 to be held at the Auckland City Art Gallery and made available for use by smaller institutions under the supervision of a professional conservator. No record had been kept of the equipment purchased, no audit was carried out of its use and the location of the items purchased was no longer known.³² It is questionable whether it was the Council's responsibility to monitor the use of this equipment, however, as it had been passed into the administrative care of the Gallery. The Boag Report seems generally to express concern at the Council's administrative procedures and this criticism may be noted simply to add evidence to this argument.

The Council had dispersed significant amounts of public money but had made no annual reports other than brief comments in the Department of Internal Affairs' annual report to parliament. Again, this is a criticism of CCAC's administrative procedures. There is no evidence of the Council having been required to furnish annual reports, however, and it seems incongruous to criticise a Ministerial Advisory Committee for failing to fulfil an administrative requirement which had not been explicitly required of it by its supervising department. There is also an expectation that politically astute members of the Council would have recognised the public relations value of clear annual reporting for both the government and the heritage sector and would have taken steps to ensure this happened.

Reliance on Ministerial discretionary funds had meant that the Minister had been required to respond personally to requests for modest amounts of money.³³ All applications for use of Ministerial discretionary funds require the personal approval of the Minister. If the Council had been given control over its own budget this would not

³² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³³ Funding applications approved personally by the Minister of Internal Affairs were for amounts as low as \$119, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

have been necessary and the workload placed on the Minister and the Department in administering these requests could have been decreased significantly.

De-centralisation of the delivery of cultural conservation services had been advocated by successive councils. The Northern Regional Conservation Service had experienced difficulties in seeking to become self funding and Boag felt that even with a significantly improved economic situation only the larger institutions could afford to have their own conservators. He does not clarify what he means by 'larger institutions' but it is noteworthy that a number of regional museums, including the Manawatu and Gisborne Museums, have employed conservators. However, conservation staff at these two museums did undertake significant contract work outside their institutional employment and the Gisborne Museum position has subsequently been disestablished. The Manawatu position no doubt reflects the influence of CCAC's Chair in the planning of the new museum in Palmerston North of which she was Director.

It was felt that the needs of the smaller institutions would continue to exist. Boag suggested some possible solutions to this problem including a restructured council which would operate on a regional level providing services and equipment to small institutions as required on a part time basis, or, if the body was not to be 'hands on', it could encourage smaller institutions to form their own regional groupings and spread conservation resources collectively as required.³⁴

While the sector members consulted in the review continued to advocate that legislative foundation was necessary for the national conservation body, Boag was of the view that this wouldn't guarantee its effectiveness or adequate resourcing. He felt it was better to ensure that government remained sympathetic to the conservation needs of our material cultural property, that it acknowledge the role of the council as the principal source of advice and that the conservation community look to the council as essential to establishing national priorities.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 21.

Boag also pointed out the conflict between parliamentary control of material cultural heritage through legislation and private property rights. While legislation exists to prevent important classes of material cultural property from being exported from New Zealand (Antiquities Act 1975) Boag saw no similar legislation preventing this material found after 1975 from being allowed to deteriorate or be destroyed within the country.³⁵ In fact, Maori material is protected under the Antiquities Act as *prima facie* Crown property and therefore afforded the protection provided by legislation to all cultural property in central government ownership. There is, however, no similar legislation to protect other classes of material cultural property.

Boag's review elicited a firm response from the conservation community that government must continue to accept national responsibility for the development of conservation policy and practices and stated:

In spite of the extent to which the awareness of the importance of conservation issues has been heightened since the first Advisory Committee was established, and despite the very real progress that has been made in conserving cultural property, there is general agreement from everybody consulted in the course of this review that there is still a real need for some central body to ensure that individual communities and institutions accord the conservation of cultural property a very high priority.³⁶

He advocated the retention of a national body, but that it be restructured and its members be appointed on the basis of individual merit and skill rather than as representatives of various interested groups. Previous committee memberships had been structured to encompass representatives of most of the major sector groups. Boag saw this as a tactic designed to secure sector confidence in the boards and their work, but felt that this confidence had been achieved and it was no longer necessary to base council makeup on interest group representation. He felt it was time for cultural property conservation to move from an interest group based activity to one focused on

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

the effective delivery of professional services and skills³⁷ and the development of national policies and priorities.³⁸

While the Council's makeup certainly served in part to secure the confidence of the sector groups represented, it also ensured a wide range of relevant expertise which in turn fostered a balanced and informed view of issues and applications presented. The inclusion of a diversity of cultural property specialities and professional conservation input also created an environment which would encourage the reconciliation of conservation within broader museological concerns.

The review advocated that the council should examine its administrative requirements and determine the extent to which its secretariat should be able to provide a component of professional conservation advice in addition to its administrative role. Boag questioned the need for a professional conservator on the new board. He felt that this individual's influence may not always be welcomed, especially as the community grows and separate disciplines are strengthened in numbers and influence.³⁹ This stance is difficult to defend. The growth and diversification of the conservation profession has also led to increased delineation of areas of expertise. Conservation professionals adhere to codes of ethics which demand that they do not undertake work beyond their expertise and are themselves best equipped to judge where those boundaries lie and where issues should be referred to colleagues with appropriate skills.

The same reasoning advocates for the continued presence of a conservation professional on any future conservation council. A professional conservator possesses the technical skills to assess the merit of applications and knows when issues should be referred to individuals with specialist skills. Sarah Hillary recalls that the presence of a conservator on CCAC was vital:

I remember one application which proposed treatment on a painting that was really quite inappropriate. The Council supported the application but Lyndsay Knowles spotted the problem and the proposal was reconsidered. If there isn't a

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

conservator on the Council, there needs to be a mechanism for seeking professional advice on applications and that can add to the bureaucracy and slow things down even more.⁴⁰

Lyndsay Knowles is a works on paper conservator who was a member of CCAC. While paintings are not her area of speciality, she was able to identify problems with a proposed treatment and refer the issue to an appropriate conservation professional. This degree of technical knowledge goes beyond what can be expected of even senior members of the heritage profession who do not have conservation training as is evidenced in the fact that Council members saw no problems with the application. It might be possible to refer all applications to a separate committee or professional body with appropriate technical skills, but the increased paperwork and delay involved could be detrimental, especially for poorly resourced organisations. It is, therefore, not a wholly satisfactory alternative to the presence of a conservation professional on the Council.

Boag felt that the board should continue to be located within the Constitutional Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs, which services a number of autonomous councils and trusts, but that it should also brief other Ministers where appropriate (eg Cultural Affairs, Conservation, Maori Development, Pacific Island Affairs).⁴¹ He was, thus, advocating that it remain in a service delivery area of government, but does not explain how this would be reconciled with its policy formulation functions. Policy development is currently the responsibility of the Department of Cultural Affairs although the new Heritage Unit of the Department of Internal Affairs will also have responsibilities in this area.

The secretariat would provide general administrative and clerical support, while professional conservation advice and input could be obtained through either continuing to have a conservator on the board and seeking specific expert advice externally as necessary, or establishing a Professional Advisory Council to whom all technical questions would be referred.⁴²

⁴⁰ Interview with Sarah Hillary, November 1997.

⁴¹ Boag, P.W., *Op cit.*, p. 25.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 19 - 20.

Boag stated that the council must be clear about the type of servicing it requires and enter into an appropriate agreement with the agency identified for its supply. Preparation of a statement of annual and three yearly priorities would clarify relationships and division of responsibilities with other service providers such as the Te Papa (especially through its National Services function), National Library, National Archives and the Historic Places Trust.⁴³ The activities of the newly established National Preservation Programme, an initiative of the National Library and National Archives would now also need to be taken into account. The new council must be seen to be the principal adviser to the Minister and institutions on conservation practices and priorities. It must be fully accountable for all of its activities and report annually on these to the Minister and through him or her to the wider community.⁴⁴

An issue to which the new council should give priority was consideration of the extent to which it should become a supplier of conservation services and the extent to which it should develop an operation with the ability to approve quickly, under delegated authority, funding sought for conservation purposes and to deliver, where appropriate, conservation services itself.⁴⁵ To this end Boag asked that the council consider the extent to which it might be administered on a regional basis with appropriate delegations to enable decisions on resource allocations and delivery of conservation services to be made quickly and close to clients.⁴⁶

Boag advocated that the new group be relatively small but with a focus on providing the necessary range of skills and experience to enable it to discharge its responsibilities effectively. He suggested a new name, the Cultural Property Council (CPC), to clarify the purpose of the body. It was also to investigate the advisability of extending its role to cover immovable cultural property. Boag maintained the 1976 QEII Working Party's definition of cultural property which included both moveable and immovable cultural property. CCAC did not explicitly limit itself to moveable cultural property. It was more concerned with the issue of ownership in determining whether particular

⁴³ Ibid., p. 25 - 26.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 26.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 3.

items were within its sphere of responsibility. However Boag has concluded that it was a body focussed specifically on moveable cultural property.

The CPC would set priorities and promote, advise and fund at a national level in its area of responsibility through the Minister of Internal Affairs. It would explore regional operational options and negotiate with the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa about national training responsibilities and the delivery of conservation services to other institutions.⁴⁷

The previous two committees had terms of reference explicitly referring to training and employment but this responsibility for the new council, so far as it was deemed desirable and appropriate, would be incorporated in a more general responsibility for funding or subsidising employment opportunities for graduates from conservation training schemes.⁴⁸ Boag noted that, while the previous committees began assessing applications for training subsidies on a case by case basis, this developed into an expectation that CCAC would automatically fund internships as an integral part of its conservation training programme.⁴⁹

The Report found that government funding for cultural property conservation had been carried out in a manner which was not entirely satisfactory and even expedient.⁵⁰ Reliance on Lottery Board funding rather than predictable levels of secure government income were evidence of this situation. Past boards had also relied on the good will of Ministers of Internal Affairs in providing access to discretionary funds. The current economic climate meant that there was little likelihood of resumption of direct government funding for cultural heritage conservation in the near future and Boag saw the Lottery Grants Board as the only likely source of income for continued initiatives in this area.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 2 - 3.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 13.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 22.

It was seen as philosophically inappropriate to rely on Lottery income to fund an area of acknowledged government responsibility. The body was charged with a long term responsibility and this required some guarantee of continued funding.⁵¹ The shift of CCAC to the auspices of Lottery General placed an extra strain on the board as it now had to compete with numerous other claims on available funds. It could be argued that the cultural conservation cause was not widely enough acknowledged in the broader community for the heritage sector to feel automatically secure in this context. Boag also pointed out that CCAC had functioned more like a Lottery Board distribution committee in its own right than had many of Lottery General's existing clients.⁵² Proliferation and diversification of gaming activities in recent years has led to a concurrent diversification in spending. It is, therefore, likely that Lottery profits will be reduced, adding extra strain to demands for funding from this source.

Previous advisory committees had focused on community museums, art galleries and other repositories. Boag confirmed that some government and quasi government organisations may be big enough to look after their own conservation requirements (eg National Library, National Archives, Historic Places Trust, Te Papa) and that these would not be high priorities for Lottery based funding. This confirmation validates CCAC's policy of not funding central government heritage agencies.

Boag advocated that the new body be seen to be able to make all of its own financial and management decisions and be accountable for them. In the longer term he anticipated that government would acknowledge tangibly the vital importance of the conservation of cultural property and restore at least part of the Vote funding which had been allocated for this purpose.⁵³

Pending decisions on the above, it was recommended that the CCAC secretariat undertake a preliminary financial analysis of the implications of the Report including the likely administrative costs of the continuance of established policies such as training

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 25.

⁵² Ibid., p. 22.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 23.

support grants. This information would make it possible to begin discussions with the Lottery Board about the resumption of funding for the Council.⁵⁴

It is interesting to compare Boag's report with the earlier one prepared by Dr Stolow. While Stolow was a conservation professional, concerned primarily to establish the state of New Zealand's dispersed heritage collections and to put forward a plan for a national infrastructure to deal with their conservation needs, Boag proceeded from the perspective of a senior government official, concerned primarily to assess CCAC's effectiveness and worth as a government agency and to provide a proposal for improvements in this area.

7.2 COUNCIL FOR THE CONSERVATION OF CULTURAL PROPERTY (CULTURAL PROPERTY COUNCIL)

Following the Boag Report, steps were taken to establish a new national body with responsibility for the provision of advice on policy and priorities for New Zealand's moveable material cultural property. When finally proposed by the Minister of Internal Affairs in September 1993, the body was to be constituted as a Ministerial Advisory Committee funded from the Internal Affairs Vote for basic operations and eligible for Lottery funds for special projects. The body was to be called the Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property (CCCP) and would have no funding responsibility. It could liaise with funding bodies and, if asked, provide expert advice on relevant cultural property funding applications. It would also consider the provision of regional conservation services. The proposed Council would negotiate the provision of all resources with the Department of Internal Affairs and would give priority to providing ongoing funds for the projects of CCAC.⁵⁵

The Council would have no responsibility for conservation training or employment but would consider negotiating with Te Papa with regard to training and service delivery to the regions. It was asserted during the development of the proposal that the removal of

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁵⁵ Department of Internal Affairs, Ministerial Discussion Paper, 15 March 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file CPC/1.

three of CCAC's major functions from the role of the new body (training, education and funding) and a reconfirmation of the body's focus on material cultural property (no definition of this term is given in the proposal) would

leave a Council with a clear direction and the resources tailored to its needs. The Cultural Property Council⁵⁶ will be able to concentrate on providing advice on, and promoting understanding of, issues and practices as its predecessor could not.⁵⁷

The Minister favoured separation of the delivery and departmental functions of CCAC and the formation of two new bodies: a Cultural Property Council (CPC) with functions including the assessment of national priorities and policy development, and a Cultural Property Sub-Committee of the Lottery Board Environment and Heritage Committee to distribute Lottery funds to the sector. This would allow the CPC to concentrate on departmental functions and to be eligible for Lottery funds. The CPC would operate at a number of levels including Ministerial, departmental, institutional, local governmental, organisational and individual.⁵⁸ In the final proposal, however, a single body was to act in policy formulation and in the provision of specialist funding advice when requested by Lottery Environment and Heritage.

In determining the form of the new body, the government strove to keep two factors in mind: maintaining the spirit of the Boag Report and the need to maintain the integrity of the Lottery structure. Three options were considered: a trust, an official Lottery distribution committee and a Ministerial Advisory Committee similar to CCAC.⁵⁹ As a trust, the body could seek Lottery funding for operating and project costs but could not distribute it, while as a Lottery distribution committee or sub-committee it could distribute Lottery funds but could not carry out any other functions. As a Ministerial Advisory Committee it could apply for Lottery funding for special projects but not for

⁵⁶ Peter Boag's proposed title for the new council was maintained at this stage of the proposal's development.

⁵⁷ Letter, J.M. George, General Manager, Executive Government Support to Te Waka Toi, 5 March 1993, Department of Internal Affairs, file CPC/1.

⁵⁸ Memorandum, Secretary of Internal Affairs to Minister of Internal Affairs, 9 November 1992, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/15/68.

⁵⁹ Memorandum, Secretary of Internal Affairs to Minister of Internal Affairs, 9 November 1992, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/15/68.

operating costs, nor could it distribute Lottery funds. Distribution of Lottery funds by a Ministerial Advisory Committee or trust was seen to violate the Lottery and Gaming Act 1977 and any mechanisms which might be introduced to enable this were seen to risk setting a difficult precedent and to be out of line with the Department's stance adopted during government's review of its strategic results areas (SRAs).⁶⁰ This opinion has implications for the operation of CCAC itself which was a Ministerial Advisory Committee among whose chief functions was the distribution of Lottery funds. The issue has not yet been investigated.

Today all policy initiatives, especially where they involve spending, must be justified in terms of contributing to one or more of the SRAs. Policy proposals about activities omitted from the SRAs are unlikely to receive serious consideration or support.⁶¹ Cultural heritage does not feature in the current SRAs so a proposal for a new body in this area, particularly if it were to have a funding role, would be difficult to sustain.

The Department of Internal Affairs concluded that a Ministerial Advisory Committee was "practical and in keeping with current government philosophy"⁶² and that the proposal was still effectively covered by the Cabinet Social Equity Committee paper which had established CCAC as an interim body.⁶³ The need for Cabinet enactment of a new body could be avoided and the lack of a heritage or cultural property focused SRA overcome. It was proposed that the Minister agree to implement these recommendations as soon as possible, preferably before the end of 1992, and give urgency to funding the ongoing projects of CCAC.⁶⁴

Further development of the proposal took place before it was formally put to Cabinet, and in March 1993 input was requested from interested government agencies including the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, the Historic Places Trust, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, National Archives, Te Puni

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Easton, Brian, *Op cit.*, p. 56.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ SE (87)16.

⁶⁴ Letter, Secretary of Internal Affairs to Minister of Internal Affairs, 9 November 1992, Department of Internal Affairs file CUL11/15/68.

Kokiri, Treasury and Te Waka Toi. It is interesting to note that all the bodies consulted at this time were central government agencies. No attempt was made to obtain direct input from regional museums or heritage bodies. This risked engendering both ill feeling and a lack of sense of ownership of the new body among the groups not consulted. It also ignores Boag's recommendation that the new council focus primarily on regional and smaller heritage organisations. The larger central government bodies would take care of most of their own conservation needs and act as advisers for the dispersed national collection.⁶⁵ This action further eliminates the clients of the previous conservation councils from the development of the proposal.

The Historic Places Trust expressed its disappointment at a perceived lack of consultation during the Boag review. It was also concerned at the proposal that the new body's role be in policy, advocacy and advice only, questioning how its findings and recommendations were to be disseminated. The Trust felt that the proposed budget was too small to discharge the council's significant duties effectively and requested clearer definition of its terms of reference and relationship with other organisations. The current proposal was to be seen to risk producing a body which would be essentially ineffective.⁶⁶

The National Library applauded CCAC's broad ranging approach to material cultural property conservation while conceding that its funding commitments became considerably extended. It stressed that the new body must have secure and independent funding in order to be able to identify national conservation priorities and move in a structured way to address these. Further definition was requested of the proposed CPC's relationship with existing cultural sector agencies, and the Library questioned how the 'national priorities' it would formulate would be translated into action.⁶⁷ It also noted that the new body's success depended on having the confidence of all interested

⁶⁵ Boag, P.W., *Op cit.*, p. 23.

⁶⁶ Historic Places Trust response to request for input into the development of the Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 4 May 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/4.

⁶⁷ National Library of New Zealand and Ministry of Cultural Affairs response to request for input into the development of the proposed Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, September 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1.

parties and that this group is wider than just museums.⁶⁸ National Archives, similarly, noted that the intention for the council to negotiate with Te Papa about training delivery created an inappropriate focus on artefact collections at the expense of archives and manuscripts.⁶⁹

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa expressed concern at not having had direct input into Peter Boag's review of CCAC. It also saw a need for greater focus in the new body than CCAC but felt that the removal of its funding and training functions had implications which had not been fully explored. There was also seen to be a need for clarification of the relationship between CPC and the National Services arm of the Museum of New Zealand.⁷⁰

The Ministry of Cultural Affairs expressed concern that it had not been involved in the development of the new proposal and noted that the great pressure on cultural resources meant the new body's role must be justified before it was constituted. The Ministry also felt that the removal of several of CCAC's specific functions (training, education and funding) left a body which was actually less well defined than CCAC had been and which duplicated expertise and functions already provided in other departments and national institutions.⁷¹

The diversity of opinion expressed during this round of consultation indicates the difficulty of achieving consensus within government departments and the barrier this presents to the re-establishment of a cultural property conservation council. It also provides a significant parallel to the lack of coherent advocacy from the wider heritage sector. The input was considered at an interdepartmental consultation meeting held on 30 June 1993 where two key issues were identified in the heritage conservation funding

⁶⁸ National Library of New Zealand and Ministry of Cultural Affairs response to request for input into the development of the proposed Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 2 April 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/4.

⁶⁹ National Archives response to request for input into the development of the proposed Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 5 April 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/4.

⁷⁰ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa response to request for input into the development of the proposed Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 5 April 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/4.

⁷¹ Ministry of Cultural Affairs response to request for input into the development of the proposed Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 2 April 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1.

debate. First, it was seen necessary that a national overview for funding conservation training be resumed, and that a Cultural Property Council was the best place to do this. Second, it was held that the conservation of cultural property was a Government responsibility and should be Government funded.⁷²

The working title of the new body was changed to the Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property (CCCP) at the meeting and it was proposed that it be established by Cabinet with Internal Affairs Vote funding for training, separate from Lottery Board income for special projects. Its prime functions at this time were to be conservation training, commissioned research and special projects. The body would act as a conservation advocate and adviser, setting national priorities and focusing on both institutional and non-institutional collections. The meeting also concluded that the body should seek to employ a professional conservator with technical skills and a desk officer for administration and support, both funded from the Internal Affairs Vote.⁷³

The proposal that Vote funding be available for training and for the employment of dedicated staff for the new body was rejected by Department of Internal Affairs senior management on the grounds that it would be opposed by Treasury. It was seen as appropriate that the organisations which would benefit from conservation professionals should fund their training from existing schemes and resources, while the Council would monitor progress and advise as deemed appropriate by the agencies providing the training and resources. It was noted that this might not be a feasible solution for non-institutional training,⁷⁴ a point which has obvious import for marae based or other projects focused on the conservation of indigenous materials.

Concern was expressed as to whether the proposed CCCP would be an adequate replacement for CCAC. As a Ministerial Advisory Committee with its own budget, CCAC had, in theory, been able to establish conservation priorities and to implement strategies to address them. Any such body needed secure and independent funding to

⁷² Executive Summary of meeting held 30 June 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

⁷³ Resolutions, *Ibid.*

operate successfully. Concern was also expressed at the lack of explanation of the proposed body's relationship with existing agencies in the cultural sector.

The proposal stated that the new Council would be a specialist adviser to the Lottery Environment and Heritage Sub-committee for funds specifically set aside for conservation. Lottery Environment and Heritage was also the Council's only source of funding to carry out its own projects, available on a contestable basis. This was seen to create a conflict of interest. The Council would advise Lottery Environment and Heritage on the very applications with which it was obliged to compete for its share of funding. The argument that the Council would not be Lottery Environment and Heritage's sole adviser does not resolve this conflict as it implies that the advice given by the Council in its most pertinent area is not very strong.

Widespread concern was expressed in the conservation profession that inadequate consultation had taken place in the preparation of the Boag Report and the development of the current proposal which was considered by heritage sector representatives to be

unlikely to play a useful role or, at best, do no more than duplicate the various efforts of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (through the National Services programme) and other agencies. Yet the need for a properly resourced conservation agency remains.⁷⁵

The Minister of Internal Affairs put the proposal for a permanent Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property to Cabinet in September 1993.⁷⁶ Its broad terms of reference were to

- a) advise the government on cultural property conservation,
- b) formulate national policy with regard to training needs, and
- c) undertake special projects and research.

It was to be funded from the Internal Affairs Vote for establishment and meeting costs and the provision of a desk officer.⁷⁷ Membership would number up to seven, with at

⁷⁴ Letter, Manager, Constitutional Branch, Department of Internal Affairs to participants in interdepartmental consultation meeting 30 June 1993, 21 July 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

⁷⁵ Executive Summary of meeting held 30 June 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

least three members nominated by the Minister of Internal Affairs. All should have knowledge of the conservation of cultural property and broad skills in areas such as advocacy and training. At least one member should have broad cultural views.⁷⁸

The body was to replace CCAC:

which was considered to be inadequately resourced to meet its terms of reference and in particular to train and find employment for New Zealand conservators.⁷⁹

The agreed purpose of the CCCP was to

be the advocate and adviser on the conservation of New Zealand's institutional and non-institutional collections of moveable, material, cultural property.⁸⁰

It would advise government on all issues relating to the conservation of moveable cultural heritage and act as a specialist advisory sub-committee to the Lottery Environment and Heritage Committee for the dispersal of funds for conservation projects. Although previous councils had not limited themselves purely to moveable cultural property, it is made explicit that the new council should seek to represent this category of cultural property only.

An explicit function envisaged of the Council was the development of a statement on the relationship between cultural property and the Treaty of Waitangi and on the Council's relationship to non-material cultural property such as concepts of place, as well as indigenous conservation skills. Te Puni Kokiri were to have specific input in this area.⁸¹

The Council was to function as:

1. a setter and promoter of national priorities,

⁷⁶ SSC (93) 126.

⁷⁷ It was expected that \$64,000 set aside from Vote: Internal Affairs for the 1992/93 financial year would carry over to the Cultural Property Council to meet establishment and initial operating costs, Letter, J.M. George, General Manager, Executive Government Support to Te Waka Toi, 5 March 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file CPC/1.

⁷⁸ Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Discussion Paper: Ministerial Response to the Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 9 August 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Office of the Minister of Internal Affairs, Discussion Paper: Ministerial Response to the Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, 9 August 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

⁸¹ Ibid.

2. a formulator and advocate for a national overview of conservation training for cultural property, including identification of needs and possible ways of meeting these,
3. a special project team involved, for example, in a pilot project with iwi or a survey in a particular area of cultural property conservation such as natural history,
4. a body undertaking commissioned research, and
5. an information clearing house.⁸²

The Council was to be constituted as an interim Ministerial Advisory Committee, like CCAC, but with a view to statutory status by inclusion in the Protection of Moveable Cultural Heritage Bill, which would “make the Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property the official adviser on the conservation of cultural property in New Zealand.”⁸³

Vote funding of \$53,000 for establishment and operation costs and a desk officer was to be provided in the 1993/94 budget of the Constitutional Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs, while Lottery Environment and Heritage had allocated \$400,000 in its 1993/94 budget for the conservation of moveable cultural property. These funds were to be available to individuals as well as organisations (some of whom were existing clients of CCAC) and to the CCCP itself on a contestable basis. The Council would be its own advocate for additional funding and advocacy would be based on the results of its research and project work.⁸⁴

The proposal was to disestablish CCAC and establish CCCP was taken to the Cabinet State Sector Committee in September 1993. The Committee deferred its decision on the establishment of CCCP “pending further consultation with relevant departments and agencies to develop the proposal.”⁸⁵ It was particularly concerned that the Council might duplicate services provided by Te Papa and other agencies.⁸⁶ This decision implies that CCAC has been formally disestablished, but no decision has yet been made on a replacement body.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Cabinet SS Committee Paper STA (93) M29/4.

The ensuing round of consultation considered the Council's functions in more detail. In seeking input on the possible overlap between the CCCP and Te Papa National Services, the Department of Internal Affairs put forward an extended list of proposed functions which were,

1. to formulate and promote national priorities for the conservation of moveable cultural property and to advise Ministers on issues relating to these
2. to advise on funding applications to the Lottery Board's Environment and Heritage Committee which involve the conservation of moveable cultural property
3. to formulate and monitor a national training policy and programme, including an analysis of needs and ways in which these might be met
4. to promote and monitor the results of special projects
5. to promote and monitor the results of commissioned research
6. to act as an information clearing house
7. to advise the Cultural Heritage Council, to be established under the Protection of Moveable Cultural Heritage Bill, on conservation issues relating to newly found cultural property.⁸⁷

The Council's role in training was considered in some depth. The Te Maori Manaaki Taonga Trust Deed gave this body an explicit role in the education of Maori in the skills required to care for and display Taonga. Obviously creating a potential overlap with the proposed CCCP, this training was intended to include, but not be limited to, the training of Maori curators and conservators.⁸⁸

The Lottery Environment and Heritage Committee had been established early in 1993 and was to meet three times per year to consider relevant Lottery funding applications. In March 1993, it had agreed that it would consider applications for cultural property conservation and had made a number of such grants. The Committee expressed concern about the structure of the proposed new council, questioning whether it would be able to operate effectively without its own secure funding, and also whether it would be an

⁸⁶ Personal Correspondence, Minister of Internal Affairs to David Butts, undated (1997).

⁸⁷ Letter Department of Internal Affairs to National Collections Service Steering Committee, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 4 March 1994, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2. The Protection of Moveable Cultural Heritage Bill has not yet been formally drafted.

adequate replacement for CCAC which had made funding for overseas training of conservation staff a priority.⁸⁹

Lottery Environment and Heritage also considered its own role with regard to conservation training in the light of the demise of CCAC. The Committee noted that the cost to CCAC of providing on the job training and attendance at an overseas degree course for a single conservator was approximately \$80,000, and once this training was completed there was no certainty of employment in New Zealand.

It was not Lottery Board policy to fund applications from individuals or for overseas travel. Applications for professional conservation training would need to come through organisations such as museums or libraries and serve as an indication of the organisations' level of commitment to the conservation of cultural property. No such applications had been received at the time, although the Historic Places Trust had requested funds for the training of Maori conservators as part of its 1994/95 funding submission.

The Committee recommended that training of conservators should be the responsibility of individual institutions and the Ministry of Education and that applications to Lottery Environment and Heritage for this purpose would not be considered.⁹⁰ The Department of Internal Affairs suggested an annual training scholarship, provided on a subsidy basis, to be funded from Lottery profits if an exemption could be granted under the Lottery and Gaming Act 1977 for overseas training. This proposal was felt to be premature at the time of the consultation, however, and has not yet been actioned.⁹¹ Both Te Waka Toi and the QEII Arts Council felt that conservation training was

⁸⁸ Te Maori Manaaki Taonga Trust Deed 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

⁸⁹ Memo, Manager, Constitutional Branch, Department of Internal Affairs, to General Manager, Lottery Grants Division, 4 February 1994, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1.

⁹⁰ Recommendation document, Lottery Grants Board Environment and Heritage Committee to Secretary for Internal Affairs 10 June 1994, Department of internal Affairs file TCP/1/1.

⁹¹ Memo, Manager, Constitutional Branch, Department of Internal Affairs to General Manager, Lottery Grants Division, Department of Internal Affairs, 4 February 1994, Department of Internal Affairs File TCP/1/1.

separate from their primary responsibilities, and noted a gap in service provision in this area since the demise of CCAC.⁹²

Consultation continued and was carried out in light of the changes underway in the cultural sector, and particularly potential for overlap with National Services. Input from sector groups was generally positive about the achievements of CCAC, but expressed concerns about the proposed new body. The New Zealand Archaeological Association wrote:

We feel that the CCAC was a helpful and worthwhile organisation with a necessary brief. It seems clear that the operations of the C.P.C. will be restricted to the areas of publicity and advice and the gap between the role of the C.P.C. and the former role of CCAC concerns us.⁹³

The Association expressed specific concerns about the need for funding for consultation and professional conservation training. They also sought assurance that the wet wood laboratory at Auckland University would continue to be funded.⁹⁴ No such assurance was forthcoming and the Minister reiterated the Department's statement of 1993 that CCAC clients must now seek funding elsewhere. He saw no obligation on the new body to continue supporting CCAC projects.⁹⁵

The Archives and Records Association of New Zealand wrote that CCAC:

performed a most valuable function in bringing the conservation of archives and manuscripts within the general ambit of conservation policies and programmes nationally. It is important that the impetus so gained should not be lost.⁹⁶

This round of consultation was government's last action in determining the outcome of this debate surrounding its role in the conservation of moveable cultural property. The subject has lapsed since 1993 and CCAC has never been formally disestablished or

⁹² Memo J. Keate to D. Stevens, 4 February 1994, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1.

⁹³ Letter, Secretary, New Zealand Archaeological Association to Minister of Internal Affairs, 5 April 1994, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Letter Minister of Internal Affairs to New Zealand Archaeological Association, 21 April 1994, also Letter Minister of Internal Affairs to Dr Roger Green, Anthropology Department, Auckland University, 17 August 1993, both in Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

replaced. A final review of CCAC and recommendation for the future is pending. MAANZ had continued to express concern at government's lack of action in this area⁹⁷ but its advocacy has been at a low level and limited to an exchange of correspondence. In 1997 the Minister of Cultural Affairs stated:

Internal Affairs was reluctant to embark on any new initiatives in the conservation of cultural property that could overlap with the National Services function of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. However, it has now been clarified that the current direction of National Services does not encompass conservation, and so consequently it could be appropriate for central government to have direct involvement in this area again.

...

I can assure you that I do regard those functions that the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council undertook as very important, and am aware that the scope of that body's activities is not matched at present by other agencies' activities. The provision of an adequate conservation service that is responsive to conservation priorities nationally is important for the heritage of our country.⁹⁸

The Minister of Internal Affairs also stated at this time:

Now that a formal statement has been received regarding the possible overlaps between National Services and proposed CCCP, the Department is able to complete its investigation and report back on this matter. Departmental officials will be contacting those organisations and individuals who have an interest in this field ... as part of their investigation.⁹⁹

Government's future involvement in cultural property conservation is, thus, under consideration by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs as well as Internal Affairs. There has still been no resolution of the issue but the exclusion of conservation from National

⁹⁶ Letter, President, Archives and Records Association of New Zealand to Minister of Internal Affairs, 28 April 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

⁹⁷ Letter, Chair, Museums Association of Aotearoa New Zealand to Minister of Internal Affairs, 22 January 1997, *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Personal Correspondence, Minister of Cultural Affairs to David Butts, 14 May 1997.

⁹⁹ Personal Correspondence, Minister of Internal Affairs to David Butts, undated (1997).

Service's operations does create the possibility of renewed government input. Internal Affairs envisages reviewing the whole issue of its involvement in cultural property conservation and plans a further round of consultation to this end. Government processes are notoriously slow, however, and competing priorities including the Report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment and the Historic Heritage Management Review may postpone this review still further. Increased sector and community advocacy may be required to restart the debate and the newly formed Museums Aotearoa may prove successful in this role.

7.3 RECENT HERITAGE SECTOR INITIATIVES

A number of discrete initiatives have been undertaken by government and various of its agencies in recent years with the aim of improving the management and conservation of heritage assets. While not always focussing on moveable cultural property, a review of these initiatives provides insight into current government thinking about heritage management in general and cultural property conservation in particular.

7.3.1 NATIONAL LIBRARY AND NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF NEW ZEALAND: NATIONAL PRESERVATION PROGRAMME

In 1997 the National Library of New Zealand established a National Preservation Programme for recorded heritage information in conjunction with National Archives. The Programme is located within the National Library in Wellington where it is staffed by two National Preservation Officers and managed jointly by the National Library and National Archives. Both Preservation Officers are qualified and experienced conservators in relevant areas of cultural property. The Programme explicitly excludes artefact and pictorial collections which are considered to be the core of museum and art gallery business.¹⁰⁰ National Preservation Officer, Jocelyn Cumming, noted:

There is a particular 'library' focus in our work. I think the tradition of conservation is stronger in museums. We will be involved with all kinds of

¹⁰⁰ National Library of New Zealand, *National Preservation Programme Report*, p. 6.

documentary heritage no matter where it is stored, though. We don't distinguish between libraries, museums and archives. Where appropriate we will probably also give general advice on non-documentary material. We will not be undertaking treatment except in areas of very acute need.¹⁰¹

The Programme's focus will be advice and preventive conservation and it will work with relevant collections throughout the country, not restricting itself to libraries and archives.

The National Preservation Programme is seen to be in line with one of the National Library's stated goals which requires it "to develop and co-ordinate National Preservation Programmes for New Zealand's information resources."¹⁰² It is noteworthy that this goal focuses on the information value of these resources not their cultural significance. The distinction between documentary heritage as an information resource and as cultural property in its own right is an issue which deserves greater attention. The development of an agreed distinction between the two classes of collection will facilitate improved conservation and preservation of culturally significant material.

The Programme will also seek to formulate a National Preservation Policy for recorded heritage information. The formulation of such a policy within the National Library is seen to be appropriate largely because the Programme's aim is not legislation but the development of a set of principles and guidelines which will act as a framework for the development of specific national preservation projects. As such, it echoes CCAC's development of a programme guiding policy rather than a fundamental conceptual framework to define government's role in the area. The previously established Maori Preservation Outreach Programme is to maintain its identity and function as a complementary, parallel programme with goals integrated with the National Preservation Programme to provide for a unity of approach across the sector.¹⁰³

In developing the National Preservation Programme, National Library staff noted that the demise of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council and the shift in government

¹⁰¹ Interview with Jocelyn Cumming, March 1998.

¹⁰² National Library of New Zealand, *Op cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 4 and 15.

priorities had left a policy vacuum. One perceived advantage of the National Library over ad hoc advisory groups like CCAC is its established lifespan and operations in the wider information/heritage context. It was also felt that the National Library has credibility in the conservation area and is seen as clear and non-political. It is hoped that the adoption of a national leadership and coordinating role in conservation will enhance this perception.¹⁰⁴

The development of partnerships with related organisations was a priority in the establishment of the Programme. Partnerships with private corporations, the Lottery Grants Board, specific libraries and archives, ICCROM, PREMO,¹⁰⁵ local authorities and central government are perceived to be project based while a strategic partnership is envisaged with National Archives. Te Papa's focus on artefact collections is seen to make it less relevant to the strategy under development.¹⁰⁶

The Programme's adopted mission is:

[t]o foster a national preservation strategy for those concerned with the care of recorded heritage information

and its goals to,

1. encourage and coordinate preservation initiatives and provide focus for national preservation issues;
2. raise public and institutional awareness of preservation issues;
3. improve conditions for heritage collections in New Zealand;
4. increase Maori participation and leadership with regard to Maori materials;
5. participate in established heritage networks in the Pacific and to develop new partnerships.

It also intends to pursue a modest, active and targeted programme in the Pacific, administered through ICCROM.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ The International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and its project Prevention in Museums in Oceania (PREMO) are UNESCO initiatives.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 16.

The National Preservation Programme has adopted the 'Resource Office Model' drawn from state level programmes in North America. In this model an office is established and funded by an institution which already has a significant but not necessarily controlling role in the regional network. Other institutions retain their links but interact through the central office to carry out regional preservation initiatives. The office provides resource support for initiatives financed through a combination of self funding and external funding.¹⁰⁸

The programmes and services offered by the National Preservation Programme fall into four categories.

1. In its educational capacity the programme will advise, publish, seek to raise awareness and provide training.
2. As a preservation advocate, it will lobby government (local and central) and the industry as well as carrying out technical research.
3. As a coordinating body it will develop strategies, set policy, initiate preservation programmes and coordinate funding, including advising the Lottery Board on funding and national priorities.
4. In seeking to adapt and adopt technical standards for New Zealand conditions it will initiate, publish and promote appropriate guidelines.¹⁰⁹

It will, therefore, be involved in long term planning and policy formulation as well as taking a role in procedural activities and coordination of individual projects. While the Programme does not anticipate a direct funding role, it will act as a specialist adviser for relevant funding applications to the Lottery Grants Board.

Client input groups were established during the development of the project with membership drawn from the library, archive, museum and conservation professions. The input groups meet twice yearly to bring the concerns of the regions to the Office. They are seen as an interim measure pending the development of more specific reference groups in the regions.¹¹⁰ Jocelyn Cumming commented:

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 23 - 25.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Jocelyn Cumming, March 1998.

We are eager to be seen as not simply a Wellington body. We need to get to the regions. The client input groups that meet twice a year aren't enough. We need to build on existing contacts.¹¹¹

Existing regional networks will be used as points of contact to promote the Office and its work and to provide feedback on the needs to be met in the regions.

Training is a major issue for the Programme:

We will be providing workshops for staff already working with documentary heritage collections and these will be both general and specific in nature. For example, they might deal with preventive conservation in an overall sense or might focus specifically on bindery repair work to heritage items. We may also look at short term intensive training courses based at the national Library to give staff specific conservation skills.¹¹²

The Programme also hopes to contribute to the sector's formal training programmes but Jocelyn Cumming notes:

The problem is the need both to set up and deliver the workshops. There is a lack of available conservation personnel to deliver workshops and so they tend to reach only the larger institutions. We may look at contracting a field worker to be available in the regions and also hope to draw on expertise among existing personnel.¹¹³

The lack of conservation professionals in New Zealand's cultural property sector continues to hamper the delivery of conservation programmes. Training of conservators is still seen as one of the country's most outstanding needs, but the National Preservation Programme will not fund overseas training. It will also not take a direct role in upskilling for existing conservation staff but will promote training in all relevant areas.¹¹⁴

In determining conservation priorities the Programme will draw on the sector knowledge of its staff and the input groups and hopes to develop a database of national

¹¹¹ Ibid.

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

holdings. It also hopes to be widely involved in developing needs assessment surveys as preliminaries to applications for Lottery Board funding. The Programme will not provide funding but will advise Lottery Board on relevant priorities and specific applications. Client input to date has indicated that the main priorities are electronic formats, establishing a resource clearing house, providing more specialised packages for specific subjects and developing strategic alliances.¹¹⁵

7.3.2 DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS HERITAGE GROUP

The Department of Internal Affairs continues to express a growing interest in heritage, particularly in light of its contribution to national identity, and most recently this has been expressed in its establishment of a Heritage Group. The Heritage Group combines the former Heritage Property Unit, the Historical Branch of the Department of Internal Affairs, the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, the Historical Atlas and National Archives.¹¹⁶

The Heritage Group's Mission Statement proposes that:

[t]hrough working together with others, the Heritage Group will achieve a future where:

- there is a heightened knowledge and understanding of the unique traditions and history of New Zealand
- the records of our government are readily accessible through a range of services and products
- legislative compliance by government agencies with the Archives Act is high
- those who have contributed to New Zealand's development as a nation are honoured and remembered
- our past is protected for our future.

It is intended that the Heritage Group will assist the Department in achieving its mission of "leading the way for government in strengthening New Zealand's identity

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Personal Correspondence, V. Crawford, Senior Policy Analyst, Department of Internal Affairs to Kerry McCarthy, 12 November 1997.

and building stronger communities for a cohesive society.”¹¹⁷

The Group will have a role in the regulation of legislative compliance by government agencies. It is questionable whether this is a heritage activity but is one which presumably stems from the inclusion of National Archives since this body’s role is regulatory as well as preservation focussed. The Department of Internal Affairs also administers the Antiquities Act but it seems that this will not be part of the function of the Heritage Group. If so, this represents a failure to bring all of the heritage functions of the Department together into a single operation.

The Heritage Group will focus on access and awareness raising. It will seek to market and deliver a range of products and services to meet the growing customer demand for heritage products and will set and maintain high standards for the preservation and protection of heritage. The Group will maintain high levels of communication and consultation and will seek opportunities for joint projects.¹¹⁸

While still in the planning phase, it seems that the Heritage Group will focus chiefly on service delivery and will not have a role in the development of government heritage policy. It envisages partnerships and joint projects but its chief focus remains the national statutory heritage bodies. Its relationship to distributed collections of cultural property is not made clear nor are the mechanisms through which its objectives will be achieved. It does not encompass all of central government’s heritage activities, excluding for example the Historic Places Trust, the National Library and Te Papa. The reference to protecting our past for the future (Mission Statement) implies a role in conservation but this is not made explicit or defined.

The location of the Heritage Group within the Department of Internal Affairs while the Ministry of Cultural Affairs continues to manage other areas of heritage activity (eg Te Papa) implies no intention on the part of government to create a single body with overall responsibility for the management and development of heritage issues. Rather, the

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

development of the Group took place in the wake of the Report of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment on the management of built and archaeological heritage and may be an outcome of this review. Such a body may lend itself more readily to development into an independent Heritage Commission rather than the Ministry recommended by the Parliamentary Commissioner, however, and this solution could well be more palatable to government given the current focus on minimising the size of its bureaucracy. It could prove difficult to sustain an argument for the creation of a whole new ministry in this climate.

7.3.3 *HISTORIC AND CULTURAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND*

This report, published in 1996 by the Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, deals only with the built and natural environments¹¹⁹ but many of the issues discussed are also relevant to the management and protection of moveable cultural property. The authors note that, while a generally positive feeling towards heritage conservation has been detected, especially in the last twenty years,:

[U]nlike natural heritage, historic and cultural heritage has aroused little public debate about its sustainability or about the notion that, like biodiversity loss, loss of historic and cultural heritage is permanent.¹²⁰

The critical issues in the contemporary heritage conservation debate are held to include the weak mandate of existing heritage bodies which are seen as largely reactive and often burdened with unrealistic public expectations.¹²¹ Although CCAC operated across a very broad range of cultural property, it also sought to tackle conservation issues proactively. The Council's identification of the lack of trained conservators and conservation positions as significant priorities and its attempts to address these shortcomings are examples of attempts at strategic action as is its focus on preventive conservation as the highest priority for cultural property collections.

¹¹⁹ Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, *Op cit.*, p. 3.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30 - 34.

Several submissions to the report emphasised poor resourcing as the most important, and sometimes completely dominant, problem for historic and cultural heritage management.¹²² The report questions whether historic and cultural heritage have been given sufficient recognition as components of national identity and points out the limited nature of national level involvement and the fact that there is no agency clearly taking the lead in this area at either a national or a local level.¹²³ There is no national level policy for historic and cultural heritage and, therefore, nothing to provide a rationale for government funding. The allocation of functions and powers between existing agencies is unclear and, in the area of moveable cultural property, notably lacking:

Coordination and cooperation between agencies is at best ad hoc and largely dependent on personal initiatives.¹²⁴

Although central government advocates the devolution of responsibility for heritage material outside its ownership to local authorities, the authors note:

Regional councils do not appear to be putting significant resources into the monitoring of the outcomes of policies and objectives of historic and cultural heritage management sections in the regional policy statement, nor to be fulfilling any significant role in the identification and protection of regionally significant historic and cultural heritage.¹²⁵

This situation is undoubtedly influenced by the fact that heritage preservation is not mandatory under the Resource Management Act.

Central government funding of historic and cultural heritage management is currently derived from the Historic Places Act (\$4.5m in 1995/96, including \$1.98m from Vote: Conservation) and the Department of Conservation (\$3.0m in 1995/96 from Vote: Conservation for historic resources). Indirect funding is also provided from a variety of sources including Ministers' discretionary funds and Te Papa (whose income is derived from Vote: Cultural Affairs and the Lottery Grants Board). Lottery Environment and

¹²² Ibid., p. 10.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 6.

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 30.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 24.

Heritage made available \$3.4 m in 1995/96 for physical heritage projects and a similar amount for cultural heritage¹²⁶ but continued Lottery Board funding for Historic Places Trust core activities was under review at the time the report was written and it concludes:

Lottery Environment and Heritage is an important resource but without national policy to guide resourcing priorities and adequate core funding for agencies, lottery money can have a distortionary effect. It should generally be used for one off specific projects.¹²⁷

Following the Lottery Grants Board review of the Historic Places Trust, the decision was made to withdraw operational funding of \$1.5m from the Trust at \$500,000 per year. Lottery funding of the Historic Places Trust will now be limited to discrete projects. This represents a general move on the part of the Lottery Board away from funding core operational activities to focus specifically on project support. The rationale exists that if a function is an agreed government responsibility, government should fund it, leaving Lottery profits for special activities. Although government continues to accept that cultural property conservation is its responsibility and should be government funded,¹²⁸ it has provided no specific financial or personnel support for this purpose since the demise of CCAC.

The report states that the poor performance of the system in place for cultural and historic heritage conservation is the result of "... a lack of national political leadership and commitment, expressed in poor resourcing and limited roles for leading national agencies. It holds, further:

The present low profile for historic and cultural heritage does not reflect the clear importance attached to historic and cultural heritage by individuals¹²⁹ and communities Nor does it reflect the substantial recent commitment of Government to important symbols of national historic and cultural heritage such

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 39 - 40.

¹²⁷ Ibid., p. 97.

¹²⁸ Executive Summary of meeting held 30 June 1993, Department of Internal Affairs file TCP/1/1, part 2.

as the restoration of Parliament and Old Government Buildings and the housing of artefacts in the new Museum of New Zealand. The Government has also accepted that other aspects of our history and culture, such as the creative arts, are important parts of our national identity.

The most fundamental change required to improve the system is for an explicit commitment to historic and cultural heritage protection and management, separate from the Conservation portfolio.

...

A Ministerial portfolio responsible for historic and cultural heritage would require independent policy advice.

...

The new unit cannot develop a national strategy on its own, but should be seen as the lead agency in a cooperative venture between Crown, local government and non-governmental organisations.¹³⁰

The creation of a new portfolio focussed on historic and cultural heritage would create tremendous potential to improve the care of all classes of cultural property in New Zealand.

The report advocates a broad based management policy for heritage material, concluding:

Integrated management of our historic and cultural heritage is required. This would entail managing a range of objects and places from artefacts through to sites and their surroundings, together with their oral and written histories. They are all inter-related but at present are the responsibility of several, largely uncoordinated agencies.¹³¹

The intangible values associated with heritage material are recognised and considered equally deserving of conservation attention as the objects themselves. This perception is particularly valuable in considering taonga Maori and the report also holds that:

¹²⁹ The Historic Places Trust, for example, has a private membership of approximately 36,000. It was able to use the income derived from this source as a subsidy to create eligibility for CCAC funding. See Chapter 5.1.

¹³⁰ Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, *Op cit.*, p. 69 - 70.

a Maori sense of history and culture - that is, where people have come from and the customs by which they live - cannot be divorced from their experience of nature, and more particularly the land.¹³²

At a policy level, the report considers:

An ideal approach would be to approach all types of heritage in an integrated manner so as to recognise this continuum, and the contribution of the full range of New Zealand's heritage to its national identity.

At the central government level, an integrated approach to heritage would benefit from a national heritage strategy and would achieve greater complementarity of use of scarce resources than exists at present.¹³³

The initial step is seen as the development of a national register of heritage sites and material:

Completion of a comprehensive inventory would allow the option of choosing a nationally representative rather than a nationally important sample, a development that voids some of the difficulties with the concept of significance.¹³⁴

Recognising that such a system is an ambitious undertaking, the report also considers the development of a set of criteria for establishing national significance:

Such a register or inventory must be based on a defensible assessment process that can withstand legal challenge. The assessment process can be qualitative or quantitative but it must be rigorous and the reasons why a particular heritage item is identified as important must be documented and made available through a transparent and acceptable process.¹³⁵

It stresses:

¹³¹ Ibid., p. iii.

¹³² Ibid., p. A3.

¹³³ Ibid., p. 71.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p. A32.

¹³⁵ Ibid., p. A32.

An integrated approach to the management of all types of heritage ... requires a more integrated approach to information requirements than is presently the case.¹³⁶

Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand is an important document in its consideration of government involvement in heritage management and protection at a national level. Its production by the Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment means that the report is perceived as independent of both government and the heritage sector and this objectivity is likely to strengthen its impact on the debate. The report stresses the need for a single national body to oversee and guide the development of heritage management strategies and programmes and considers that government should take a leading role through the establishment of a new ministerial portfolio dedicated to this purpose. It considers the need for improved information and information sharing and envisages the development of significance or other criteria in order to develop a standardised national register of heritage places to identify needs and target resources. The report also advocates an integrated approach to heritage conservation and the inclusion of associated concepts and traditions as well as material heritage. All of these issues are equally relevant to the conservation of moveable cultural property and it is to be hoped that a truly integrated approach to cultural heritage management will bring moveable cultural property within the ambit of any body created to oversee the protection of land based heritage and that a similar review of the management and preservation of moveable cultural property will be undertaken to provide a meaningful foundation for future initiatives in this area.

7.3.4 THE DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION: HISTORIC HERITAGE MANAGEMENT REVIEW 1998

As a result of the findings of *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand* the Department of Conservation and is undertaking a Historic Heritage Management Review during 1998. *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New*

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 83 - 88.

Zealand received 58 submissions while the Historic Heritage Management Review has received over 900.¹³⁷ This indicates a significant groundswell of public interest in heritage management. A discussion paper has been produced as the starting point for the Review and in this document the Minister of Conservation describes the continuing loss of historic buildings, sites and wahi tapu as “a national tragedy”.¹³⁸ He also states that “the government machinery is not working effectively and there is insufficient focus on Maori heritage protection.”¹³⁹

Government’s founding Coalition Agreement establishes a key initiative to clarify and strengthen legislation protecting heritage sites, buildings and objects, including improved documentation of important Maori sites, while the Ngai Tahu settlement includes an undertaking to review the Historic Places Act 1993 and associated heritage legislation. The Historic Heritage Management Review is a response to these commitments as well as the 1996 report¹⁴⁰ and indicates that heritage management and preservation are receiving attention at the highest political and community levels.

The Review is wary of establishing regulatory solutions to the problems identified in historic heritage management, preferring instead to foster a culture where heritage is valued and to provide incentives for owners of heritage material to ensure its preservation.¹⁴¹ Submissions were gathered and public meetings held between February and April 1998 and these are to be considered and the findings presented to government in July 1998 with the introduction of relevant legislation to follow towards the end of the year.¹⁴²

A ministerial advisory committee has been established to consider submissions and to prepare proposals for government¹⁴³ confirming that this form of advisory group is still considered appropriate for the development of heritage management principles. The

¹³⁷ Personal Correspondence, David Butts to Kerry McCarthy 1998, email 20 May.

¹³⁸ Department of Conservation, *Historic Heritage Management Review*, Op cit. p. 5.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 9

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 9.

committee will report to the Minister of Conservation who will oversee the review and the development of future initiatives.

The Review considers eight key issues derived from the findings of *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand*. Seven of these have particular relevance to issues surrounding the management and conservation of moveable cultural property:

1. HERITAGE IDENTIFICATION AND ASSESSMENT

The Review recognises that, in its widest sense, historic heritage “includes the whole humanly modified environment”¹⁴⁴ and that it involves collective and public legacies as well as those of communities, families and individuals.¹⁴⁵ It also asserts the need to be selective about what is preserved and to establish defensible and clear assessment criteria. Ranking on the basis of significance is considered inappropriate for Maori sites and it is advocated that the primary responsibility for identifying and assessing Maori heritage rest with the tangata whenua.

Current systems for registration (under the Historic Places Act 1993) and listing (under the Resource Management Act 1991) are considered overlapping, confusing and sometimes contradictory. Options for reviewing the registration of land based heritage include the development of a single national register of all types of heritage with no separate regional listings and a three-level system with separate national, regional and district lists for places of national, regional and local importance. The need for standardised and clear information about historic heritage is also stressed.¹⁴⁶

These concerns are equally applicable to moveable cultural property for which no national means of assessment, information sharing or protection currently exists. If a nationally inclusive approach to land based heritage is adopted this will create the

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 18.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 18 - 20.

opportunity for the needs of moveable cultural property to be addressed in a similar fashion.

2. REGULATORY PROTECTION UNDER THE *RESOURCE MANAGEMENT ACT*

Few regional councils have adopted heritage strategies and the Review considers that it “may be necessary to make a special transitional effort at national level to provide guidelines and advisory services.”¹⁴⁷ Government is, thus, willing to accept a guiding role in establishing improved management of land based heritage.

The Review also considers the lack of national policy and strategy for historic heritage management. Part V of the Resource Management Act 1991 provides for the Minister for the Environment to issue National Policy Statements on matters of national significance. A national strategy for historic heritage management is also suggested. The development of such a policy and strategy would provide a useful model for the development of a similar document for moveable cultural heritage if government remains unwilling to include this class of cultural property within current initiatives.

3. VOLUNTARY PROTECTION AND INCENTIVES

The Review recognises that much of New Zealand’s significant land based heritage is in private ownership but notes that increased regulation may lead to negative community reaction. It suggests that assistance funds, best practise guidelines and advisory services may be more effective in improving community attitudes to heritage protection and aims to encourage voluntary action by owners where this will achieve the desired outcomes. Financial incentives for owners of significant heritage properties are considered and it is noted that national consistency is required.¹⁴⁸ ICCCP and CCAC focused chiefly on publicly owned cultural property. Methods of ensuring the protection of privately owned moveable cultural property should also be sought.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 28.

4. MAORI HERITAGE

The Review recognises that heritage is a broad concept for Maori and views Maori land based heritage in a wider context including matters such as intellectual property, language, natural resources and social organisation. A national hui was convened by the Maori Heritage Council in November 1996 to discuss the protection of Maori heritage and concluded in principle to move towards a stand-alone national Maori heritage council.¹⁴⁹ Further consultation is pending to determine this issue but if separate management of Maori heritage is adopted this is likely to include separate management of Maori moveable cultural property.

5. MANAGEMENT OF HISTORIC HERITAGE BY NATIONAL AGENCIES

A number of national agencies are currently involved in the management of historic heritage. These include the Department of Conservation, The Historic Places Trust and the Department of Internal Affairs. The proliferation of national management agencies is seen to have engendered duplication of responsibilities, poor management at times and the loss of important heritage places through the lack of a clearly defined lead agency.¹⁵⁰

Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand recommended oversight (rather than management) by a single agency¹⁵¹ and this model could be adopted for moveable cultural property by the establishment of a national guiding body such as the CCCP, with the day to day management of cultural property collections remaining the responsibility of their respective caretakers.

One of the options put forward by the Review involves the establishment of “one national agency as the lead agency responsible for setting standards and promoting best practice and support services for the management of historic heritage by public agencies.”¹⁵² This suggestion mirrors the responsibilities envisaged for the CCCP

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 30.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 33.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 34.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 34.

but the question of funding support to facilitate the application of conservation principles and the achievement of standards remains unanswered. The Review also considers the role of government in purchasing heritage sites to ensure their protection. This issue has not yet been explored with regard to moveable cultural property.

6. MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT

Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand recommended the establishment of a new Ministerial portfolio for historic and cultural heritage management and a new unit of government to advise the Minister on relevant policy issues as well as administering a revised Historic Places Act.¹⁵³ The Department of Internal Affairs Heritage Group could be transformed into such a unit however a number of its agencies are involved in the management of moveable cultural property and the place of this class of material within any new ministry requires definition.

The Review considers possible functions for a Crown heritage agency. In the area of policy these include taking the lead in advising government on heritage policy and purchasing services from heritage management providers on behalf of government, while a possible delivery role could include administration of government's responsibilities under the World Heritage Convention as well as a national register and national databases, operation of national protection mechanisms, provision of national guidelines and standards, advocacy and litigation functions and advisory support to local authorities.¹⁵⁴ All of these functions are equally relevant to moveable cultural property and it might be envisaged that such an agency could successfully expand its scope to include all classes of cultural heritage.

The Review also considers the possible role of an autonomous national Maori heritage body which might include policy advice to government on Maori heritage,

¹⁵³ Ibid., p. 35.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 35.

a leading role in the development of a national strategy for Maori heritage and support for the development of strategy at the iwi and hapu level, facilitation of a registration scheme and associated regulatory functions, provision of guidelines and advice to national and local government organisations, heritage advice and assistance to Maori, possibly including the provision of training, statutory advocacy and litigation functions and administration of a national assistance fund to support the identification, protection and conservation of Maori heritage.¹⁵⁵ These functions are very similar to those undertaken by ICCCP and CCAC and a review of the operation of these bodies would inform the development of a Maori heritage agency by illustrating potential areas of difficulty as well as the strengths of this mode of delivery.

This new body might be a revised and autonomous Maori Heritage Council or possibly a new national body established to encourage and support historic heritage protection and management in a similar format to Creative New Zealand with two boards, one a general historic heritage board and the other a Maori heritage board. As well as this national solution the Review considers the possibility of establishing a regional approach to Maori heritage management through a regional or iwi-based network of Maori heritage agencies. The question of inclusion of policy and delivery functions within a single body is also to be considered.¹⁵⁶

7. HERITAGE FUNDING

Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand concluded that current funding at national and local levels was insufficient to achieve the heritage objectives of the Historic Places Act and the Resource Management Act. This situation was considered particularly acute for inventory and heritage research, registration and listing, acquisition and assistance to owners. The 1996 report envisaged that a review of funding and the establishment of adequate levels would be achieved by the new Minister. It also stated that Lottery funding decisions in

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 38.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 38.

this area must be consistent with a national strategy.¹⁵⁷ The Review notes, however:

On the basis of the Coalition Agreement, the Government is firmly committed to a \$5 billion cap on central government spending. There are currently significant financial demands to achieve goals in other areas which have already been agreed within the spending cap. Any application for new or additional spending on historic heritage would have to be considered and evaluated within this context and would be made through the new initiatives phase of the budget round.¹⁵⁸

Funding of heritage conservation clearly remains a political decision and is influenced by the priorities and targets of the current government. If current proposals were to be extended to include all classes of cultural property within one umbrella organisation, funding implications could be significant. Given government's current spending rationales it might prove more achievable to approach the conservation of moveable cultural property as a separate issue with a separate call for funding. It would be necessary to quantify the cost requirements of both options to determine if such action is required and a continued split in heritage protection responsibilities made primarily on these grounds would be ineffective where research indicates that streamlining and clarifying management roles to remove overlaps, duplication and confusion results in successful heritage management strategies.

The Review puts forward four potential models for the future management of historic heritage. Among these is a new centralised model involving the creation of a national Crown agency to take the lead in historic heritage protection and management. Functions and initiatives for this agency could include the development of a comprehensive national register of all types of heritage and a centralised heritage database, protection for registered places through a national level consent process, operation of new Ministerial powers on matters of national heritage significance,

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 40.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 40 - 41.

administration of a new national fund and/or grant aid programme for conservation of heritage of national significance on private land and administration of a new national fund for historic heritage acquisition.

This model provides the greatest opportunity for national strategic action and for the inclusion of all classes of cultural property within new initiatives. It is also the model most closely aligned to previous government conservation initiatives (ICCCP and CCAC) and bears some similarities to the Cultural Ministers Council's project recently undertaken in Australia which will be discussed in the next chapter.

The Review is focussed on government agencies and mechanisms and therefore does not consider the development of a partnership based solution to historic heritage protection and management whereby the broader heritage sector accepts a share of the responsibilities inherent in these activities. As was demonstrated by the experience of ICCCP and CCAC there is a danger that solely government initiatives may not be well understood or supported by the wider sector. They also focus on government as the sole source of funding and risk perception as an expensive 'black hole' into which resources are poured at the expense of other functions and without easily quantified returns. Although sector participation and ownership may be more acutely necessary for moveable cultural property collections which are held in more diverse and numerous types of public ownership, such consolidation is also necessary for land based heritage particularly when it is in private or Maori ownership.

The Historic Places Trust has also published a discussion paper setting forward its particular concerns under the Historic Heritage Management Review. This discussion paper advocates that the identification of heritage items must involve the systematic pooling of professional and community skills to avoid confusion over who values places and why. Nationally consistent and legally credible heritage assessment criteria are required as is the preparation of statements of significance prior to listing.¹⁵⁹ A two-tier management system is envisaged whereby local items are managed by local authorities and national items by national agencies. In this construction the Crown will also retain

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 1 - 2.

its residual powers to fulfil Treaty of Waitangi obligations. Training and best practice guidelines will be provided for all agencies managing and reusing historic buildings and conservation management plans will be prepared for all items of national significance.¹⁶⁰

Many of the issues covered in *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand* and the Historic Heritage Management Review are common to the management and conservation of moveable cultural property. Determination of significance and access to information, the need for training and best practice standards, the need for a coordinated and streamlined approach, as well as community involvement and awareness, improved powers for regulating agencies, incentives for private owners of cultural property and the support and involvement of Maori at every stage in the care of their taonga are concerns which are equally valid in both arenas. It may be that government will bring the management of all types of heritage together into one umbrella organisation or it may be that Maori heritage will be managed separately at a national level but it is clear that the work currently underway in the physical heritage sector will inform developments for moveable cultural property whatever the outcome. It is to be hoped, however, that similar programmes will be mounted to determine the most effective means of the management and conservation of moveable cultural property. While findings from related sectors and studies may provide significant guidelines in areas of common concern, wholesale adoption and adaptation may result in imperfect models when applied to moveable cultural property.

7.3.5 THE LOTTERY GRANTS BOARD

The Lottery Grants Board Environment and Heritage Committee remains the chief central government administered source of funding for cultural property conservation. Non-profit organisations may lodge applications with the Committee towards the cost of projects involving natural, physical or cultural heritage. Preference is given to projects where at least one-third of the completion cost is in hand.¹⁶¹ Environment and Heritage is not a dedicated conservation fund and conservation focussed applications must

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

¹⁶¹ New Zealand Lottery Grants Board, Op cit., p. 17.

compete with a range of equally valid applications from across the cultural property sector including physical (built) and natural heritage projects as well as moveable cultural property. The Committee is generalist in approach and does not possess conservation expertise. Applications involving technical issues are referred to relevant professionals for comment before being considered. Although the inclusion of all three categories of cultural property dilutes the resources available specifically for cultural property conservation, it indicates a concern on the part of government to manage the country's heritage assets inclusively.

Environment and Heritage's funding policy does not consider its role in the preservation of ideas and concepts associated with material cultural property, although photographic collections are noted as appropriate funding recipients.¹⁶² The Committee does not fund projects overseas and does not appear to envisage a role in the care of taonga Maori held in overseas institutions or the rekindling of relationships between these taonga and their creators in New Zealand. Because of its sole focus within New Zealand and because it does not fund individuals or university training, Environment and Heritage is not a source of training funds for professional conservators. It also does not have a role in promoting the care of privately owned cultural property.

Appropriate cultural property conservation projects for Environment and Heritage funding assistance include consultations, conservation treatments and the purchase of materials and equipment. The Committee requires that all work be carried out by a member of the New Zealand Professional Conservators Group and that any items receiving conservation treatment with the aid of a Lottery Board subsidy be returned to suitable storage arrangements. Adequate levels of preventive conservation are, thus, prerequisites to funding for remedial conservation.

A written account of the significance of the material in question is also required.¹⁶³ This indicates that Lottery Board is seeking to allocate funding on the basis of the significance of the cultural property in question however the lack of a national register

¹⁶² Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 24 - 26.

of cultural property collections or an impartial means of significance assessment means that there is no mechanism for determining the relative significance of cultural property at a national level. Lottery Board will seek comment from relevant professionals on the significance applications under consideration but this process relies on these professionals having a knowledge of collections held outside their own repositories and cannot provide a nationally relevant system of prioritisation. Because Lottery funding is reactive and based on applications received, it cannot take a strategic stance and target funding on the basis of significance and identified need throughout the country. The Committee does not develop general heritage policy.

Despite the limitations on Environment and Heritage's operation in cultural property conservation, it remains a significant force in cultural property funding and any future conservation initiatives must be rationalised with or incorporate its activities.

7.3.6 TE PAPA NATIONAL SERVICES

Te Papa's National Services has adopted a goal requiring it to:

work in partnership with other museums of New Zealand to improve the effectiveness of all museums and other agencies, including iwi, which acquire, hold, and give public access to natural and cultural heritage material of national importance.¹⁶⁴

Like Lottery Board, National Services seeks to involve itself with significant cultural property and specifically that of "national importance". There is currently no means of determining the national importance of collections however and this level of project assessment must rely on professional knowledge. Again, it does not envisage a role in promoting the care of privately owned cultural property or taonga held in overseas institutions.

National Services is funded through government's Vote to Te Papa and its annual budget allocation is approved by Te Papa's Board. National Services reports to its own advisory committee which includes Board representation. It will not fund projects

directly but will enter into partnerships and seek to develop relevant national strategies while also making its own contributions and initiatives.¹⁶⁵ It will take a role in disseminating information to museums and related cultural heritage agencies¹⁶⁶ chiefly through its Technical Bulletins series. To date, one Bulletin has focussed on disaster preparedness and upcoming publications will include a Bulletin dealing with preventive conservation.¹⁶⁷

National Services has identified four specific areas for its operation.¹⁶⁸ These do not explicitly include conservation.

1. MARKETING AND PROMOTION

Te Papa's objective in this area is to increase the visibility of museums in new Zealand and it will assist them to develop marketing and promotion strategies and to increase their understanding and skills to better identify and meet the needs of museum audiences.

2. TRAINING

National Services will take a role in the professional development of museum personnel and to this end has completed a training needs survey in the sector. The survey looked broadly at museum training needs and did not consider specific requirements for professional conservation training. This omission is noteworthy as conservation is currently the only area of the museum profession with an established training programme which is a prerequisite to employment. It is also a major training area not currently offered or supported at a government level in New Zealand.

¹⁶⁴ Te Papa, Home Page, Our Resources: National Services, p. 1.

<http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/our_resources/national_services.html> 20 April 1998.

¹⁶⁵ Personal Correspondence, Jane Legget, Te Papa National Services, to Kerry McCarthy, 16 April 1998.

¹⁶⁶ Te Papa, Home Page., Op cit., p. 1 - 2.

¹⁶⁷ Personal Correspondence, Jane Legget, Te Papa National Services, to Kerry McCarthy, 16 April 1998, Op cit.

¹⁶⁸ Te Papa, Home Page, Our Resources: National Services, p. 1.

<http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/our_resources/national_services.html> 20 April 1998.

The survey concluded that there is currently limited capacity to provide training advice “because of a lack of a clearly identified agency or organisation with a specific and consistent focus on the co-ordination of training initiatives”¹⁶⁹ but considered the establishment of an Industry Training Organisation for the sector at this time to be premature. Instead, training assistance will focus on strengthening the base of professional competency existing within the sector.¹⁷⁰ It will focus on in-service training for existing personnel.

Conservation was among the seven most commonly identified training needs in this survey, particularly for small museums, and preventive conservation and the care of taonga Maori were particularly stressed.¹⁷¹ The museum standards requirements are likely to affect some training initiatives as staff are trained to enable their museum to meet specific standards however it is envisaged that standards will be kept fairly basic in order to include a wide range of organisations, many of which are run by volunteers.¹⁷² To date, several workshops have been supported by National Services which feature conservation training. Most were for non specialist personnel although one dealt with frame conservation and was aimed at professional conservation staff.¹⁷³

3. ASSESSMENT

National Services is involved in developing a museums’ standards scheme with the objective of achieving agreed quality standards in all aspects of museum operations. This will allow museums to assess their own performance against generally accepted practice with some degree of external review.¹⁷⁴ A draft standards document has been piloted with ten museums of different types and the trial is currently being assessed. The draft programme was made up of five sections, two of which have relevance to conservation. These were Collection Care and Effective Interpretation. Collection Care includes a focus on preventive conservation, particularly disaster

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 3 - 4.

¹⁷¹ Pattillo, Anne et al, Op cit. p. 25.

¹⁷² Personal Correspondence, Jane Legget, National Services, to Kerry McCarthy, 16 April 1998, Op cit.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

preparedness planning, storage and display conditions, institutional conservation policies setting out procedures for preventive conservation and the museum's approach to conservation and restoration, decision-making on treatment priorities, regular premises and facilities inspection and the resolution of historic building requirements. Effective Interpretation considers loan and display requirements for conservation.¹⁷⁵

4. BICULTURAL

National Services seeks to develop a bicultural relationship between museums and iwi and will promote opportunities for joint initiatives to develop strategies and address specific issues in relation to the care of taonga Maori. It is expected that protocols will be developed to ensure culturally appropriate care for this material which are consistent, as far as possible, with long term preservation.¹⁷⁶

The recent initiatives discussed above indicate that heritage management in general and cultural property conservation in particular are issues of continuing and growing concern at a variety of levels in New Zealand's governments and communities. In the absence of a guiding central government policy or strategy and without an integrated heritage agency to guide their development, initiatives have become fragmented and focussed in discrete areas of heritage management and preservation. While government continues to accept the value of heritage in the community, it is also constrained by an ongoing focus on financial stringency and the desire to limit government intervention in service delivery. *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand* clearly indicates the need for coordination of a national policy and unified management of heritage resources, however, and government must rationalise this need with its dominant ideology if it is to fulfil a meaningful and successful role in this area.

Central government must also rationalise its role in relation to that of local authorities. If central government is to adopt a guiding role in heritage management and preservation it may be required to take up some of the responsibilities currently

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

devolved to regional administrations. Alternatively, it will need to strengthen the mandate and resources directed to local authorities if they are to achieve improved results in this area. The management of Maori heritage must also be resolved in terms which are appropriate to Maori. This may involve separate management of Maori and Pakeha heritage or an increased focus on iwi roles in the area.

A major omission in current initiatives is the lack of support for training conservators. In the absence of New Zealanders qualified in conservation, institutions must continue to recruit from overseas. This may lead to very limited involvement of New Zealanders in the conservation of their cultural property and is a problem which is particularly acute for Maori heritage. Conservation research specific to New Zealand is also very limited.

While the New Zealand government works to resolve these issues, Australia has begun a programme to improve the care of its cultural property collections which has already met with considerable success. The key facets of this programme will now be considered in detail.

CHAPTER EIGHT

AN AUSTRALIAN CASE STUDY: THE NATIONAL CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION POLICY AND STRATEGY FOR MOVEABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Australia's National Preservation Strategy for Moveable Cultural Heritage is the outcome of a three year National Conservation Program implemented by the Heritage Collections Committee (HCC) of Cultural Ministers Council (CMC). The strategy aims to implement the National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage, also developed by the HCC and endorsed by the CMC in 1995. Together the two documents position Australia as one of a handful of countries which have developed and published a specific policy and strategy to care for their moveable cultural property.¹

8.1 THE GENESIS OF THE HERITAGE COLLECTIONS COMMITTEE AND THE NATIONAL CONSERVATION PROGRAM

The Cultural Ministers Council was established in 1984 by agreement between the Australian Prime Minister, the Premiers and the Chief Minister of the Northern Territory. New Zealand became a full member of the CMC in 1991. It functions as the Ministerial forum for the exchange of views on issues affecting cultural activities in Australia and New Zealand and the basis for cooperative effort of cultural benefit to the

¹ Australian Government, Department of Communication and the Arts, National Conservation and Preservation Policy and Strategy for Moveable Cultural Heritage : Background, <<http://www.dca.gov.au/ahnbd/back.h>> 27 January 1998, p. 1.

citizens of these countries.² New Zealand involvement includes attendance at relevant working group meetings by government officials and monitoring of published data. We do not contribute funding to any of the CMC's current working groups and there is no formal means of feedback to the sector on issues discussed.³

The Australian Finance Department's 1986 review of heritage activities *What Price Heritage?* created an impression of the heritage industry as fiscally inefficient and a black hole for public funds. Although many of the review's findings were refuted an atmosphere of unease in the heritage sector was inevitable. The Cultural Ministers Council has worked to overcome this situation by promoting the importance of the cultural dimension to Australian development. In 1990, for example, the Statistical Advisory Group of the Council produced the first comprehensive statistics on the Australian cultural industry. This study revealed that over 200,000 people were employed in the Industry and that it provided goods and services with an annual total value in excess of the wheat, wool and beef industries combined.⁴ The industry's direct annual contribution to the economy was estimated at almost AUD8 billion.⁵ As a result of these efforts Australian governments now realise the impact of cultural activities on general civic, social, political and economic development and accord cultural issues an appropriately high priority.

The Council and its projects represent an attempt to promote and manage Australia's cultural activities at a national level. It is a reaction against fragmented, disparate and sometimes competing initiatives at local or disciplinary levels and seeks to unify a large and complex sector with the aim of producing optimum management systems for the industry and optimum access and enjoyment for the wider community.

In 1993 the Council's Heritage Collections Working Group was replaced by the Heritage Collections Committee in response to issues of access and conservation raised

² Australian Government, Australian Museums On Line, About AMOL: The Cultural Ministers Council <<http://www.nma.gov.au/AMOL/Cultural Council.sh>> 27 January 1998, p. 1.

³ Personal Correspondence, Jane Kominik, Ministry of Cultural Affairs to Kerry McCarthy 1998, email 26 May.

⁴ AUD14 billion, *Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

in the Working Group's report to the CMC. The Committee had a three year life span, reported to the Cultural Minister's Council and was a collaboration between commonwealth and state governments and the museum, library and archive sectors.⁶ It also included representative of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Communities and Museums Australia, Australia's national professional organisation for museum personnel.

It was recognised at the outset that the Committee's finite life span would mean that it would begin projects and resolve some large scale issues but would not necessarily see their completion or the resolution of all details. For this reason it would give priority to strategic issues over specific programmes. The Committee was funded jointly by major state museums, the commonwealth government and state governments with commonwealth government providing the largest share of financial support.⁷

The HCC was to implement two programmes during its period of operation:

1. The National Conservation Programme (implemented through a Conservation Working Party) and
2. The National Database Programme (implemented through a Database Working Party, later renamed the On Line Working Party) to develop a collaborative national database of heritage items of cultural, historical and scientific interest.⁸

Cultural property conservation and access are closely aligned in the Australian project. The On Line Working Party's major initiative has been the establishment of Australian Museums On Line (AMOL) a world wide web site intended to become the principal gateway into the Australian museum community.⁹

AMOL is growing rapidly and in January 1998 included;

1. A National Directory of museums listing over 900 organisations

⁶ Marshall, Duncan, Successful Collaboration and Progress on National Programs - The Work of the Heritage Collections Committee, p. 7.

⁷ AUD600,000 was derived from major state museums, AUD750,000 from commonwealth government and AUD150,000 from the state and territory government art ministries, Ibid., p. 7.

⁸ Ibid., p. 7.

⁹ Australian Government, AMOL: Introducing AMOL
<<http://www.nma.gov.au/AMOL/IntroducingAmol.sh>> 27 January 1998, p. 1.

2. Museum Search, a searchable collection database of over 300,000 item level collection records from 62 museums throughout Australia
3. A range of resources available to museum workers including links to important Australian and international museum sites
4. The Australian Museum Forum, a discussion list on Australian museum issues.¹⁰

The AMOL Co-ordination Unit is based at the National Museum of Australia. It makes available relevant information for a variety of client groups through a server also based at the Museum. Additional servers are located in Western Australia and Victoria and it is hoped that the network will expand.¹¹

The Museum Search facility brings together collection records from local and regional museums and is searchable as if it were one database. This is made possible by the Australian Museums On Line Information Record standard which converts individual museum records into a single format. This technology gives users access to information in remote museums, on different computers, on separate databases, using different software and different cataloguing functions. It ensures that AMOL is not a central database and that museums maintain control of their information. It does not require that museums format their information in a uniform and controlled way. The documentation consists of a minimum and a full data set. Either of these options can be incorporated into an institution's cataloguing format and will allow participation in the scheme at the chosen level.¹² Set up and maintenance costs and the need for technical expertise will be kept to a minimum in the hope of involving a wide range cultural property organisations including regional and voluntary groups.¹³

The standardisation of collection information and the inclusion of as many museums as possible on AMOL will develop an overall picture of Australia's distributed collection of cultural property. It could be further developed as a tool to determine the relative significance of the items in the dispersed collections in order to direct government

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 1 - 2.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 4.

¹² Ibid., p. 5 - 7.

¹³ Ibid., p. 8.

support to areas of the greatest need in a variety of collection management functions including conservation.

The National Conservation Program (1994-96) was implemented by the Conservation Working Party and focuses in three areas:

1. Development and endorsement of a national Policy and Strategy
2. Skills development
3. Community education.

These will now be considered in detail.

8.1.1 SKILLS DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNITY AWARENESS

Although the level of conservation skills among those caring for cultural property had increased significantly since the 1970s, these skills were focused in major institutions often located in state capitals and other major cities. Rural museums and those operating with volunteer staff had minimal access to conservation professionals and often lacked preventive conservation skills. The HCC was concerned that conservation and preservation were not stressed highly enough in many such organisations and that they often viewed conservation as an issue which is separate from collection management.¹⁴

To address this situation the National Preservation Office at the National Library of Australia sought input from approximately 300 organisations and individuals and this data was used to devise strategies and activities to address training needs, raise community awareness and promote support for conservation.¹⁵ The major focus was a nationwide series of workshops in 1994-95, often held in regional areas. These were funded jointly by the Committee and the community and government organisations at which they were staged.¹⁶ The focus was preventive conservation and it is hoped that

¹⁴ Marshall, Duncan, *Op cit.*, p. 7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁶ Heritage Collections Committee funding totalled AUD70,000 while community and government organisations contributed approximately AUD108,000, *Ibid.*, p. 7.

future workshop projects will concentrate on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander collections and on the cultural property of non-English speaking peoples in Australia.¹⁷

Programme evaluation revealed that the regional focus was appreciated particularly by more remote local communities and enabled better regional networking. The programme was found to have better enabled, and possibly encouraged, regional lobbying for resources as well as highlighting the limited access to current conservation thinking and information in the regions. Conservation awareness levels were raised, particularly in preventive conservation, and a call was made for more funding for regional preventive conservation workshops.¹⁸ The trial workshops cost approximately AUD250 per person. This could be difficult to sustain in the long term and powerful arguments would be required to support these programmes.¹⁹

Two regional pilot projects were initiated by the Committee to address the limited access of remote regional communities to conservation expertise. These were staged in north Queensland, in partnership with the Queensland Museum, and in northwest Tasmania in partnership with the Queen Victoria Museum and Art Gallery.²⁰ The projects involved educating staff and volunteers in the basic concepts of conservation and preservation and working with them to develop conservation strategies for collections. The need for follow-up assistance such as additional training, the provision of a manual or a telephone help line was identified.²¹

The Heritage Collections Committee has also funded the development of a national package of conservation training and resource materials to address the specific needs of different regions and diverse collections.²² The kit, called reCollections, was developed

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 7 - 8.

¹⁸ Cowie, Kate, Map of the Conservation and Preservation Programmes, Facilities and Centres in Australia, Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, Conservation Working Party, *Working Papers for a Public Forum: Developing a National Strategy* Background to the Working Papers., p. 14 - 15.

¹⁹ Parkinson, Cassandra, Conservation and Preservation Education and Training, Ibid., p. 8.

²⁰ Funds allocated for this programme total AUD70, 000, Ibid., p. 8.

²¹ Australian Government, Department of Communication and the Arts, National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Movable Cultural Heritage: Background <<http://www.dca.gov.au/ahnbd/back.h>> 27 January 1887, p. 2.

²² AUD \$100,000, Ibid., p. 8.

by Conservation Training Australia, a consortium of cultural heritage organisations and consists of a CD-ROM prototype and six printed volumes focussing on different issues in the conservation of cultural property collections. A market research and business plan consultancy was used to ensure the package meets the needs of its target market.²³

An internship programme was trialed by the Committee and this provided eight six month internships to address the needs of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and non-English speaking people.²⁴ The internships were delivered in partnership with the University of Canberra providing more structured and formal conservation instruction than the training kit. The internship programme also provided a grant of AUD10,000 to develop a promotional strategy to encourage entry into the University of Canberra's Conservation Course for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people or those from non-English speaking backgrounds.²⁵

The focus to date has been on improvement of skills for those caring for cultural property and on introducing conservation and cultural property issues to creating communities who are currently under represented in the cultural property sector. These initiatives have had a trickle down effect in the broader community and it intended to focus increasingly in this area during the time of the millennium celebrations. One general awareness raising initiative that has been completed involved the production and distribution of a magazine insert aimed at children interested in science.²⁶

²³ Australian Government, Department of Communication and the Arts, National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Movable Cultural Heritage: Background <<http://www.dca.gov.au/ahnbd/back.h>> 27 January 1887, p. 2.

²⁴ Funds allocated for this programme total AUD58,0000, Marshall, Duncan, Op cit., p. 8

²⁵ Australian Government, Department of Communication and the Arts, National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Movable Cultural Heritage: Background <<http://www.dca.gov.au/ahnbd/back.h>> 27 January 1887, p. 2.

²⁶ The cost of this project was AUD10,000, Marshall, Duncan, Op cit., p. 8.

8.1.2 THE NATIONAL CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION POLICY FOR MOVEABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The development of a national conservation and preservation policy was identified by the Heritage Collections Working Group as an essential foundation on which to build programme elements.²⁷ The Policy was developed for a modest financial investment²⁸ with preliminary drafting and consultation work undertaken by the University of Melbourne Conservation Service. It was endorsed by the Cultural Minister's Council in July 1995 and is therefore supported by all state and mainland territory groups, the commonwealth and local governments.²⁹ This endorsement expressly acknowledges the key role of governments in promoting access to heritage as well as its conservation and preservation.³⁰

In considering the type of cultural material to be covered by the Policy the Committee concluded:

This heritage includes the intangible - what is felt, known and experienced. Increasingly these traditions, customs and habits are recorded and documented in photographs, films, tapes and disks. It also includes the tangible - such as bark paintings and works of art, books and manuscripts, aircraft and steam engines, natural history specimens and all manner of large and small objects relating to great events as well as everyday lives.³¹

A broad definition is adopted in this statement and the importance of the concepts and traditions surrounding material cultural property is emphasised. The Policy supports the development of a national database of heritage collections in line with the AMOL project and notes:

²⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁸ AUD5,000, Ibid., p. 7.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁰ Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, *National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage*, p. iii.

³¹ Ibid., p. iii.

The development by the Australian Heritage Commission of the Register of the National Estate provides a useful model for the development of the Distributed National Collection.³²

This task has many similarities to the development of a register of natural heritage assets and the two arenas share common concerns and issues. It is also held, however, that “[t]he protection of places ... is a major and separate issue to the development of the Policy.”³³ While recognising the links between the spheres the Committee has maintained a separation of moveable and immoveable cultural heritage on a management level.

The National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage consists of ten policy statements all of which apply to commonwealth, state, territory and local governments.³⁴ It recognises:

1. the importance of Australia’s moveable cultural heritage to the life and well-being of the people of Australia;
2. the diversity of cultures in Australia and advocates that this be reflected in the definition and identification of moveable cultural heritage;
3. the need to define the significance of moveable cultural heritage as a means of guiding conservation and preservation strategies and actions;
4. the need to preserve and conserve Australia’s moveable cultural heritage through a variety and combination of means including education and awareness programmes; collection management planning; the development and implementation of standards, policy and legislation; the availability of professional training and development; research; the provisions of appropriate storage and display environments; the treatment of vulnerable and endangered material; and reproduction;
5. the right of the Australian people to have equitable access to their moveable cultural heritage, subject to cultural restrictions or sensitivities, with the national database intended to provide an opportunity for access to information about the distributed national collection;

³² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1 - 2.

6. that conservation and preservation are essential to provide ongoing access to Australia's moveable cultural heritage for current and future generations;³⁵
7. the need for a coordinated approach involving governments and the private, community and non-government sectors to achieve improved conservation and preservation of and access to Australia's moveable cultural heritage, including the development of networks and partnerships at all levels;
8. the need to raise the general level of understanding about Australia's moveable cultural heritage, including education within the community, to promote an appreciation of appropriate conservation and preservation for heritage cared for by individuals and to encourage a broader awareness of the nature, importance and challenges facing Australia's moveable cultural heritage;
9. the need for coordination of community wide skills development, training and education of those involved in the conservation and preservation of Australia's moveable cultural heritage, including the establishment of related standards;
10. the need to carry out research related to Australia's moveable cultural heritage to achieve improved conservation and access. Practical and inexpensive solutions are to be sought for many problems which are often unique to Australia, and also to the challenges provided by new forms of heritage. Research into materials, storage, display, methods and treatments is seen as vital to developing better and new solutions to ensure a future for Australia's moveable cultural heritage.

The Policy notes that objects reflecting Australia's cultural diversity are not well represented in institutions and that better collections exist at community or individual levels.³⁶ It is therefore important that both privately and publicly owned material is within its scope. Australia had no process to ensure the conservation and preservation of moveable cultural heritage in private ownership and one objective of the Policy is to raise the level of awareness in the private sector of conservation and preservation issues.³⁷

³⁵ Providing access to moveable cultural heritage contributes to the process of decay while conservation and preservation extend the life of moveable cultural heritage and therefore the opportunity for access. Reproducing cultural heritage (eg manuscripts) and providing access to the reproductions is seen as a valuable means of ensuring both access and preservation. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander collections in museums are to be given particular priority because of their relatively small numbers and their physical fragility. In developing a strategy for the conservation of this material a focus will be placed on consultation and decision making with the informed consent of creating communities. Their right to decide who carries out any conservation work will be recognised and no remedial work will be undertaken on sensitive material without a due process of consultation regardless of the potential deterioration of the material in question. Training these communities in areas of museum practice will be a priority to assist them in the management of moveable cultural heritage in their care.³⁸ The Australian model does not yet envisage the possibility of autonomous management of Aboriginal cultural property. This is one area in which the New Zealand debate has moved ahead of that in Australia and resolutions on the appropriate management of Maori heritage must be accommodated into any new conservation initiatives here.

The completion of the trial programmes and the policy development phase marked a milestone in the conservation of Australia's moveable cultural heritage. The groundwork had been successfully laid and political support had been achieved but it was now necessary to bring the Policy to life and to ensure that it was accepted by institutions and individuals in order to have a real impact on the care of cultural property collections.

A coordinating body was necessary to drive the next phase of the project and when the Heritage Collections Committee reached the end of its three year life span the Cultural Minister's Council agreed established Heritage Collections Council to build on the work of the Committee through to 2001. The HCC's collaborative model was considered successful and adopted as the format of the new Council. Chaired by Federal Government, the Council will be made up of representatives from state and local governments and the museum, library and archives sectors. It will have an annual operating budget of approximately \$800,000 drawn from federal, state and museum contributions.³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³⁹ Australian Government, AMOL: Publications: Heritage Collections Council
<<http://www.nma.gov.au/AMOL/HccNewsletterJan97.shtml>> 1 April 1998.

The Council's work will include identifying collections of significance that are at risk, providing assistance for their preservation and developing nationally agreed guidelines and standards for museum and collection management. Its primary focus is to broaden community access to Australia's diverse museum collections including art museums, natural science museums, archives, historic shipwreck relics and Aboriginal keeping places.⁴⁰ The Heritage Collections Council will maintain the working party structure of the Heritage Collections Committee and currently has three working parties:

1. The On Line Working Party which will further develop AMOL
2. The Conservation Working Party which will continue the work of the HCC working party of the same name, and
3. The Marketing and Promotions Working Party.⁴¹

8.2 NATIONAL CONSERVATION AND PRESERVATION STRATEGY FOR MOVEABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The initial step in developing a strategy to implement the National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage was the commissioning of a series of papers focussing on the implementation of each of the Policy's ten statements. These were circulated to heritage collection stakeholders for comment and a national forum was held in October 1996 to discuss issues arising from the Policy. This input was incorporated into the final Strategy endorsed by the Council in 1997.

Among the major issues identified in the commissioned papers was the need for efforts which were nationally coordinated but regionally relevant:

The only effective way to improve the conservation of and access to Australia's moveable cultural heritage is to develop strategies at the national level, and to ensure that there is a process for linking these with strategies, programmes and activities at the local and state level.

⁴⁰ Australian Government, Department of Communication and the Arts: Media Release, 17 December 1996 <<http://www.dca.gov.au/mediarel/heritage.html>> 1 April 1998.

⁴¹ Australian Government, AMOL: Heritage Collections Council <<http://www.nma.gov.au/AMOL/HeritageCommittee.sh>> 27 January 1998.

...

The key to a successful outcome will lie with coordinated networks and partnerships which both support and empower stakeholders.⁴²

This would require improved information sharing in the sector, a function which could be achieved through the AMOL project:

A focus on the notion of a distributed national collection is now emerging as a new imperative for museums. This focus moves museums from a context which was local or regional in nature to a national one, and brings with it a new range of expectations and responsibilities for their part in the distributed national collection.⁴³

The solution must be able to take account realistically of the nature of the many volunteer organisations which care for Australia's heritage material. It is necessary for such organisations to see themselves as components of a larger picture with a shared cause rather than feeling compelled to adapt to an external mode of operation imposed on them from above. The development and promotion of self-assessment guidelines is seen as pivotal to the strategy's success and campaign publicity will be vital to achieving understanding and acceptance.

Items of national significance are held outside major museums. The organisations which care for this material must be adequately resourced and see themselves as part of a network with a cohesive framework which provides effective assistance. Successful policy implementation will require a range of targeted and coordinated strategies which provide a systematic approach and acknowledge and celebrate regional and cultural differences:

If industry professionals and policy makers tell community organisations that certain standards need to be met, then they (we!) must be able to work in consultation with those community organisations to develop programmes which

⁴² Factor, B., The contribution of community and professional organisations to the conservation and preservation of Australia's movable cultural heritage, Heritage Collections Committee, Conservation Working Party, Op cit., p. 1 - 2.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 2.

implement these changes without placing additional burdens and stresses on the sector. This means that strategies must be developed which are relevant, and through which custodians can link in with the aims of their own organisations.⁴⁴

Without adequate funding, policy statements and strategic directions will not have the overall coherence necessary for lasting change.⁴⁵

Preventive conservation is seen as the highest priority for most organisations with remedial work following as a second phase funding for which might be contingent on adequate preventive measures being in place.⁴⁶ Museums Australia (NSW) trialed a regional conservation laboratory teaching remedial conservation techniques and providing a travelling conservation service. This was abandoned in 1992 because:

[m]any of the custodians of regional collections were not able to appreciate or apply conservation principles when treating objects. This resulted in inadequate or inappropriate treatments and occasionally, damage to objects.⁴⁷

This trial indicated that treatment is not best carried out by semi-skilled personnel while:

[a] focus on preventive conservation is a real response to limited resources and limited expertise in conservation, and will result in the long term preservation of moveable cultural heritage.⁴⁸

A second major issue is the complexity of the existing means of delivery of conservation services in Australia:

Conservation and preservation of the nation's heritage is complicated by the range of private and public organisations and government jurisdictions with responsibilities for moveable heritage.⁴⁹

This has led to a dispersed effort which serves some areas well and others very poorly. Issues of the uneven spread of conservation services in the regional areas, the lack of

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 4.

⁴⁹ Cowie, Kate, *Map of the Conservation and Preservation Programmes, Facilities and Centres in Australia*, Ibid., p. 1.

professional expertise outside museums, art galleries, archives and libraries and the difficulty of access even to advice by small and remote organisations were stressed.⁵⁰

The commonwealth government plays an important role in heritage conservation through, for example, its major collecting and information institutions based in Canberra, staffed conservation laboratories at the Australian Archives in Canberra, Sydney and Melbourne, and contract conservators in other centres. Conservation education initiatives are also supported by the commonwealth and include the conservation training programme at the University of Canberra and heritage management courses.

High quality conservation services are rare outside state capitals even though regional collections contain very significant material. There is no coordinated effort at the local government level to ensure adequate care of moveable cultural heritage. Libraries are generally better served than museums as they are funded as part of the local government infrastructure and have professionally trained staff. Local museums often have no access to conservation facilities beyond short term training programmes offered as part of outreach schemes.

A strategic approach which focuses outside the major cities is necessary to address these issues. Possible funding sources identified include a combination of direct assistance from state and commonwealth institutions through outreach and crisis response programmes, national and state grants, commercial activities and cost recovery programmes by institutions, funding from professional bodies and local government funding of institutions.

The effectiveness of a centralised model where expertise is exported from a central location or facility is questioned and regional cross-disciplinary networks are suggested as an alternative whereby organisations with more knowledge and expertise act as resource centres for smaller bodies. This might follow a regional laboratory model with an expert conservator based in one of the larger regional institutions servicing a network

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

of organisations. This could also encourage regional groups to be more proactive in identifying their needs.⁵¹

The development of a database is suggested to address the need for reliable data about conservation needs and facilities. The heritage sector has a high level of vertical integration so that available data is collected by specific disciplines or types of institutions with little referencing across sector. Untrained sector workers who provide data may be unable to identify or articulate their needs.⁵² AMOL is working to address these issues.

A national industry training advisory body for the culture and recreation industries is advocated to improve the delivery of conservation training which must compete for scarce training funds with new activities in the heritage sector such as marketing and public relations.⁵³ Secure ongoing funding is seen as imperative as is the development of an accreditation standard, diverse programmes designed to meet the needs of varying stakeholders, access, particularly for rural communities, and general awareness raising within heritage organisations and the wider community.⁵⁴ Basic skills in lobbying and promotion are advocated as a component of training for museum staff and would be of particular use in small regional museums where resources are most scarce.⁵⁵

Written submissions were invited on the papers and the proposed strategy and a public forum was held to discuss issues arising. The resulting strategy for the delivery of the National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Property will focus in five areas.

SIGNIFICANCE

Objects will be assessed in a context (historic, aesthetic, scientific, cultural or monetary) and this assessment will provide the rationale for appropriate conservation and preservation. Developing criteria of significance for use by all museums is considered

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 18 - 21.

⁵² Ibid., p. 22 - 23.

⁵³ Parkinson, Cassandra, Conservation and Preservation Education and Training, Ibid., p. 1 - 2.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 2 - 4.

fundamental to the effective management of Australia's heritage collections. The AMOL database is a tool which museum personnel can use to identify their items in the wider context of Australia's heritage collections⁵⁶

The HCC's regional pilot projects indicated storage environments to be the highest priority for cultural property collections. Identifying the most significant items within collections and providing the best available storage for them is the first objective of the significance project. Training for staff in determining significance and appropriate methods of storage and exhibition will also be fostered. It is hoped that project funding will be drawn from a combination of existing resources, private sponsorship and possibly a national fund. Appropriate projects could include preservation and conservation needs assessment, specific treatments or improved storage.⁵⁷

SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

This element aims to improve the conservation expertise of those responsible for caring for collections at a variety of levels and for a variety of purposes. On-site workshops for regional museums with follow up visits are planned as a means of improving conservation and collection management skills. This will be facilitated through a national outreach programme for small museums coordinated with local and state governments and Museums Australia which will also provide regular on-going access to conservation and curatorial expertise. On-site visits, telephone advice, on-line help through AMOL and training workshops using material from the national training package will be used to sustain skills at smaller institutions. Practical support such as collective purchasing arrangements for materials or hiring schemes for environmental monitoring equipment will also be investigated.⁵⁸

The effectiveness of the HCC's pilot workshops, internships, outreach programme and training package will be evaluated and successful strategies implemented nationally. Further work is envisaged to develop appropriate training strategies for indigenous

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 8 - 9.

⁵⁶ Department of Communications and the Arts, web site, National Conservation and Preservation Strategy for Moveable Cultural Property, p. 2 - 3.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

peoples and migrant communities to enable them to conserve their collections appropriately and to increase their involvement in the museum field. This is likely to involve a collaborative research project with commonwealth Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander and training authorities and with Museums Australia. It is also hoped that existing conservation services will work with migrant communities to develop strategies for the care of their cultural property. Input into formal training programmes for heritage professionals is also envisaged as is a register of accredited conservators and facilities available through AMOL.

COLLECTION MANAGEMENT

This strategy addresses means for the incorporation of conservation planning and practice in collection management. In particular it will focus on the competing priorities of conservation and exhibition and stresses that conservation, assessment of significance and collection management are fundamentally interrelated and that a high standard of collection management must include conservation planning.

The strategy will promote the incorporation of a checklist of key collection management issues and benchmarks into a national collection management framework and will work with professional organisations such as Museums Australia and the Australian Society of Archivists to encourage the use of accepted conservation practices by collecting institutions. Disaster planning will be promoted and standards and guidelines for environmental conditions, storage, display and building maintenance will be developed and disseminated.⁵⁹

RESEARCH

The project aims to develop a coordinated national research programme to address critical conservation issues. A research needs assessment will be the first step to identifying areas of greatest need, targeting resources and coordinating action. This will

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 4 - 5.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

identify how research is currently undertaken and point to areas in need of coordination and targeted resources.⁶⁰

AWARENESS RAISING

The strategy seeks to promote a general climate of valuing and treasuring moveable cultural heritage wherever it is located as this will lead to a greater priority being placed by the community, government and funding sources on its conservation and preservation. Public and targeted awareness campaigns will focus in 2000-2001 and may involve consultation with the Australian Local Government Association on ways to raise awareness in local government of its role in caring for local heritage, teaching resources being introduced into school curricula and support being given to initiatives aimed at raising awareness of heritage issues among indigenous and multicultural groups.⁶¹

A comparison of these developments with the experiences and strategies of CCAC may help to clarify some of the problems with the earlier model and point the way for future developments in New Zealand.

8.3 TOWARDS A MODEL FOR NEW ZEALAND

Australia's policy and strategy bear many similarities to CCAC's policy and programmes but there are also many fundamental differences. The first and essential difference is that the Australian scheme succeeded in developing a policy for the conservation and preservation of moveable cultural property which has been endorsed by all levels of government. This was achieved before extensive delivery programming was considered and positions the Heritage Collections Council and its functions more securely within government. The success derives in part from the supportive climate which had been developed in government by the Cultural Ministers Council and by the involvement of governments and the heritage sector at every stage of policy

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 5.

development. CCAC was not well understood or supported in government, the sector or the wider community. It operated in something of a vacuum, lacked a broad policy foundation and was easily disposed of as a peripheral luxury during government's downsizing. Some broad principles were established in the early stages of the Council's operation but these were used mainly as a basis for making grants rather than tackling the larger strategic policies dealt with in Australia. Also the New Zealand heritage sector was unable to unite effectively to support this initiative.

Government was also convinced of the continuing need for a national coordinating body and chose to repeat the successful model established by the Heritage Collections Committee. Collaboration and ownership at all sector levels was fundamental to this model. As well as personnel, project funding was drawn from throughout the client community so that it was not seen as a sink hole for central government resources but as a constructive partnership. Duncan Marshall, a Private Heritage Consultant in Australia, has commented:

The committee has succeeded in engendering collaboration in a diverse and complex industry. This has been a feature from the outset and the common tension that seems to exist in commonwealth/state relations has been set aside in this case. The collaboration is reflected in the development of the funding formula for the committee's programs and in the additional contributions made by organisations to the conservation training workshops.

This consensual national approach, rather than a centrally planned and enforced approach requires time and effort. Short-term achievements may be slow in coming and modest in scale, however, such achievements are strengthened by the climate of consensus and long-term objectives are better funded.⁶²

ICCCP grew out of a number of sector initiatives and had sound sector support at the outset. CCAC, however, became distant from both the sector and government. Neither body developed significant partnerships with local authorities or with other national heritage entities.

⁶² Marshall, Duncan, *Op cit.*, p. 9.

The HCC and the Council which replaced it were given finite periods of operation and specific goals. They were able to address clearly understood objectives and to match outcomes to established goals. There was no expectation that they would begin large scale service delivery but were able to trial programmes and establish supporting policy.

The project was linked at every stage to access and information, giving it appeal and relevance to the broader community as well as stressing the integral nature of conservation in wider collection management issues. AMOL's work to standardise elements of collection registration and to make this information widely available is an initial step towards determining the nature and extent of Australia's distributed national collection of cultural property which will facilitate the application of significance criteria with the aim of focussing central government support to areas of greatest need.

The National Conservation Program's pilot training projects focussed on improving the preventive conservation skills of personnel already working with cultural property collections, particularly in regional locations which are often distanced from professional expertise. Formal training was encouraged for targeted groups through the internship scheme but financial support was not offered for professional training and nor was the Committee required to establish conservation positions at institutions. Regional services were considered but if adopted would be sustained from a variety of income sources, not simply cost recovery treatment work. At every stage partnerships with existing organisations were stressed to provide services which were collectively owned, relevant and necessary. Market research and business planning were part of product development and audience targeting. The programmes were trials and will be evaluated and reviewed before long term or large scale commitment of resources.

Conservation treatment funding was not undertaken during the trial phase but the Policy does note:

significant improvements [since the mid 1970s] particularly in the area of training conservators, and within many of the larger museums, [but] recent research has shown that collections in Australian museums are still in a perilous condition. ... Remedial action taken to date has simply been too little. The

renaissance experienced by museums since the mid 1970s, and the dramatic growth in the number, range and quality of museums and programs in Australia has compounded the problems associated with the conservation and preservation of collections.

...

While museums continue to collect they have a backlog of material in need of treatment. None of these institutions has adequate resources to meet their in-house conservation and preservation needs.⁶³

This situation is similar to that experienced currently in New Zealand. Significant progress has been made since the 1970s with both ICCCP and CCAC focussing on the training of conservation professionals and improving levels of preventive conservation however it remains true that New Zealand is not as well provided with conservators as the major metropolitan centres of Australia and therefore lacks a comparable professional foundation for programme development. Further, training is more readily accessible for Australians and the pool of skilled personnel able to take part in new initiatives is correspondingly larger. The Australian Policy now sees a need for greater emphasis on conservation treatments and recognises that this will require external support if museums are to deal with the large amount of cultural material in need of stabilisation.

Australia has experienced similar difficulties to New Zealand in defining the role of central government in cultural property conservation. The Victorian State Government considered:

Most of the problems stem from a lack of a clear set of guidelines as to the commonwealth's role in museums. As there is no developed policy in commonwealth assistance to museums, there has been a tendency for ad hoc decision making and no clear formulation of what a central role should be.⁶⁴

The Heritage Collections Committee's Policy is an attempt to rectify this problem and to clarify central government's role in the conservation of moveable cultural property. Australia's Policy is intended to act as a model for other countries and is seen as a

⁶³ Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, *National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage*, Op cit., p. 7.

government product available for export.⁶⁵ It is therefore available for refinement and development in the New Zealand context and the resulting document could also provide government here with an exportable policy asset. It is more detailed and far reaching in its implications than were CCAC's Policy Statement and Terms of Reference but there are also a number of similarities.

The Policy recognises the fundamental importance of moveable cultural heritage to the people of Australia. This is not made explicit in CCAC's founding documents. The concern to express the diversity of cultures in Australia is paralleled in this country by a concern for biculturalism and a particular focus on taonga Maori. The need for education of private owners of cultural property is also stressed in the Australian document.

The priority given in Australia to defining significance as a means of guiding conservation strategies and programmes is not reflected by CCAC nor is the intention to create a database of the distributed national collection. CCAC strove to incorporate the significance of cultural property into its consideration of funding applications but no impartial means of assessing relative significance was developed and no analysis was carried out across the whole of the cultural property sector. The creation of a national database of cultural property was discussed but no action was taken. Any assessment of significance was based solely on the knowledge and background of CCAC's membership and was applied reactively in light of applications received.

While CCAC was given a broad mandate to promote national conservation priorities, the Australian Policy suggests a number of specific mechanisms for fulfilling this role. Both documents seek to promote research into regionally specific materials and both state the right of continued access to cultural material. The need to take account of cultural sensitivities in this area is mentioned explicitly in the Australian context only and the Australian Policy ties conservation specifically to the core value of improved

⁶⁴ Department of Finance Discussion Paper, Op cit., p. 30.

⁶⁵Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, *National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage*, Op cit., p. 4.

access. It also notes the need for research into the preservation of the new forms of heritage produced in the technological age.

CCAC's founding documents appear to place all of the responsibilities on the Council but the Australian Policy notes the need for a coordinated approach involving governments, the private community and non government organisations. The need for broad promotion and general awareness raising in the community are stressed in the Australian document but only implicitly noted in CCAC's Objectives which seek more to target specific groups. The Australian Policy seeks training related standards. CCAC's documents make no mention of this issue.

A comparison of the two sets of documents indicates that the Australian Policy is more concrete and detailed and links conservation at every stage to the core value of ensured and improved community access to its cultural heritage. There is a ten year gap between the development of the two statements and this may account for many of the differences both in the perception of the role and nature of cultural property conservation and in the degree of specification of the policy statements. In 1997 governments have more experience of the demands of output based accountability. The Australian Policy provides a number of specific targets which could be developed into output based performance indicators while CCAC's Terms of Reference and objectives are couched in more general terms.

CCAC's guidelines are intended for a temporary body charged with promoting the establishment of a permanent conservation council. In this sense it may be understandable that they are less precise and detailed and it would be expected that greater precision would follow in the formulation of a permanent council. Their vagueness did, however, leave the Council vulnerable to criticism when reviewed in the output based climate of the 1990s. The HCC was also a temporary body but one which was given a specific life span and required chiefly to develop strategies and to lay the groundwork for specific programmes which would follow. CCAC was not given such guidelines and became increasingly involved in project funding at the expense of strategic initiatives.

The contention of writers such as Tony Bennett⁶⁶ that clear and concrete policy is necessary for the development of meaningful performance indicators which will meet the demands of output based accountability for heritage activities is highlighted in this example. While such performance indicators have not yet been developed, Australia's National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage provides a more useful starting point than did CCAC's founding documents. It is to be hoped that any new conservation initiatives in this country will proceed from a similarly ratified and expressed policy document.

Recent developments in Australia provide useful insights for the cultural property conservation issue in New Zealand in a number of ways. Both countries are pluralist societies with indigenous populations possessing unique and endangered material cultural pasts. Both countries acknowledge the importance of heritage preservation and have made significant advances in this area since the 1970s. Legislative and regulatory initiatives have focussed far more on the natural and built environments, however, and a core problem with the conservation of moveable cultural property has been the lack of policy or guidelines defining central government's role in this area. Lack of a coordinated policy has meant that conservation initiatives have been ad hoc and fragmented and, as in the case of CCAC, have been unable to withstand the imposition of market principles and output based accountability in recent years.

Both countries divide the responsibility for the care of cultural property on the basis of ownership between central and local authorities, and neither has traditionally adopted a governmental role in advocacy for privately owned cultural property. Despite this philosophical split the central governments of both Australia and New Zealand have intervened in the conservation of the dispersed national collections, ICCCP and CCAC being examples of this activity in New Zealand. The decision by government to become involved in cultural property conservation has been seen to be essentially a political one and therefore subject to shifts in government philosophy.

⁶⁶ See Chapter 2.2.

Australia's Heritage Collections Council is a positive step towards overcoming issues of strategic inadequacy and political expedience. It incorporates representatives of varied levels of government as well as heritage professionals in seeking a shared vision and solution. The commitment of resources by all interested parties from the outset creates the potential for a collectively owned and endorsed solution.

While it includes intangible elements of culture, Australia's Policy excludes the built and natural environments considering these major areas requiring separate, but related, management. It shifts the focus from ownership to national significance in determining government input into the care of moveable cultural property and seeks to improve understanding of conservation issues among private owners of significant cultural material. Australia's indigenous material culture is given priority under the Policy and consultation and informed decision making are to be the cornerstones of subsequent strategy.

In New Zealand the Maori community is traditionally under represented in tertiary training and the museum sector. This is also true of other non English speaking communities, such as Pacific Island immigrants, and these sectors are also often disenfranchised and distanced from their material cultural pasts. A similar focus on internships and awareness raising for the Maori and non-English speaking communities in this country would facilitate informed dialogue as well as enabling members of creator communities to take control of the long term care of their material cultural heritage. A parallel programme to educate existing heritage professionals in issues of relevance to these communities and their cultural property is also required for successful consultation and communication.

Like Australia, New Zealand has a large number of heritage organisations outside the main centres. In the past we have looked to central government as essentially the sole provider of external conservation funding. The establishment of cross disciplinary regional networks and exploration of diversified income sources could also benefit the heritage sector here. Sector based initiatives which attempt to provide resources for conservation will be increasingly valuable bargaining tools if, as is likely, the current

government focus on free market principles, self sufficiency and funding partnerships is to continue.

CONCLUSION

This thesis set out to evaluate the influence of 'new right' philosophies and economic rationalism on the demise of CCAC. It is clear that these factors were strongly influential but it is also clear that they do not completely explain central government's move away from leadership and co-ordination of cultural property conservation. CCAC was a casualty of the changing economic and political environment but adapting to these changes would not have been enough. Governments must seek a solution to the paradox created by their acceptance of the fundamental importance of heritage to communal and personal identity and their economic and non-interventionist focus. They must also signal very clearly to the nation that our heritage collections and historic places are a major national resource.

CCAC was increasingly cast in a service delivery role and did not make sufficient progress in fulfilling its policy objectives. This left the Council without a widely acknowledged or endorsed rationale and no foundation for the development of legislation for a permanent conservation council. When CCAC's activities were reviewed the Council could not point to a clearly articulated government responsibility underpinning its activities. Cultural property conservation initiatives remained the responsibility of a ministerial advisory committee which, by definition, could be discontinued by the judgement of a single Minister of the Crown.

The formulation of a government heritage conservation policy would also have provided a statement against which to measure outcomes in order to affirm the value of the Council's work and to argue for continued funding. CCAC's failure to achieve a secure means of objectively assessing its performance left the Council vulnerable to criticism under government's accountability mechanisms.

CCAC's policy advisory role was further complicated by the establishment of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in 1990. The Ministry's policy and legislative focus clearly impinged on CCAC's functions in this area and the decision to maintain the Council

within a service delivery branch of the Department of Internal Affairs further distanced it from core government cultural policy activities. The focus on service delivery meant that the Council was primarily involved in spending and, without significant return in the form of policy or other advice to government, cultural property conservation became essentially a financial liability and therefore vulnerable in a climate of spending cutbacks. Uncertainty about the role of Te Papa's National Services further complicated the issue as did CCAC's uneasy and undefined relationship with central government heritage agencies.

The Council did not succeed in achieving clear and unified sector support and when its operations came under threat there was no effective sector lobby to advocate for its continuation. The heritage sector is complex and diverse but the establishment of consensus on fundamental issues is essential to providing a united voice and CCAC did not emphasise this function as a preliminary to programme activities. It did not promote the value of a national heritage policy framework and senior managers may still remain unaware of this need. The heritage sector continues generally to be under resourced and this requires senior administrators to adopt a management strategy aimed primarily at survival. This engenders a focus on the concerns of individual institutions, potentially at the expense of consolidated national advocacy. The recent establishment of Museums Aotearoa as an umbrella sector organisation may be a positive development in this area.

Negotiations for a council to replace CCAC indicate that central government heritage agencies also have complex and varied interpretations of the role of such a body. This conflict creates a barrier to the re-establishment of a cultural property conservation council and to some extent mirrors the lack of coherent advocacy from the sector. It is clear that a good deal of groundwork is needed to include the interests of all relevant parties in any future initiatives.

While government continues to accept that heritage is a matter of national significance, it also faces continued calls to maintain economic stringency and to minimise its delivery functions. Initiatives underway to review the management of land based

heritage may result in government's responsibilities in this area being revised in a manner which will open the way for its leadership role in cultural property conservation to be revisited.

CCAC's membership structure sought to represent all interested parties and succeeded in bringing together senior professionals from a range of cultural property agencies. There was no local government representation, however, despite the fact that local governments provide the majority of funding for the care of cultural property collections. As a result CCAC needed to convince local authorities of the value of its work, particularly in attempts to establish new conservation positions and facilities, rather than having this important decision maker and funder involved from the outset in the establishment of priorities and strategies to address these.

Departmental support staff generally lacked conservation and museological training as well as the seniority and resources to act with independence or to initiate related programmes. Most of CCAC's staff were government officials without direct experience of the sector served by the Council. Departmental staff had a strong influence on Ministers' understanding of CCAC and its work but viewed it chiefly as a funding body, further frustrating its policy objectives.

The Council's terms of reference were extremely wide, requiring it to act in both policy advice and service delivery, and contained no strategic reference points or time lines which could be translated into the quantitative performance measures currently required by government accountability mechanisms. The Council did not seek to overcome this situation through engaging in its own strategic planning to determine the scope of its work before beginning project funding and approved applications for two years before a formal funding policy was adopted. This omission is not solely a responsibility of the Council. Such administrative issues should have been driven and overseen by Departmental personnel.

CCAC succeeded in providing a number of New Zealanders with professional conservation skills. Although positions were not found for many graduates at the time,

the pool of conservation knowledge available in this country was greatly increased by the work of both advisory committees. Since the committees' demise institutions have not taken up the responsibility of supporting the training of New Zealanders as conservators. It is likely that they will continue to recruit overseas conservation professionals who are able to contribute technical expertise and skills without the prior need for financial assistance during training.

CCAC's shift away from professional training towards providing skills for existing personnel spread its training influence further and served to raise levels of conservation awareness throughout the sector. Its focus on preventive conservation in both training and project funding fostered improved care of collections throughout the country. However, since the Council's demise there has been no umbrella organisation to oversee and drive preventive conservation initiatives and it is currently not possible to determine whether advances in this area have been ongoing.

CCAC was particularly successful in bringing new types of cultural property collections into the heritage conservation arena as is evidenced in the increasing numbers of libraries and archives receiving funding support. It did not, however, provide a useful service for the majority of the country's cultural property organisations which are run by volunteers and for whom application procedures and bureaucratic delays were a deterrent. Major metropolitan and regional organisations were the chief recipients of CCAC funding. CCAC operated across a very broad range of cultural property and sought to tackle conservation issues proactively. While it lacked thorough strategic planning, the Council did identify a number of acute issues and took steps to address these. This is evidenced by its focus on training and on preventive conservation.

The Council also succeeded in training a number of Maori conservators, fostering research into indigenous materials, funding the care of taonga Maori in public collections and raising awareness of cultural property conservation with marae based groups. The Taonga Maori Conference was a unique event which served to further understanding of the nature of taonga for those caring for these collections in museums overseas and in New Zealand. The Conference project illustrates CCAC's bicultural

policy and its willingness to interpret conservation in a holistic sense whereby cultural property is seen as part of the complex of social and philosophical concerns which constitute communities. Since CCAC's demise there has been no central body to drive the Conference's long term aims of fostering improved contact between taonga held overseas and the Maori people in New Zealand. The Taonga Maori Protection Bill currently before Parliament does promote the significance of these issues, however, and is an indication of ongoing high level political involvement in their resolution.

The Council contributed only a small amount of its budget to promotion of its activities. It was not well understood by the heritage sector and did not convince individual institutions that conservation was a significantly greater priority than other operational concerns which compete for resources. This is evidenced in the difficulty experienced in convincing managers of the need to create conservation positions despite the availability of funding support. Another factor in this failure is the ongoing expense of conservation programmes which makes conservation positions difficult to sustain for most institutions. Conservation is also largely a 'back of house' activity and museums have focussed increasingly on exhibitions and other public programmes which can more readily be used by managers to convince funding authorities of the relevance and importance of heritage institutions to their communities. Again, this points to the need to involve local authorities at every stage of programme planning and to raise awareness of the importance of conservation among local authority staff and the broader community.

Recent initiatives indicate a generally positive future for government's role in cultural property conservation. Current attempts to improve the management and care of land based heritage are likely to inform future developments in this area for moveable cultural property. The Department of Conservation's Historic Heritage Management Review is particularly useful in its broad sectoral focus and its concern to overcome confusion and duplication in heritage management strategies. The Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment's call to establish a new Ministerial portfolio for heritage has potential to create a successful integrated approach to heritage management and preservation but, as the Department of Conservation review stresses, there is a

danger that increased regulatory provisions may have a negative effect in increasing bureaucracy and placing administrators in a gatekeeping role. It is important to foster general community support for heritage and to provide mechanisms which encourage private owners of significant cultural property to consider its long term welfare. Although government continues to focus on economic stringency none of these initiatives can be implemented successfully without the commitment of additional resources.

Other recent initiatives such as the National Library's National Preservation Programme may lead to a fragmented approach to cultural property conservation based on the format and ownership of the material in question. While these initiatives provide an immediate response to conservation requirements in specific areas of the sector, they risk developing into overlapping and inefficient mechanisms such as those currently operating for land based heritage.

In summary, the current situation in New Zealand government funding of cultural property conservation may be seen to stem from three factors. Firstly, the imposition of theories of economic rationalism on the public sector since the mid 1980s has seen government move away from service delivery and blanket funding and has required public agencies to justify their existence in terms derived from the private market and financial sectors. Traditional justifications for government involvement in the heritage sector have not been sustainable in this climate and require revision.

The fundamental assumption that private market principles and processes can be applied in a wholesale fashion to the public sector underlies these outcomes and has caused an excessive focus on financial and quantifiable performance measures. This essentially commercial view of public sector activities has been unable to take account of the sector's broader aims and a synthesis of public good and related arguments with the efficiency and accountability concerns of market economics is required. A number of theorists have critiqued the application of private market principles to heritage management and have suggested new mechanisms for analysing the value of

government involvement in the heritage sector but these have yet to be translated into working models in New Zealand.

Agencies such as CCAC were conceived in a period of government philosophy which promoted state intervention in a range of community activities and were not readily accommodated in the new regime. The 1991 review of CCAC's activities found it difficult to construct an argument continuation of the Council, which had become something of an anachronism, and sought to align it with similar bodies whose role had been sanctioned in the new era. In this construction it focussed on CCAC's funding activities and suggested that it no longer take a role in policy development. When the proposal for a replacement council was finally tabled in 1993, the discussion had gone full circle and it was to be a policy only council with no funding role. Unfortunately, the lack of consensus among departments, institutions and other agents of government meant that even this proposal came to nothing.

Secondly, the heritage sector has failed to develop a unified strategy advocating a common view of what it expects from government. Initiatives have been largely driven by central government and thus distanced from the sector which they seek to service and from local authorities. This distancing resulted in a difficult relationship between the advisory councils and the sector, fostered communication problems and frustrated the determination of common goals. Difficulties were perceived with the operation of ICCCP and CCAC but there was no unified sector response or call for specific improvements. Initiatives were not partnership based but focussed on obtaining government money for use by cultural property organisations. This perception of government's role is also at odds with current political philosophy. While CCAC was successful in raising general awareness of conservation issues and provided significant assistance for collection care and the training of a variety of personnel, it also became a gatekeeper since its role and programmes were not clearly understood and the application process was complex, bureaucratic and protracted making it difficult for many smaller institutions.

The Council advocated that organisations become involved in conservation and make this an operational priority but on the whole the heritage community did not feel it had a driving hand in the evolution of CCAC and its work. The Council's structure and functions were decided by government and there was little sense of ownership or shared responsibilities on the part of the cultural property sector. Current government focus on partnership based initiatives left CCAC vulnerable as a body which was essentially procedurally unilateral. When its operations came under threat the lack of broad sector support and community understanding of the Council and its programmes left it without a coherent voice to advocate or negotiate for its continuation.

Thirdly, government has consistently failed to develop a clear national policy defining its role in heritage. This situation compounds confusion derived from the lack of sector cohesion and has led to ad hoc and complex systems for the care of cultural property. A sound policy is a necessary framework upon which to develop targeted delivery strategies.

ICCCP and CCAC were to advise government on the development of policy but were largely unsuccessful in this area. The committees developed their own funding rationales which could have provided the starting point for a national policy but did not take this issue further. This left CCAC without a secure foundation for the development of legislation and allowed it to slip increasingly into a funding role which made it vulnerable in the ensuing climate of cutbacks and financial stringency. While legislation would not have guaranteed the future of the Council's initiatives, its absence made the dissolution of CCAC an easy task facilitated simply by Ministerial resolution.

It is clear that heritage remains a significant priority for New Zealanders. The high number of submissions in 1998 to the Department of Conservation's Historic Heritage Management Review reflects this interest in the wider community while issues surrounding the management and preservation of taonga Maori and the establishment of the Heritage Group within the Department of Internal Affairs indicate that it is also an important factor for many in government. Moves to make heritage a matter of national

importance under the Resource Management Act 1991 and to establish a Ministry of Heritage further illustrate high level political involvement in the issue.

The establishment of ICCCP and CCAC saw New Zealand take a leading role on the international scene in promoting the care of its cultural property but since the committees' demise we have fallen behind countries such as Australia. Fundamental to recent developments in that country is a changing government perception of heritage. While heritage has often been viewed as a financial liability and a drain on public funds, Australia has begun to view heritage as an asset which provides employment and tourist revenue as well as acting as a cornerstone of national, community and personal identity. This shift in attitude has underpinned the development of policy and programmes for the care of moveable cultural property which are based on partnership, shared responsibility and resourcing, community understanding and support and the definition of achievable and finite tasks which are capable of rendition as performance indicators appropriate to the present demands of government accountability. The Heritage Collections Committee's project also separated policy development from delivery functions and has established policy as a foundation upon which to build targeted delivery programmes. It did not seek necessarily to place policy and delivery functions with separate agencies but nominated the development of policy as a prerequisite to planning strategic programmes. Specific project delivery has also been contracted to the heritage sector.

In considering the possible form of a new conservation agency for New Zealand it is important to take account of the Australian experience. This indicates that government can successfully initiate cultural property conservation programmes when a model based on shared responsibilities and the representation of all interested parties is adopted from the outset. The formulation and endorsement of policy is an essential foundation and should be completed before programme delivery is undertaken. The Australian project completed extensive consultation and feasibility testing before determining the form of its delivery strategy and has included the standardisation, collection and sharing of information about collections as an integral component of its work. This will enable both the agency delivering conservation programmes and institutions themselves to determine the relative significance of collections and to target resources accordingly. It

will also improve community access to cultural property collections. Inherent in the success of the Australian project to date has been its ability to take time to plan and to establish meaningful and useful priorities with the input of a broad range of interested parties.

This thesis has identified three major causes for the demise of CCAC and pointed to a strategy in the Australian project which recognises and responds proactively to these potential weaknesses. There is still much work to be done in New Zealand in developing appropriate facilities and preventive conservation skills for all heritage professionals, promoting research on the conservation of Maori collections and supporting the professional development of our conservators.

There have been significant developments in both moveable and historic place heritage since the demise of CCAC but the need remains for a national heritage conservation policy for the whole sector which involves both central and local government and the sector itself in resourcing, planning and delivery. We have a responsibility to maintain and preserve our material cultural heritage and to ensure that we pass it on to coming generations. It is through this heritage that we establish our links with the past and with the future.

APPENDIX ONE

CCAC MEMBERS

		TERM
Ms Mina McKenzie	Chairperson	July 1987 - July 1990, reappointed until July 1991.
Mr Stuart Strachan	ARANZ Nominee	July 1987 - 1989, reappointed until July 1991.
Mr Bill Millbank	AGMANZ Nominee	July 1987 - 1989, reappointed until July 1991.
Ms Te Aue Davis	HPT/MASPAC Nominee	July 1987 - July 1989.
Mr Jeavons Baillie	Conservation Professions Representative	July 1987 - April 1989.
Dr Ngahuia Te Awekotuku		July 1987 - July 1990.
Mr Kilifi Heimuli	Pacific Islands Representative	March 1989 - March 1992.
Ms Lyndsay Knowles	Conservation Professions Representative	July 1989 - July 1992.
Mrs Waana Davis	HPT/MASPAC Nominee	July 1989 - July 1991. ¹

¹ Personal Correspondence, V. Crawford, Senior Policy Analyst, Department of Internal Affairs to Kerry McCarthy, 12 November 1997.

APPENDIX TWO

TABLE OF GRANTS ALLOCATED BY CCAC

Note: This information is derived from a review of CCAC's meeting minutes. It has not been possible to gain access to the minutes for meetings 6 and 7. The Council did not always specify grant amounts, purposes or recipients in its minutes, particularly during the early stages of its operation. This is the reason why a number of fields are empty. Data has been included wherever it was available.

Meeting	Amount	Institution	Individual	Purpose	Details	Maori Initiative?	Date
1			yes	Travel	Conference Overseas		16-18 Aug 1987
1			yes	Travel	Conference Overseas		16-18 Aug 1987
1			yes	Travel	Conference Overseas		16-18 Aug 1987
1			yes	Travel	Conference Overseas		16-18 Aug 1987
2			yes	Training - Canberra	Canberra		9-10 Oct 1987
2			yes	Training - Canberra	Canberra		9-10 Oct 1987
2			yes	Training - Canberra	Canberra		9-10 Oct 1987
3			yes	Travel	Wrokshop NZ		11-12 Feb 1988
3			yes	Internship - post training	Post Training, Auckland		11-12 Feb 1988

3		Canterbury Museum		Salary Seeding Subsidy	Conservator		11-12 Feb 1988
4			yes	Travel	Workshop, NZ		12 Apr 1988
4	\$20,000.00	CCAC		Promotion	Brochure		12 Apr 1988
4	\$150,000.00	Various		Consultation	Total subsidy 1987/88 and 88/89		12 Apr 1988
4			yes	Travel	Conference Overseas		12 Apr 1988
4		Auckland Institute and Museum		Equipment	For Marae proj., owned by CCAC, kept at Akld Mus	Y	12 Apr 1988
5			yes	Training	England		7 July 1988
5		Unspecified		Materials	Preventive Conservation Subsidy		7 July 1988
5		Otago Museum		Salary Seeding Subsidy	Conservator		7 July 1988
5		Unspecified		Treatment	Oil painting		7 July 1988
5		Unspecified		Treatment	Furniture		7 July 1988
5		Unspecified		Treatment	Works on paper		7 July 1988
5		Unspecified		Treatment	Textile		7 July 1988
5		ACAG		Salary - Regional	NRCS 50% Subsidy		7 July 1988
5		Unspecified		Survey	Survey		7 July 1988
5		CCAC		Publication	Foldouts for AGMANZ Journal - preventive cons.		7 July 1988
5		Unspecified		Survey	Survey		7 July 1988
5			yes	Travel	Conference Overseas		7 July 1988
5			yes	Travel	Conference New Zealand		7 July 1988
5		Unspecified		Materials	Preventive		7 July 1988

					Conservation Subsidy		
5		Unspecified		Materials	Preventive Conservation Subsidy		7 July 1988
5			yes	Travel	Conference Overseas		7 July 1988
5		Unspecified		Treatment	Oil painting		7 July 1988
5		Auckland University		Salary - Archaeological Lab		Y	7 July 1988
8	\$25,995.00		yes	Internship - post training	National Museum		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$1,000.00	Bath House Museum		Survey/Exhibition	Nga Taonga O Arawa Exhib	Y	28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$1,410.00	HPT		Treatment	Painted panels, Ruaihona Marae, Te Teko	Y	28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$600.00	Haumaria Waka Inc		Consultation	Haumaria Waka	Y	28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$4,000.00		yes	Travel (Auckland public Library)	Conference Overseas - ICCROM Paper Conf, Rome		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$4,970.00	Hocken Library		Materials	Preventive Conservation Copying Photographs		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$580.00	NZ Centre for Photography		Equipment	Thermohydrograph, lux meter		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$1,000.00	CCAC		Promotion	Subsidy scheme brochure and translation to		28-29 Nov 1988

					Maori		
8	\$3,000.00		yes	Internships - pre training	Pre-training - advertise and translate to Maori		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$3,000.00	NZPCG		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Speakers, 75% total cost, to be public		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$5,815.00	Otago Museum		Materials	Cloaks - storage units, fork hoist - facilities	Y	28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$10,000.00	CCAC		Board Members' Travel	MASPAC/HPT training meeting	Y	28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$670.00	Otago Museum		Materials	PC: Ceramics - storage units, exhibition		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$6,146.00	Otago Museum		Salary Seeding Subsidy	Conservator		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$11,400.00		yes	Training - Canberra	Canberra		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$11,400.00		yes	Training - Canberra	Canberra		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$10,000.00	Taranaki Museum		Research	Storage units for Maori cloaks	Y	28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$5,000.00	CCAC		Board Members' Travel			28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$200.00	Gisborne Museum and AG		Equipment	Psychrometer and Humidity Cards also gave thermohy		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$1,000.00		yes	Travel	Conf Overseas - Nat Conf Engineering Herit, Sydney		28-29 Nov 1988

8	\$1,500.00	AIM		Treatment	French Clock		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$400.00	Otago Museum		Survey	Bronze		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$3,000.00	CCAC		Chairperson's Travel	Northern Regional Meeting		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$915.00	Hocken Library		Treatment	Paintings		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$714.00		yes	Travel	Workshop, Australia		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$16,000.00		yes	Training	Canberra - Rock Art Conservation	Y - additional training for Maori conservator	28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$1,000.00	Wanganui Regional Museum		Consultation	Excavation of waterlogged wood	Y	28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$480.00	Wairarapa Arts Foundation		Treatment	Watercolours		28-29 Nov 1988
8	\$750.00	Porirua Museum		Treatment	Works on paper		28-29 Nov 1988
9	\$25,000.00	ACAG		Operating Costs	NRCS		13 Feb 1989
9	\$19,000.00	Auckland University		Operating Costs	Archaeolog Lab	Y	13 Feb 1989
9	\$245.00	Hawkes Bay Museum		Materials	Storage - Taonga Maori	Y	13 Feb 1989
9	\$3,000.00	Te Wehi O Te Rangi Trust Board		Consultation		Y	13 Feb 1989
9	\$1,000.00	Otago University		Consultation	Travel - flax fibre research planning	Y	13 Feb 1989
9	\$200.00	Unspecified		Treatment	Textile Coptic Tapestry		13 Feb 1989
9	\$500.00	Presbyterian Church Archives		Publication	Handbook - Care and Cons Presbytn. Archives		13 Feb 1989
9	\$3,655.00		yes	Training	Textile Conservation - Overseas		13 Feb 1989

					(England)		
9	\$2,500.00	CCAC		Chairperson's Travel			13 Feb 1989
9		Govett Brewster		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Preventive Conservation		13 Feb 1989
9	\$3,000.00	CCAC		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Technology Museums Conference		13 Feb 1989
9	\$3,000.00	CCAC		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Preservation of Type Specimens		13 Feb 1989
9	\$2,000.00		yes	Internship - pre training	Interview Costs		13 Feb 1989
9	\$500.00		yes	Conservation Award	Certificates		13 Feb 1989
9	\$10,000.00	Wanganui Regional Museum		Conservation Award	1988/89 - Cloak Storage	Y	13 Feb 1989
9	\$10,000.00	Nelson Museum		Conservation Award	1988/89 - Tyree		13 Feb 1989
9	\$10,000.00	DPAG		Regional Conservator	Otago/Sthland, appointment and relocation		13 Feb 1989
9	\$3,000.00	NZPCG		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	NZPCG		13 Feb 1989
9		Otago Mus/OSM		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Preventive Conservation, Otago		13 Feb 1989
10	\$750.00	CCAC		Board Members' Travel	Southland storage facilities		9 May 1989
10	\$28,000.00	Otago University		Research	PhD Scholarship 2 years - Harakeke Research	Y	9 May 1989
10	\$15,000.00	Dunedin City Council		Regional Conservator	Appointment and relocation		9 May 1989

10	\$7,500.00		yes	Internship - pre training			9 May 1989
10	\$2,000.00	Whangarei CC		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Preventive Conservation		9 May 1989
10	\$900.00	Gisborne Museum and AG		Survey	Preventive Conservation		9 May 1989
10	\$1,300.00	Dowse Art Museum		Survey	Storage Survey 2:1		9 May 1989
10		AIM/Marae/Client		Materials	Heat gun, camera, CCAC \$, AIM own - marae/CCAC client	Y	9 May 1989
10	\$1,181.00	Whangarei CC		Treatment	Paintings 1:1		9 May 1989
10	\$2,500.00	West Coast Historical Museum		Materials	Shelving - newspapers 1:1		9 May 1989
10	\$1,099.00	YWCA Auckland		Treatment	Paintings 1:1		9 May 1989
11	\$335.40	Huntly Mining and Cult Museum		Treatment	Fumigation 1:1		31 Jul 1989
11	\$500.00	Onuku Church		Consultation	Altar panels	Y	31 Jul 1989
11	\$964.69	Fisher Gallery		Equipment	Thermohydrog., psychrometer 1:1		31 Jul 1989
11	\$790.00	Fisher Gallery		Materials	Window Film 1:1		31 Jul 1989
11	\$937.50	Northland Soc of Arts		Survey	Preventive Conservation 1:1		31 Jul 1989
11	\$2,500.00		yes	Travel	NZ - Soc for Cult Cons 1:1		31 Jul 1989
11	\$2,441.00		yes	Travel	Cleaning paintings 1:1 Los Angeles		31 Jul 1989
11	\$362.90	Forrester Gallery		Equipment	Thermohydrograph 1:1		31 Jul 1989

11	\$850.00	CCAC		Chairperson's Travel		31 Jul 1989
11	\$295.00	Kinder House Soc.		Treatment	Works on paper 1:1	31 Jul 1989
11	\$363.00		yes	Travel	Conference NZPCG	31 Jul 1989
11	\$1,500.00		yes	Travel	Conference Hawaii - report required	31 Jul 1989
11	\$2,000.00	Various		Discretionary Fund	Chairperson	31 Jul 1989
11	\$1,200.00		yes	Travel	Workshop - paper conservation	31 Jul 1989
11	\$11,400.00		yes	Training - Canberra	Paper and photographs	31 Jul 1989
11	\$368.00	Hawkes Bay Museum and AG		Treatment	Map 1:1	31 Jul 1989
12	\$2,500.00	DPAG		Regional Conservator	Interviews	3 Nov 1989
12	\$2,000.00	Massey University		Training	Book purchases, Museum Studies	3 Nov 1989
12	\$1,500.00	Tongan Women's Association		Conference/Works hop/Seminar	Workshop Conservation of Tapa	3 Nov 1989
12	\$1,968.75	Ewelme Cottage Management Committee		Treatment	Textiles	3 Nov 1989
12	\$506.25	Porirua Museum		Treatment	Works on paper	3 Nov 1989
12	\$395.70	CCAC		Chairperson's Travel		3 Nov 1989
12	\$190.00	CCAC		Board Members' Travel	to meetings	3 Nov 1989
12	\$780.75	Porirua Museum		Survey	2:1	3 Nov 1989

12	\$116.73	Canterbury Museum		Treatment	Dahlia Sprayer 1:1		3 Nov 1989
12	\$19,000.00	AIM		Treatment and photography	Heaphy sketchbooks		3 Nov 1989
12	\$1,125.00	Te Amorangi Trust Museum Board		Survey		Y	3 Nov 1989
12	\$1,500.00		yes	Internships - pre training	Marae based training addition	Y	3 Nov 1989
12	\$2,522.81	Dowse Art Museum		Treatment	Works on paper		3 Nov 1989
12	\$390.00		yes	Conference/Works hop/Seminar	Travel for tutor		3 Nov 1989
12	\$773.00	Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre		Treatment	painting		3 Nov 1989
12	\$11,400.00		yes	Training - Canberra	1990		3 Nov 1989
12	\$11,400.00		yes	Training - Canberra	1990		3 Nov 1989
12	\$11,400.00		yes	Training - Canberra	1990		3 Nov 1989
12	\$11,400.00		yes	Training - Canberra	1990		3 Nov 1989
12	\$11,400.00		yes	Training - Canberra	1990		3 Nov 1989
12	\$25,995.00		yes	Internship - post training	HPT		3 Nov 1989
12	\$5,000.00	CCAC		Taonga Maori Conference	Working Party expenses	Y	3 Nov 1989
13	\$2,705.00		yes	Travel	Conference Overseas - ICOM 1:1		20 Feb 1990
13	\$3,080.00		yes	Travel	Conference		20 Feb 1990

					Overseas - Getty 1:1		
13	\$1,200.00	CCAC		Taonga Maori Conference	Research	Y	20 Feb 1990
13	\$3,000.00		yes	Travel	Conference Overseas - ICOM, Dresden		20 Feb 1990
13	\$518.00	Porirua Museum		Materials	Preventive Conservation Window blinds 1:1		20 Feb 1990
13	\$5,872.00	Auckland University		Salary	Copying tape collection 1:1 Pol Studs		20 Feb 1990
13	\$712.50	Nga Tapuwae College		Treatment	Painting 1:1		20 Feb 1990
13	\$300.00		yes	Travel	Workshop NZ 1:1		20 Feb 1990
13	\$541.50	Auckland University		Treatment	Paintings (Art History Dept)		20 Feb 1990
13	\$2,218.00		yes	Travel	Preventive Conservation: Getty workshop		20 Feb 1990
13	\$700.00		yes	Treatment	Travel to marae for work	Y	20 Feb 1990
13	\$525.00	AIM		Treatment	1:1		20 Feb 1990
13	\$2,873.00		yes	Training	with Conservator, Auckland		20 Feb 1990
13	\$2,643.00		yes	Training	with Conservator, Auckland		20 Feb 1990
13	\$3,295.00		yes	Travel	Conference, ICOM, Dresden 1:1		20 Feb 1990
13	\$2,588.00	Unspecified		Survey	Preventive		20 Feb 1990

					Conservation - photographs		
13	\$2,674.00		yes	Travel	Conference, ICOM, Dresden		20 Feb 1990
13	\$43,000.00	Auckland University		Salary - Archaeological Lab	Triennial salary subsidy for conservator	Y	20 Feb 1990
13	\$1,396.00		yes	Travel	Conference NZPCG AGM		20 Feb 1990
13	\$5,000.00	NZPCG		Publciation	Directory of NZ Conservators		20 Feb 1990
13	\$545.00	Otago Settlers Museum		Conference/Works hop/Seminar	Preventive Conservation 2nd workshop		20 Feb 1990
13	\$70.00		yes	Training - Canberra	late application fee		20 Feb 1990
13	\$700.00		yes	Training - Canberra	Fee reimbursement		20 Feb 1990
13	\$2,000.00		yes	Internships - pre training	advertisements for 1990 intake		20 Feb 1990
13	\$1,500.00		yes	Travel	Workshop Melbourne 1:1		20 Feb 1990
13	\$360.00		yes	Training - Internship	Intensive Maori language course	Y	20 Feb 1990
13	\$811.25		yes	Publication	Author of article for AGMANZ Journal		20 Feb 1990
14	\$4,000.00		yes	Internships - pre training	Interviews, Wellington		28 May 1990
14	\$2,666.00	Auckland Public Library		Survey	Preventive Conservation 2:1		28 May 1990
14	\$10,000.00	Otago Museum		Consultation	Experts to design cloak storage	Y	28 May 1990

14	\$212.00	Wanganui Regional Museum		Consultation	Treatment wooden carvings 1:1	Y	28 May 1990
14	\$1,700.00	Royal NZ Air Force Museum		Consultation	Preventive Conservation?		28 May 1990
14	\$2,489.00		yes	Travel	Conference ICOM and IIC 1:1		28 May 1990
14	\$666.00	Far North Regional Museum		Survey	Preventive Conservation AC 2:1		28 May 1990
14	\$7,500.00		yes	Internship - pre training			28 May 1990
14	\$1,500.00	Canterbury Museum		Survey	Preventive Conservation		28 May 1990
14	\$628.92		yes	Internships - pre training	Advertising		28 May 1990
14	\$10,000.00	Otago University		Research	Equipment etc for Harakeke project	Y	28 May 1990
14	\$26,360.00	Otago University		Research/Salary	Technician for Harakeke project	Y	28 May 1990
14	\$30,000.00	Various		Research	Hui, Otago, for Harakeke PhD team	Y	28 May 1990
14	\$7,500.00		yes	Internship - pre training			28 May 1990
14	\$2,000.00		yes	Conservation Awards	Certificate Design		28 May 1990
14	\$349.00		yes	Travel	Conference NZPCG AGM 1:1		28 May 1990
14	\$2,658.50		yes	Travel	Conference IIC 1:1		28 May 1990
14	\$12,000.00	CCAC		Board Expenses	Policy review meeting, July 1990		28 May 1990

14	\$460.00		yes	Travel	Preventive cons. workshop (Hawkes Bay Museum)		28 May 1990
14	\$353.50	Northland Soc of Arts		Survey	Preventive Conservation		28 May 1990
14	\$4,800.00		yes	Equipment	Private Book Conservation Wkshp		28 May 1990
14	\$562.50	Far North Regional Museum		Equipment	Thermohydrograph 1:1		28 May 1990
14	\$880.00	Wanganui Regional Museum		Equipment	Dehumidifier 1:1		28 May 1990
14	\$2,588.63	Taranaki Museum		Treatment	NH Unit 1:1		28 May 1990
14	\$202.50	Marton and District Historical Soc		Treatment	Binding Newspapers 1:1		28 May 1990
14	\$508.00	Dowse Art Museum		Treatment	Ceramic and glass		28 May 1990
14	\$562.50	Rangiora Museum		Treatment	Dress 1:1 Must return to safe storage		28 May 1990
14	\$1,125.00	Orakei Marae		Treatment	1:1	Y	28 May 1990
14	\$465.00	Wanganui Regional Museum		Equipment	Fumigation 1:1		28 May 1990
14	\$103.50		yes	Travel	Workshop NZ - attendance 1:1		28 May 1990
15	\$10,000.00	CCAC		Publication	Topics of Conservation, application handbook		14 Aug 1990
15	\$13,256.00	AIM		Equipment	Microscope 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$2,116.50	HPT		Equipment	Thermohydrog. -		14 Aug 1990

					Subsidy vs subscriptions 1:1		
15	\$415.00	Te Awamutu District Museum		Equipment	Thermohydrog. - Advice contact HPT 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$1,388.44	West Coast Historical Museum		Materials	Storage cabinets - works on paper 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$413.10	Te Awamutu District Museum		Materials	Foam for shelf lining 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$2,417.00		yes	Travel	Conference Overseas - IIC - report required 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$130,000.00	CCAC		Taonga Maori Conference		Y	14 Aug 1990
15	\$932.25	Sarjeant Gallery		Treatment	Oil paintings 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$40,000.00	Various		Conservation Awards			14 Aug 1990
15	\$450.00	Disaster Salvage Team		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Disaster Salvage Workshop 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$962.00		yes	Travel	Conference NZLA		14 Aug 1990
15	\$8,000.00	Presbyterian Church Historic Records Cttee		Materials	Microfilming journals 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$7,375.00	AIM		Equipment	Fume Hood 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$7,500.00		yes	Internship - pre training			14 Aug 1990
15	\$2,000.00		yes	Internship - pre training	Advertising		14 Aug 1990
15	\$2,198.00		yes	Training - Canberra	Fees		14 Aug 1990
15	\$1,125.00	CCAC		Travel/Training - Canberra	Visit Students		14 Aug 1990

15	\$196.88	Fisher Gallery		Consultation	Architects 1:1 Preventive Consultation		14 Aug 1990
15	\$1,666.66	Wanganui Regional Museum		Survey	Books and archit plans? 2:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$218.25	AIM		Treatment	Botanical plates 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$7,750.00	Dowse Art Museum		Treatment	10 paintings 1:1		14 Aug 1990
15	\$15,928.00	CCAC		Taonga Maori Conference/Salary	Contract position	Y	14 Aug 1990
16	\$225.00	Te Awamutu District Museum		Materials	Acid free folders 1:1		1 Nov 1990
16	\$717.00	Fielding Public Library		Treatment	Maps 1:1		1 Nov 1990
16	\$3,000.00	CCAC		Conference/Works hop/Seminar	Cons. of Technology Collections		1 Nov 1990
16	\$2,175.19	Canterbury Museum		Equipment	Thermohydrog. etc 1:1		1 Nov 1990
16	\$1,276.88	Hawkes Bay Museum		Treatment	Tapestries 1:1		1 Nov 1990
16	\$393.75	Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions		Treatment	Personnel register 1:1		1 Nov 1990
16	\$1,294.00	Hocken Library		Treatment	Paintings		1 Nov 1990
16	\$1,567.13	Otago Settlers Museum		Survey/Conferenc e/Workshop/Semi nar	Furniture survey and workshop		1 Nov 1990
16	\$6,000.00		yes	Training - Canberra	Loan, can't reclaim, write off		1 Nov 1990
16	\$1,125.00	CCAC		Travel/Training - Canberra	Visit students		1 Nov 1990

16	\$467.90	CCAC		Board Members' Travel	Meeting attendacnce		1 Nov 1990
16	\$825.00	Orakei Marae		Treatment	Painting	Y	1 Nov 1990
17	\$3,558.00	NZPCG		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Speaker from overseas for AGM 1:1		1 Feb 1991
17	\$11,812.00	St Cuthberts College		Survey	1:1		1 Feb 1991
17	\$1,123.12	St Cuthberts College		Equipment	1:1		1 Feb 1991
17	\$1,677.50	Massey University		Training	Conservator's input into cons component 1:1		1 Feb 1991
17	\$4,500.00		yes	Travel	Overseas		1 Feb 1991
17	\$8,500.00	ACAG/Liaison Service		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Preventive conservation 5 workshops		1 Feb 1991
17	\$250.00	Fairlie Museum		Materials	Materials and photography of collection		1 Feb 1991
18	\$313.00	NZ Puppet Theatre		Conference/Workshop/Seminar	Packaging workshop 1:1		3 May 1991
18	\$3,985.00	MOTAT		Treatment	Costumes 1:1		3 May 1991
18	\$30,000.00	ACAG		Operating Costs	NRCS		3 May 1991
18	\$0.00	Canterbury Museum		Salary Seeding Subsidy	Approved in principle		3 May 1991
18	\$13,313.00		yes	Training	Film Archiving MA, England		3 May 1991
18	\$5,860.00		yes	Travel	Conference Overseas 1:1		3 May 1991
18	\$4,000.00	CCAC		Board Members' Travel and expenses	Sub committee meetings		3 May 1991

18	\$677.00	NZ Puppet Theatre		Materials	Packaging 1:1		3 May 1991
18	\$11,500.00	Auckland Public Library		Treatment	Letters 1:1		3 May 1991
18	\$305.00	Kinder House Soc.		Treatment	Paintings 1:1		3 May 1991
18	\$2,300.00	Theomin Gallery, Olveston		Treatment	Paintings 1:1		3 May 1991
18	\$500.00	Ngati Pahauwera Soc Inc Wairoa		Survey	2:1	Y	3 May 1991
18	\$210.00		yes	Travel	Training NZ		3 May 1991
18	\$4,042.50		yes	Travel	Subsidy - conservator		3 May 1991
18	\$279.00	Canty Univ. SFA		Materials	Storage 1:1		3 May 1991

APPENDIX THREE

TAONGA MAORI CONFERENCE 1990 PARTICIPANTS

KAUMATUA

Reverend Rua Anderson

Mrs Eva Anderson

Mrs Marjorie Rau-Kupa

Mrs Diggeress Te Kanawa

Mrs Puti Rare

Mr Kuru Waaka

Mrs Miria Simpson

Mrs Te Aue Davis

OVERSEAS DELEGATES

Adrienne Kaeppler, USA (Keynote Speaker)
Curator, National Museum of Natural History and National Museum of Man,
Washington DC.

Michael Ames, Canada
Director and Professor, Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia.

George Bankes, England
Keeper of Ethnology, Manchester Museum, Manchester University.

Peter Gathercole, England
Ethnologist, attending as individual

Ingrid Heerman, Germany
Curator, Linden Museum

Dieter Heintze, Germany
Curator, Oceanian Collections, Ubersee-Museum, Berlin

Charles Hunt, Scotland
Curator, Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen

Dale Idiens, Scotland
Keeper, Department of History and Applied Art, Royal Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh

Jane Pierson Jones, England
Keeper, Department of Archaeology and Ethnology, Birmingham Museum

David John Lee, England
Chief Conservation Officer, Department of Conservation, British Museum, London

Leonard pole, England
Curator, Saffron Waldren Museum, Essex

Markus Schindlbeck, Germany
Curator, Museum fur Volkerkunde, Berlin

Dirk Schmidt, Holland
Curator, Department of Oceania, Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Lieden

Dorotoa Starzecka, England
Assistant Keeper (Oceania), Museum of Mankind, London

John Terrell, USA
Curator, Oceanic Archaeology and Ethnology, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago

Clara Wilpert, Germany
Head, Pacific Department, Hamburgisches Museum fur Volkerkunde, Hamburg.

NEW ZEALAND SPEAKERS

Janet Davidson
Ethnologist, National Museum, Wellington

Cliff Whiting
Chairman, Te Waka Toi, Artist

Valerie Carson
Conservator, National Museum, Wellington

Rose Evans
Conservator, National Museum, Wellington

Jack Fry
Conservation Consultant

Julia Gresson
Conservator, Auckland Museum

Arapata Hakiwai
Kaitiaki, National Museum, Wellington

Paki Harrison
Senior Lecturer, Department of Maori Studies, University of Auckland

James Mack
Assistant Director, Public Programmes, National Museum, Wellington

Barbara Moke-Sly
Curator, Waikato Museum of Art and History, Hamilton

Prof. Hirini Moko Mead
Chairperson, Department of Maori Studies, Victoria University, Wellington

Karel Peters
Senior Conservator, Auckland Museum

John Takarangi
Curator, Manawatu Museum, Palmerston North

Dr Ranganui Walker
Senior Lecturer, Department of Maori Studies, University of Auckland

Dean Whiting
Conservator, Historic Places Trust, Wellington

CULTURAL CONSERVATION ADVISORY COUNCIL

Mina McKenzie, Chairperson
Director, Manawatu Museum

Waana Davis
Associate School Principal, Palmerston North, Nominee of Te Waka Toi and the New Zealand Historic Places Trust

Kilifi Heimuli
Tongan Minister, Auckland. Nominee of the Minister of Pacific Islands Affairs

Jane Kominik

Director, Arts and Cultural heritage Division, Department of Internal Affairs,
Wellington. Representing Secretary for Internal Affairs

Lyndsay Knowles

Conservator, Wellington

Bill Millbank

Director Sarjeant Gallery, Wanganui, Nominee of AGMANZ

Stuart Strachan

Hocken Librarian, Dunedin. Nominee of ARANZ

CONFERENCE STAFF

Mark Lindsay

Assistant Director, Arts and Cultural Heritage Division, Department of Internal Affairs.

Jan Lindsay

Temporary Staff.¹

¹ Cultural Conservation Advisory Council *Taonga Maori Conference*, p. 172 - 73.

APPENDIX FOUR

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT

AGMANZ	Art Galleries and Museums Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand
AMOL	Australian Museums On Line
ARANZ	Archives and Records Association of New Zealand
CCAC	Cultural Conservation Advisory Council
CCCP	Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property
CMC	Cultural Ministers Council (Australia)
CPC	Cultural Property Council
DASETT	Department for the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories (Australia)
HCC	Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Minister's Council, Australia
HPT	Historic Places Trust
ICCCP	Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
MA	Museums Aotearoa
MAANZ	Museums Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand
MASPAC	Maori and South Pacific Arts Council
MDF	Museum Directors Federation
MoNZTPT	Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa
NRCS	Northern Regional Conservation Service
NZPCG	New Zealand Professional Conservators Group
OCNIs	Objects and Concepts of National Importance - Programme to identify nationally significant cultural property and to produce a register. Investigated by Te Papa in the early 1990s. Now abandoned.
PREMO	Preservation in Museums in Oceania (an initiative of ICCROM)
QEII	Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council (now Creative New Zealand)
SRA	Strategic Result Area (for government department)
Te Papa	Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PUBLISHED SOURCES

Beatson, Peter and Diane Beatson, *The Arts in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Sociology Department, Massey University, Palmertson North, 1994.

Bennett, Tony, 'Museums and the Public Good: Economic Rationalism and Cultural Policy', *Culture and Policy*, 1989(1): 37 - 50.

Blaschke, Paul M. et al (investigating team) and Linda Pears (ed) *Historic and Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand*, Office of the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Wellington, 1996.

Block, Fred, 'The Role of the State in the Economy' in Smesler, N.J. and R. Swedberg (eds) *The Handbook of Economic Sociology*, Princeton University Press, New York, c1994, p. 691-710.

Boag, P.W., *Review of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council*, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1992.

Boston, J. et al *Public Management: The New Zealand Model*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1996.

Brokensha, P. and A Tonks, *Culture and Community: Economics and Expectations of the Arts in South Australia*, Social Science Press, Wentworth Falls, N.S.W., 1986.

Butts, David, J. 'Institutional Arrangements for Cultural Heritage Management in New Zealand: Legislation, Management and Protection', in Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, (eds) *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1993, p. 169 - 187.

Conservation Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, *National Conservation Program Summary Report*, Conservation Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, Canberra, 1996.

Conservation Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, *Summary Report*, Conservation Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, Canberra, 1995.

Cowie, Kate, 'Map of the Conservation and Preservation Programmes, Facilities and Centres in Australia', in Conservation Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council *Working Papers for a Public Forum: Developing a National Strategy*, Background to the Working Papers, Conservation

Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, Canberra, 1996.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council *Kaupapa Policy Document*, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1989.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council *Taonga Maori Conference*, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1991.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Cultural Conservation Advisory Council Newsletter*, No.s 1 - 9, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1987 - 1989.

Department for the Arts, Sport, the Environment, Tourism and Territories *Discussion Paper: What Value Heritage? A Perspective on the Museums Review and the Performance of Museums*, Australian Government Printing Service, Canberra, 1990.

Department of Conservation, *Historic Heritage Management Review: A Discussion Paper for Public Comment*, Department of Conservation, Wellington, 1998.

Department of Conservation, *Historic Places Trust Fact Sheet*, Department of Conservation, Wellington, (undated).

Department of Finance Discussion Paper, *What Price Heritage? The Museums Review and the Measurement of Museum Performance*, Department of Finance, Canberra, 1989.

Easton, Brian *The Commercialisation of New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1997.

Easton, Brian, 'Archives and Public Policy', *Archifacts*, October 1996: 55 - 71.

Factor, B., 'The contribution of community and professional organisations to the conservation and preservation of Australia's movable cultural heritage', in Conservation Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council *Working Papers for a Public Forum: Developing a National Strategy*, Background to the Working Papers, Conservation Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, Canberra, 1996.

Gale, Stephen, 'Museums and the Community', Discussion Paper in McKinlay Douglas Ltd, *A Framework for Funding and Performance Measurement of Museums in New Zealand*, Museum Directors Federation of New Zealand/ Taonga o Aotearoa National Services of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, 1995.

Greenfield, Jeanette, *The Return of Cultural Treasures*, 2nd Ed., Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1996.

Gregory, Bob, 'The Reorganisation of the Public Sector', in Boston, J and M. Holland (eds) *The Fourth Labour Government: Radical Politics in New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1987, p. 111 - 133.

Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, 'Heritage Management: An Introductory Framework', in Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, (eds) *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1993, p. 1 - 17.

Heritage Collections Committee of Cultural Ministers Council, *National Conservation and Preservation Policy for Moveable Cultural Heritage*, Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, Canberra, 1995.

ICOMOS/Historic Plces Trust Register Wrokshop, Proceedings, May 1992, Department of Conservation, Wellington, 1992.

Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property *Proposal for the Establishment of a New Zealand Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property*, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, c1980.

Kelsey, Jane *The New Zealand Experiment: A World Model for Structural Adjustment?*, 2nd ed., Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1997.

Kirby, V.G., 'Landscape, Heritage and Identity: Stories from the West Coast', in Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, (Eds) *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1993, p. 119 - 129.

Marshall, Duncan, 'Successful Collaboration and Progress on National Program' - The Work of the Heritage Collections Committee *Museum National*, February 1996: 7 - 9.

McArthur, Simon, 'Theme-based Interpretation: Taking Rainforest to the People', in Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, (Eds) *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1993, p. 70 - 81.

McLeay, Elizabeth, *The Cabinet and Political Power in New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1995.

Mead, Prof H.M. 'The Nature of Taonga', in Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, *Taonga Maori Conference*, Department of internal Affairs, Wellington, 1991, p. 164 - 69.

Merriman, Nick *Beyond the Glass Case*, Leicester University Press, Leicester, 1991.

Ministry of Cultural Affairs *How Important is Culture? New Zealanders Views in 1997*, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Wellington, 1997.

Ministry of Cultural Affairs Information Brochure, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Wellington, 1997.

National Library of New Zealand, *National Preservation Programme Report*, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, 1996.

New Zealand Film Commission, *A Short History of Film in New Zealand 1977 - 1994*, *Cinema Papers*, New Zealand Supplement, 1994.

New Zealand Government, *Budget* Vol. 1, New Zealand Government, Wellington, 1997.

New Zealand Historic Places Trust, *Maori Heritage Council Strategic Plan*, Department of Conservation, Wellington, (undated).

New Zealand Historic Places Trust, *What Future the Past?*, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, Wellington, 1997.

New Zealand Lottery Grants Board, *Lottery Environment and Heritage: Policy and Guidelines*, 1997, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington.

New Zealand Professional Conservators' Group *New Zealand Directory of Conservators of Cultural Property*, New Zealand Professional Conservators' Group, Auckland, 1991.

O'Regan, Stephen, 'Maori Control of the Maori Heritage', in Gathercole, P. and D. Lowenthal (eds) *The Politics of the Past*, Unwin Hyman, London, 1990, p. 95 - 106.

Parkinson, Cassandra, 'Conservation and Preservation Education and Training', in Conservation Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council *Working Papers for a Public Forum: Developing a National Strategy*, Background to the Working Papers, Conservation Working Party of the Heritage Collections Committee of the Cultural Ministers Council, Canberra, 1996.

Pattillo, Anne et al *Museums' Training Framework - Building a Stronger Museum Sector*, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, 1997,.

QEII Arts Council of New Zealand, *Final Report of the Conservation Working Party*, QEII Arts Council of New Zealand, Wellington, 1975.

Rudd, Chris, 'Controlling and Restructuring Public Expenditure', in Boston, J. and P. Dalziel (eds) *The Decent Society? Essays in Response to National's Economic and Social Policies*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1992, p. 39 - 58.

Steering Group: Review of the State Sector Reforms *Review of the State Sector Reforms*, State Services Commission, Wellington, 1991.

Stolow, Dr Nathan, *Report on Conservation and Training Programmes in New Zealand and Recommendations for Development of a National Institute*, Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1980.

Strategos Consulting Ltd., *NZ Defence: Resource Management Review 1988*, Ministry of Defence?, Wellington, 1989.

Tapsell, Paul, The Flight of Pareraututu: An Investigation of *Taonga* from a Tribal Perspective, *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 106(4), December 1997: 323 - 74.

Te Puni Kokiri *Mana Tangata: Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples 1993: Background and Discussion on Key Issues*, Te Puni Kokiri, Wellington, 1994.

Thompson, George D. Performance Measurement in Public Museums and New Zealand's Service Performance Reporting Model, *International Research Symposium Public Sector Management*, 11 December 1997.

Thomson, K.W., *Art Galleries and Museums in New Zealand*, Reed Publishers, Auckland, 1981.

University of Canberra, Faculty of Applied Science, National Centre for Cultural Heritage Science Studies, *Undergraduate Courses: Conservation of Cultural Materials*, University of Canberra, Canberra, (undated).

Wells, Josette, 'Marketing Indigenous Heritage: A Case Study of Uluru National Park', in Hall, C. Michael and Simon McArthur, (Eds) *Heritage Management in Australia and New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1993. p. 137 - 146.

Whitcombe, Judy 'The Changing Face of the New Zealand Public Service', in Gold, Hyam (ed) *New Zealand Politics in Perspective*, (3rd ed), Longman Paul, Auckland., 1992. p. 216 - 231,

Wilkinson, Brett, *The Role of Accounting and Museum Collection Valuation in New Zealand*, Accounting Department, School of Business Studies, Massey University, unpublished paper, 1997.

Young, Linda, Significance, 'Connoisseurship and Facilitation: New Techniques for Assessing Museum Antiquities' *Museum Management and Curatorship* 13(2) June 1995: 191 - 99.

DEPARTMENTAL FILES

Conservation of NZ Art Works Fund 1976, Departmental Records, CUL 12/2/10, Department of Internal Affairs.

Conservation of NZ Museum Objects Fund 1978, Departmental Records, CUL 12/12/17, Department of Internal Affairs.

Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Cabinet Papers, Departmental Records, TCP/1/4, Department of Internal Affairs.

Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, General, Departmental Records TCP/1/1, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Canberra College of Advanced Education: Correspondence, Departmental Records, CUL 11/15/9, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Conservation Awards, Departmental Records, CUL/11/15/56, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Correspondence, Departmental Records, CUL 11/15/49, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Department, Departmental Records, CUL/4/15/52, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, General, Departmental Records CUL 11/15 Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Legal Opinion: Cabinet Papers, Departmental Records CUL 11/15/1/2, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, MASPAC Correspondence, Departmental Records, CUL 11/15/13, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Membership, Departmental Records, CUL/11/15/3, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, NZPCG Correspondence, Departmental Records, CUL 11/15/12, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Policy, Departmental Records, CUL 11/15/1, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Taonga Maori Conference, Maori Collections Overseas , Departmental Records, CUL/11/15/25, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Taonga Maori, Departmental Records, CUL/11/15/45, Department of Internal Affairs.

Cultural Conservation Advisory Council, Taonga Maori: Holdings at the National Museum and Overseas, Departmental Records CUL/11/15/45, Department of Internal Affairs.

Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Annual Allocations 1979-87, Departmental Records CUL11/13/1, Department of Internal Affairs

Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Ministerial Approvals, Departmental File CUL11/13/1/1, Department of Internal Affairs.

Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, National Textile Conservator, Departmental Records CUL/11/13/6/9, Department of Internal Affairs.

Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, New Zealand Council for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Departmental Records CUL 11/13/4, Department of Internal Affairs.

Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Northern Regional Conservation Service, Departmental Records CUL/11/13/5/1 Department of Internal Affairs.

Interim Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Property, Policy, Departmental Records CUL 11/13/1, Department of Internal Affairs.

INTERNET SOURCES

Australian Government, Australian Museums On Line: About AMOL: The Cultural Ministers Council <http://www.nma.gov.au/AMOL/Cultural_Council.sh> 27 January 1998.

Australian Government, Australian Museums On Line: Heritage Collections Council <<http://www.nma.gov.au/AMOL/HeritageCommittee.sh>> 27 January 1998.

Australian Government, Australian Museums On Line: Introducing AMOL <<http://www.nma.gov.au/AMOL/IntroducingAmol.sh>> 27 January 1998.

Australian Government, Australian Museums On Line: Publications: Heritage Collections Council <<http://www.nma.gov.au/AMOL/HccNewsletterJan97.shtml>> 1 April 1998.

Australian Government, Department of Communication and the Arts, National Conservation and Preservation Policy and Strategy for Moveable Cultural Heritage: Background <<http://www.dca.gov.au/ahnbd/back.h>> 27 January 1998.

Australian Government, Department of Communication and the Arts: Media Releases, 17 December 1996 <<http://www.dca.gov.au/mediarel/heritage.html>> 1 April 1998.

New Zealand Government, Department of Internal Affairs: Heritage Group, <http://inform.dia.govt.nz/internal_affairs/press/media/pr_221097.html> 27 January 1998.

New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga, Internet Homepage, <<http://canterbury.cyberplace.co.nz/public/hitrust/hitrustindex.html>> 27 January 1998.

Te Awēkotuku, N Who Called this a Club? Issues of power, naming and provenance in Maori collections held overseas, Keynote paper, Museums Australia Inc. Conference, 1996, <webmanager@www.nma.gov.au>, undated.

Te Papa, Home Page, Our Resources: National Services <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/our_resources/national_services.html> 20 April 1998.

INTERVIEWS

Written and verbal interviews were conducted with the following personnel. Transcripts are held by Kerry McCarthy. The views expressed are personal opinions.

Jocelyn Cumming, National Preservation Officer, National Preservation Office, National Library of New Zealand, January 1998.

Sarah Hillary, Northern Regional Conservator, Auckland Art Gallery, November 1997.

Lyndsay Knowles, former CCAC member and Conservator of Works of Art on Paper, December 1997.

Mark Lindsay, Policy Analyst, Te Papa, former CCAC staff member, Department of Internal Affairs, November 1997.

Prof. Colin Pearson, Director, National Centre for Cultural Heritage Studies, Faculty of Applied Science, University of Canberra, January 1998.

Waana Davis, former CCAC member, January 1998.

PERSONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Ann Aspey, Solicitor, State Services Commission, to Kerry McCarthy, 7 July 1997.

David Butts to Kerry McCarthy 1998, email 20 May.

David Butts to Kerry McCarthy, 10 May 1998.

Jane Kominik to Kerry McCarthy 1998, email 26 May.

Jane Kominik, Ministry of Cultural Affairs, December 1997.

Jane Legget, Te Papa National Services to Kerry McCarthy, 16 April 1998.

Minister of Cultural Affairs to David Butts, 14 May 1997.

Minister of Internal Affairs to David Butts, undated (1997).

Stuart Strachan, former CCAC member and Hocken Librarian, July 1997.

V. Crawford, Senior Policy Analyst, Department of Internal Affairs to Kerry McCarthy, 12 November 1997.

PRESENTATION

Pattillo, Anne, Te Papa National Services, Museum Training Needs, Canterbury Museum, December 1997.