

ICOA1513: FINDING A FUTURE TOGETHER: HOW HERITAGE IS HELPING NEW ZEALAND HEAL THE PAIN OF ITS PAST

Subtheme 02: The Role of Cultural Heritage in Building Peace and Reconciliation

Session 1: Heritage as Peace Builder, Tying and Benefitting Community

Location: Silver Oak Hall 1, India Habitat Centre

Time: December 13, 2017, 11:30 – 11:45

Author: Claire Craig

Claire Craig is the General Manager of Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga's Central Region Office. Claire began her heritage career nearly 20 years ago with a four year stint as the New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga's first in-house solicitor. Following that she spent two and a half years working for the National Trust in England and nine years working as a planner and team leader in the London Regional Office of English Heritage.

Abstract: Heritage New Zealand is our nation's leading cultural heritage agency, yet in 2017 it was powerless to prevent the destruction of arguably one of the first symbols of New Zealand's commitment to a culturally unified future – the Category 1 listed Aniwaniwa– a visitor centre in the stunning Te Urewera National Park designed by the brilliant Maori architect, John Scott. This poignant case study is largely, and thankfully, an anomaly as New Zealand grapples with establishing its cultural identity in 21st century. With concerted and thoughtful effort, heritage is largely assisting in healing the wounds of the country's past, both colonial and pre-European.

In this paper, I will consider the ways in which cultural heritage both contributes to, and troubles, the process of reconciliation between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand. I will argue that rather than being itself a matter of history, the act of peace making is not yet concluded in Aotearoa, and instead is something the need for which is only just being confronted by ordinary New Zealanders. I will look at the ways in which cultural heritage is enriching and inspiring New Zealanders of varied cultural backgrounds and how this presents the opportunity to create new pathways for peace.

Key words: *peace, reconciliation, identity*

Brief overview of New Zealand History

Oral traditions and archaeological evidence suggests that New Zealand was populated by Māori via a series of voyages from Eastern Polynesia in the late 13th century.¹ Māori oral traditions around their origins, and arrival in New Zealand, are a rich combination of mythology and history that blesses New Zealand with a thriving creative well-spring².

Abel Tasman fleetingly met with Māori in 1642, but Captain James Cook is credited with the ‘discovery’ of New Zealand in 1769 (Anderson et al: 132). Forty years go by until the arrival of whalers, traders and missionaries, mostly in the far north of the country. The introduction of the musket led to expeditionary wars where local ‘iwi’ (tribes) settled disputes with other tribes using the distinct military advantage of the musket. The defeated ‘iwi’ moved further south, warring with the tribes in those localities and forcing them south from their land (Anderson et al: 173). This reverberation affected the cultural landscape of the North Island and the top of the South Island causing alliances and enmities that affect Māoridom today.

Britain did not seek New Zealand as a colony but, between the increasing lawlessness of whalers and traders; greater levels of speculation by organisations such as the New Zealand Company; and the arrival of French explorers, they eventually acquiesced to pressure and annexed the country (Anderson et al: 207-209). In 1835, fifty-two Māori chiefs signed a Declaration of Independence to assert capacity to treat. In 1840, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, granting Britain sovereignty over New Zealand, whilst retaining ‘chieftainship’ for the chiefs over their lands. (Anderson et al: 211-225).

The Treaty of Waitangi

Infamously, the Crown dishonoured the Treaty of Waitangi; Governor Grey ordered the seizure of Māori land in 1860. The Land Wars, that raged throughout the central North Island for 20 years, began in Waitara, South Taranaki in 1863 (Anderson et al: 256-284). The fallout was devastating for Māori, disenfranchising them from their lands and subjecting them to widespread racism and cultural subjugation for the next century.

Māori are famed warriors, but their grace in offering peaceful co-governance to the British during the early years of contact history has been overlooked. Māori repeatedly offered peace, asking only to be treated with equal respect (Anderson et al: 211-255). As the British intent became clearer, Māori established their own monarchy and in 1884 the second Māori King went to England to ask the Queen to “honour the Treaty” (Papa: 3). The extraordinary leaders Tohu and Te Whiti, of Parihaka marae, led a peaceful resistance to land confiscation in Taranaki. On 5 November 1881, colonial troops marched on

¹Howe, K. (2005) “Ideas of Māori origins - 1920s–2000: new understanding”. *Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (Accessed 2 October 2017) <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/ideas-of-maori-origins/page-5>

²For example, the works of Witi Ihimaera, Patricia Grace and Peter Gossage.

Parihaka, committing atrocities against women and children who had greeted them dancing and offering bread.³

In the 1970s, Māori protested peacefully against Treaty breaches with marches and land occupation.⁴ The takeover of Bastion Point led to the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 which committed the Crown to settling grievances created by Treaty breaches. This created the Waitangi Tribunal hearings for grievances, Crown/ iwi negotiations, and payments designed to enable the type of autonomy envisaged by Māori when they signed the Treaty more than 175 years ago (Bell et al 2017: 113-128).

New Zealand is progressing towards a ‘post-settlement’ society where reparations will empower iwi to overcome the inequalities that have plagued them since colonisation. In this context, heritage is becoming a vital part of producing a new, collaborative New Zealand, capable of enabling and celebrating difference.

Reframing Aotearoa/ New Zealand in bi-cultural terms

New Zealand has begun tackling cultural visibility in a variety of ways: there is far broader usage of ‘te reo’ (Māori language) than ever before; recognition of the Māori New Year ‘Matariki’ celebrations is growing; and the profile of ‘Te Matatini’ the annual ‘kapa haka’ festival is increasing. ‘He Tohu’, a semi-permanent exhibition at the National Library in Wellington, contains the original Declaration of Independence, Treaty of Waitangi and Women’s Suffrage Petition. The interpretation accompanying these texts elucidates the complex interactions between Māori and Europeans, showing the land confiscations, and settlements achieved to date. The gravitas of these documents’ presentation is re-setting New Zealanders’ understanding of them as foundational for a modern New Zealand. Furthermore, ‘Te Papa’ is the national museum complete with its own extraordinarily beautiful marae on the fourth floor.

Increasingly, fulfilment of the Crown’s Treaty Settlement promises takes the form of ensuring Māori participation through legislation. Local government has struggled to develop a meaningful Māori component to their governance and processes. An amendment to the Resource Management Act 1991 addressing this requires local government to enter into Iwi Participation Arrangements at the request of ‘iwi’⁵.

Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga, the country’s leading heritage agency, is co-governed by a Board of Trustees and a Māori Heritage Council. The organisation began a proud tradition of supporting ‘hapū’ (sub-tribes) and ‘iwi’ to conserve their own built heritage in November 1970, which continues today (Anderson 2016: 22-25). The Māori Heritage Council published its vision for the protection and enhancement of Māori heritage: “Tapuwae”, which seeks to:

<<increase the value that New Zealanders ascribe to Māori heritage places, so that Māori heritage is seen as a taonga (treasure) of our nation as a whole (...) [and] (...) develop an understanding of

³Binney, J. “Māori prophetic movements – ngā poropiti – Te Whiti and Tohu – Parihaka”. *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (Accessed October 27, 2017) <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/maori-prophetic-movements-nga-poropiti/page-4>

⁴Keane, B. “Ngā rōpū tautohetohe – Māori protest movements”. *Te Ara – the Encyclopedia of New Zealand* (Accessed October 27, 2017) <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-ropu-tautohetohe-maori-protest-movements>

⁵Resource Management Act 1991, sections 58L-58U.

the potential contribution of places of Māori heritage to health and well-being, and to culture and identity.>>⁶

The observation of ‘tikanga’ (traditional protocols) is growing. ‘Powhiri’ (encounter ceremonies) are more commonplace in New Zealand for the opening of exhibitions and new buildings. The public service embraces the ‘mihi whakatau’ ceremony where people taking new roles are handed over by their former employers. Such traditions claim the importance of reflection in creating bonds and communities.

The national resource management, or planning, system provides opportunities to reconnect New Zealanders with sites of significance to Māori. Post-settlement ‘iwi’ organisations work to ensure local authorities appropriately recognise important places in district plans, and institute appropriate rules for management and conservation. Heritage New Zealand is offering its support by listing places on the New Zealand Heritage List/ Rārangī Kōrero and making submissions in support of ‘iwi’ at district plan hearings and appeals. Some landowners have experienced epiphanies through these processes, as they realise the greater significance that their privately-owned asset has⁷. Learning from this, Heritage New Zealand is facilitating opportunities for ‘iwi’ representatives to engage private landowners with these greater values and the concept of ‘kaitiakitanga’ (stewardship)⁸. The aim is to develop protections for these places, endorsed by the people who own them now, and the people who are connected to the ‘wairua’ (spirit) of them.

Heritage New Zealand’s work on Māori built heritage, involves conserving places like the first Māori parliament at Papawai Marae in Grey town and St Paul’s Church at Putiki Marae in Whanganui. In 2015, Heritage New Zealand returned Rangiriri Pā, from Crown ownership, to Waikato-Tainui as part of the Treaty Settlement process, contributing landscape design to enable its interpretation for the future. By consistently role modelling improved Crown/ Māori relations, Heritage New Zealand is contributing to the national goal of cultural unity, as opposed to a unified culture.

The demolition of ‘Aniwaniwa’

So what of John Scott’s ‘Aniwaniwa’, built as a visitor centre for the Department of Conservation (DOC) in the Te Urewera National Park in the north-eastern North Island in 1974-76, and demolished in 2016?

‘Aniwaniwa’ was intended as an exercise in partnership between: the Crown and Māori (both generally, and the Ngai Tūhoe ‘iwi’ specifically); the building and the landscape; and between the architect John Scott and the artist Colin McCahon (who produced the remarkable Urewera Mural, essential to the visitor centre’s total design). Scott worked tirelessly to ensure the building was truly infused with Māori cultural concepts. Mindful of the potential for the building to be read as a further cultural transgression, Scott and McCahon committed to translating it into a text of partnership⁹.

However, their vision was compromised and the building was never completed as Scott had intended. ‘Whare whakairo’ (building carvings) were meant to adorn the structure, and these never materialised; McCahon’s mural was moved from its designed place, stolen as a political protest in 1997, returned a year

⁶Māori Heritage Council (2017) *Tapuwae*. Wellington: Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga. p. 24.

⁷For example, ‘MaungaharuruTangitu Trust’s’ work on the Hastings District Council plan review; and ‘Taranaki Whanui’s’ work on the Kapiti District plan review in respect of the ‘Takamore wahi tapu’.

⁸Heritage New Zealand is working to ensure proper extents and listing types are applied to Heipipi Pa, Napier and Wairau Bar, Marlborough.

⁹This information summarises the significance assessment of Heritage New Zealand.

later and then moved to Auckland; and the care and maintenance of the building failed to demonstrate a commitment to 'Aniwaniwa's' importance as an embodiment of partnership. In 2007, the DOC partially abandoned the building describing it as leaky, moving out completely in 2010, and in 2014 Wairoa District Council formally designated 'Aniwaniwa' as earthquake prone.

Contemporaneous with DOC's complete departure, was news of a major set-back in settlement negotiations between the Crown and Tūhoe. Then Prime Minister, John Key, told chief Tūhoe negotiator Tāmami Kruger that handing back Te Urewera National Park was <<a bridge too far>>¹⁰. Was 'Aniwaniwa's' demolition an act of 'muru' (traditional compensation) by Tūhoe designed to underscore the Crown's neglect of its former partnership talisman? Kruger's passing observation this year that <<the Crown are not the best caretakers>>¹¹ seems telling. If the Crown failed to care for its previously celebrated expression of partnership, why should Tūhoe accept the building's ailing 'wairua' in the stunning Te Urewera landscape – especially when they were excelling in architectural expression themselves and finally reconnected with control of their ancestral lands.

The Te Urewera Act is a crucial element of the Ngāi Tūhoe Treaty Settlement, creating an innovative solution tailored for the singular circumstances of the Crown's history with Tūhoe. As well as inflicting terrible treatment on Tūhoe in colonial times, the government raided Tūhoe homes in 2007, arguing that the iwi was running a terrorist training camp. It transpired the activity was not of a terrorist nature, but the terrible echo of colonial actions had reverberated damagingly across the community¹².

This entirely unique scenario contextualises the loss of 'Aniwaniwa', a place emblematic of the Crown's 'ownership' of the land. The Te Urewera Act provides, in accordance with 'Te Ao Māori' (the Māori world view) that no-one owns Te Urewera, and it is instead managed by a joint governance body comprised of Tūhoe and the Crown. Today, Tūhoe's beautiful new visitor centre sits on the shores of Lake Waikaremoana, replete with exquisite pale matai features made from elements of Scott's masterpiece,¹³ and claiming the real peace and respect that Scott's design sought. Having engendered multiple passionate viewpoints, Scott's 'Aniwaniwa' has again opened the door for New Zealand to more deeply explore who mediates the concept of cultural heritage value, and how.¹⁴... (max 2200)

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¹⁰Watkins, T. (2012) "Tūhoe deal puts bitter grievances to rest". *Stuff New Zealand News Website* (Accessed October 21, 2017) <http://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/7656493/Tuhoe-deal-puts-bitter-grievances-to-rest>

¹¹"Personal perspectives on the Treaty Settlement Process: Rt Hon Jim Bolger and Tāmami Kruger" part of the Deane Lecture Series held at the City Gallery Wellington on June 29, 2017.

¹²Dann, J. (July 16, 2015) "Twelve Questions: Tāmami Kruger". *New Zealand Herald* (Accessed on October 29, 2017) http://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/news/article.cfm?c_id=1&objectid=11481547

¹³Harvey, J. "Te Wharehou o Waikaremoana". *Architecture Now* [online] [Accessed October 21, 2017].

¹⁴Whiting, D. Peer review comments – October 29, 2017.

ICOA1513: ALA RECHERCHE D'UN FUTUR COMMUN: COMMENT LE PATRIMOINE AIDE LANOUELLEZÉLANDE À GUÉRIR LES BLESSURES DUPASSÉ

Sous-thème 02: Le rôle du patrimoine culturel dans la construction de la paix et de la réconciliation

Session 1: Le Patrimoine En Tant Que Constructeur De Paix, Communautaire De Types Et De Bénéfices

Lieu: Silver Oak Hall 1, India Habitat Centre

Date et heure: 13 Décembre, 2017, 11:30 – 11:45

Auteur: Claire Craig

Claire Craig est Directrice Générale du Bureau de la région centrale de Nouvelle Zélande de la Fondation du Patrimoine. Elle a commencé sa carrière au service du patrimoine il y a près de 20 ans en étant pendant quatre ans premier avocat de la Fondation du Patrimoine de Nouvelle Zélande. Elle a ensuite travaillé deux ans 1/2 pour le National Trust en Angleterre, et neuf ans au bureau régional de Londres de l'English Heritage comme urbaniste et responsable d'équipes.

Résumé: « Héritage New Zealand » est notre première agence nationale pour le patrimoine culturel, pourtant, en 2017, elle a été impuissante à empêcher la destruction de ce qui était sans doute le premier symbole de l'engagement de la Nouvelle Zélande vers un avenir culturellement unifié – Aniwanui, inscrit en première catégorie sur la liste du Patrimoine – un centre d'accueil des visiteurs dans le magnifique parc national de Te Urewera, réalisé par le brillant architecte maori John Scott. Ce cas d'école particulièrement navrant est, et c'est heureux, une totale anomalie tant la Nouvelle Zélande est fermement attachée à l'établissement de son identité culturelle du vingt et unième siècle. Au prix d'efforts suivis et concertés, le patrimoine est largement mis à profit pour guérir les blessures du passé de la nation, qu'il soit colonial ou pré-européen.

Dans cette contribution, j'examinerai comment le patrimoine est à la fois un appui et un frein dans le processus de réconciliation entre les Maori et les Pakeha (néozélandais et européens) en Nouvelle Zélande. Je montrerai que, loin d'être un fait d'histoire, le traité de paix n'a pas encore été conclu en Aotearoa (le nom maori de la Nouvelle Zélande) et que, au contraire, sa conclusion est une nécessité à laquelle sont confrontés les néozélandais. J'envisagerai les cheminements par lesquels le patrimoine culturel peut enrichir et inspirer les néozélandais aux contextes culturels différents et j'examinerai comment il permet de créer de nouveaux chemins pour la paix.

Mots clé: paix, réconciliation, identité