BICULTURALISM AT OTAGO MUSEUM: A CASE STUDY

by

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Abstract and Keywords

Abstract

Otago Museum in Dunedin, New Zealand, is an institution in the beginning stages of a museum-wide shift towards biculturalism. Presently, the Museum largely operates under a western museology, and the shift to biculturalism means not only are objects and content interpreted in the traditional western style, but also with respect to the worldview and with the authority of the indigenous Māori people of New Zealand. A bicultural museum model decolonizes the museum institution by giving authority and agency back to indigenous peoples, creating a more comprehensive and inclusive museum. Approaching this research project with a framework of biculturalism and bicultural practices as detailed by Conal McCarthy in his 2011 *Museums and Māori*, this research intends to detail and better understand the current and future bicultural practices of Otago Museum through interviews with key staff members, observations of Otago Museum spaces, and analysis of the Museum's documents. This research aims to provide a better understanding of the Museum's bicultural practices and shift with the hope that the findings provide useful lessons for museums in the rest of New Zealand and the world.

Keywords

Biculturalism, New Zealand, Otago Museum, National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Māori museology, inclusive museology

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CURRICULUM VITAE

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED

University of Oregon, Eugene, OR
Master of Science in Arts Management, June 2018
Graduate Certificate in Museum Studies, June 2018

University of Alaska Anchorage, Anchorage, AK, May 2015
Bachelor of Science in Anthropology, Minor in Art, Honors

EXPERIENCE

Otago Museum: Education and Public Programs Intern, July-Sept 2017
Developed, delivered, and evaluated programmes for the public, school visits, and school holidays. Managed museum venues. Scheduled staff and volunteers. Developed event run sheets and risk assessments. Managed communications with staff and public. Collaborated on budgeting and strategic event marketing.

Jordan Schnitzer Museum of Art: Laurel Award Collections Intern, Sept. 2016-March 2018
Accurately and efficiently managed database, objects, and physical records. Digitised objects and museum marketing publications. Edited content for database and website. Worked independently and self-managed short and long term projects. Managed and trained volunteers and interns.

Lane County Historical Museum: Exhibit Project Leader, Jan -March 2017
Led and coordinated several student teams to produce exhibit on local indigenous peoples. Created and managed exhibit timeline and budget, and distributed information and funds to teams. Assisted with visual layouts of objects and text panels. Coordinated exhibit opening events.

Anchorage Museum: School Group Coordinator, Visitor Services Assistant, Northern Initiative Collections Intern, May 2014-Sept 2016
Developed, delivered, and evaluated educational programmes and tours. Coordinated school groups with event management software. Managed museum venues and scheduled staff and volunteers. Supervised all aspects of school visits, and developed run sheets and risk assessments. Selected and purchased jewellery and Native Alaskan art for the Store. Experienced in multiple databases for store inventory, collections, and membership.

Milestone Designs: Co-founder, Designer, Jan 2014-present
Manage jewellery business, including social media and print marketing, budgeting, and record management. Design and fabricate silver jewellery. Manage relationships with retail galleries and custom-order patrons.

RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

NAGPRA, Native Alaskan commingled remains:
Identified ancestry and determined health, trauma, and pathology of commingled remains for repatriation by the Aleut Corporation, an Alaska Native organization

"Bioarchaeology of French Polynesia":
Conducted bioarchaeological research on indigenous Marquesan remains to determine changes in health, trauma, and pathology over time. Traveled to the American Museum of Natural History to conduct research with an Honors College Research Travel Grant

Bioarchaeology and Biological Anthropology laboratory:
Discussed and practiced hands-on osteology methods & examined varied human remains using data collection sheets, packed and repacked artifacts

GRANTS, AWARDS, AND HONORS

PPPM Research Travel Grant (winter)		2017
PPPM Research Travel Grant	(summer)	2017
Laurel Award		2016-2018
Community Service Scholarship		2015
Undergraduate Research Grant		2014
Alaska Performance Scholarship		2011-2015
Honors College Scholarship		2011-2015

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Biculturalism

The museological practice of biculturalism as it is practiced in New Zealand was born from a Māori cultural renaissance that began in the 1980s, combined with a unique relationship between Māori and *Pākehā*, non-Māori Europeans (and later migrants) that inhabited New Zealand (McCarthy, 2011). The concept and history of biculturalism will be further explored in Chapter 2, but it is important to possess a basic understanding of it now. In New Zealand museology, biculturalism is in essence the inclusion of Māori peoples in the museum process, allowing them equal authority over the museum narrative. A bicultural museum model decolonizes the museum institution by giving authority and agency back to indigenous peoples, creating a more comprehensive and inclusive museum.

New Zealand museological context

The 1841 founding document of New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi, or *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, separated New Zealand from Britain (Dacker 1994). The Treaty is critical in the study of biculturalism because it also outlined the relationship that was to be practiced between Māori and *Pākehā* (non-Māori New Zealanders). The Treaty granted the rights of New Zealand to the Queen of England, but New Zealand was effectively its own sovereign nation, but also established, among others, the critical principle of partnership that was to exist between Māori and *Pākehā*. This principle is a foundational pillar of biculturalism because it dictates that Māori and *Pākehā* are to have

equal authority in New Zealand, and this has been interpreted into most business ideologies in the country, museums included. While the English and translated Māori versions differ slightly, the Treaty has remained an important document in many businesses' codes of conduct regarding Māori people, and also remains an important document in the biculturalism movement.

The key principles outlined in the Treaty regarding the relationship between Māori and *Pākehā* include the following: partnership, self-regulation, the right to govern, active participation, active protection, and redress (McCarthy, 2011:75). These principles are intended to guide actions and foster positive relations between the two groups, while ensuring Māori retain their rights as *tangata whenua* ("people of the land," or people indigenous to the region). The ways in which the Treaty is interpreted and the principles incorporated into a business or museum setting differ across the country, but its status as a legal founding document provides authority over ethical ways to recognize Māori as *tangata whenua*.

The Treaty of Waitangi provides New Zealand a unique cultural climate, but the country also has more museums per capita than anywhere in the world, with around 500 throughout the country, from small tribal museums to large-scale national institutions (McCarthy, 2011). Overall, New Zealand experiences a higher interest in museums than most nations, and thus there are greater opportunities for biculturalism to seep into the musegolcial framework.

The importance of biculturalism in a global context

Biculturalism is arguably easier to employ in the museum context in New Zealand than other locales, for a number of reasons explored further in Chapter 2. However, the concept can be incorporated into other museums in the country and across the world, albeit with appropriate alterations to suit the unique needs of each community. In Chapter 5, I argue that biculturalism can, at the least, provide useful and pertinent lessons for museums outside New Zealand, and at best, be a model on which some of these museums may base their efforts toward complete biculturalism.

Otago Museum

Otago Museum is situated in Dunedin, New Zealand, and represents one of four major museums in the country (McCarthy, 2011). At present, Otago Museum is endeavoring to become a bicultural institution, meaning it intends to present content according to both the traditional western museology and the worldview of the people indigenous to the country, the Māori. This research aims to detail and explore the ways in which Otago Museum employs or plans to employ bicultural practices, and will be investigated through staff interviews, museum observations, and museum document analysis.

It is important to discuss the context of Otago Museum, situating it within the greater background of the museum culture in New Zealand. This national museum culture differs from that of the United States in several ways, the most relevant of which

is the relatively greater commitment to biculturalism in New Zealand museums. This practice permeates many institutions and systems of the country's culture, trickling down into museums. This research represents a case study that details only the practices of Otago Museum, which contributes to but does not speak for, the greater New Zealand museum climate.

Conceptual framework

For this research, I analyzed the manifestation of bicultural practices employed and that are planned to be employed at Otago Museum. I analyzed the incorporation or lack thereof of indigenous cultural worldviews and customs, and examined both public and nonpublic practices in observing the Museum. Public practices include any behaviors, objects, or otherwise that are visible or noticeable to the public, or anyone in the Museum's public spaces. Nonpublic practices include those behaviors, objects, etc. that would be unavailable to the public, largely in staff-only spaces.

This research will be approached with the understanding that biculturalism is an ethical ideal indicative of best practices. For the purposes of my research and in the context of Otago Museum, true biculturalism means to fully integrate Māori cultural elements, customs, language, history, and worldview, alongside the western museology, into museum practices, including collections care, object and exhibit interpretation, program development, education, and other departments and duties of the museum. Biculturalism essentially allows Māori the same authority in the Museum as the current western governing museology.

The definition and nature of biculturalism, including what constitutes bicultural practices, is taken from Conal McCarthy's 2011 *Museums and Māori* volume, on developing bicultural practices, first undertaken at National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. The practices of Otago Museum will be measured against McCarthy's parameters and descriptions. "Māori worldview," as it is used by McCarthy and by me in the context of this research, involves interpreting content and objects through the Māori perspective (in ways consistent with Māori cultural values), but also operating every facet of the Museum in a way consistent with Māori values and cultural practices. This includes but is not limited to: adhering to Māori customs (*tikanga* Māori) surrounding collections objects, management, and preservation, bilingual object and exhibition labels, and collaborating with local Māori groups to ensure Māori content is exhibited in ways that are consistent with Māori customs, culture, and ideologies. The Māori worldview centers around values like family, nature, ceremony, and arguably most important, the land that sustains all who live on it, and this should be the foundation of a museum serving a Māori community (McCarthy, 2011).

Benefits of this research

For the interviewed participants, this research hopefully illuminates their own motivations and role in the biculturalism shift in Otago Museum. For Otago Museum as a whole, as well as the greater museum profession on a national and international level, this research illustrates the ways in which a particular museum views and strives for biculturalism, hopefully offering lessons for other museums internationally to potentially

incorporate some of those elements into their own practices. Museums in the United States generally do not employ bicultural practices to the degree that museums in New Zealand often do, and so there are many lessons this research may be able to offer American museums that strive for some degree of biculturalism, or even a higher degree of indigenous cultural awareness and representation.

Researcher bias

As a researcher, I bring my own set of biases to the data collection and interpretation. I approach this research with a background in art, anthropology, museology, and indigenous cultures. My interpretation of the role of indigenous culture and indigeneity will differ from that of another researcher investigating the same topic, but can be better understood knowing the perspective from which I approach this topic. Also important to note, as mentioned in the conceptual framework, is the fact that I view biculturalism as best practices in museums, especially those in New Zealand, but I remained open to findings in the course of conducting this research.

Chapter 2: Background

Overview

With an introduction to both biculturalism and the circumstances surrounding Otago Museum, it is now appropriate to delve further into topics discussed above and to examine the existing literature surrounding biculturalism and other relevant topics. This chapter covers the relevant history and content necessary to understand both the research and its potential impact.

Literature review

In the current literature on the topic of bicultural practices in museums, there is little published that speaks directly to this behavior beyond a 2011 volume by Conal McCarthy, *Museums and Māori*, which remains the central book on the topic. Beyond this resource, the literature relating to this topic involves the history of Otago Museum, the New Zealand code of ethics for museums, an analysis of the Māori Tangata Whenua (Māori people and culture) gallery of Otago Museum, various materials regarding Māori culture interpretation in museums, and material on decolonizing museums, among others. Literature is scant regarding current bicultural practices in museums, and even less is written about Otago Museum (a singular article on one Otago Museum gallery), none with respect to current or future bicultural practices. Even in a large institution that represents a significant portion of New Zealand's generally progressive museum culture, Otago Museum is still in a period of transitioning to biculturalism, and so this emerging museology requires more documentation and exploration. Even *Museums and Māori* only

briefly explores Otago Museum, and not at all with regards to biculturalism at that museum. Existing research does not provide details beyond a scant history of Otago Museum's initial brief dabblings in biculturalism more than two decades ago, highlighting the need for an updated study on current and future practices.

In the body of scholarly literature, little has been written about biculturalism efforts in museums, especially not in New Zealand, a country arguably spearheading the movement. Only one article, "Tangata Whenua: Otago Museum's Sesquicentennial Gallery: An Exercise in Biculturalism" (Anson, 1993), exists about Otago Museum's practices in the biculturalism realm, and its scope is limited to one gallery and was published more than two decades ago, and so does not represent current or future efforts.

Much research has been conducted at the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, but little has been done on the other three of the "big four" museums in the country, one of which is Otago Museum. Otago Museum provides an invaluable opportunity ripe for research on biculturalism practices. Additionally, theory and practice often differ, and conducting research on museum practice after researching theory will illuminate areas in which Otago Museum can improve and provide a critical view on their practices through this lens.

New Zealand museological culture differs from that in the United States in many ways, chiefly in that indigenous Māori values (though these values may differ slightly between *iwi*, or tribes, in different regions) are well understood and incorporated into New Zealand museology (Code of Ethics, 2013). This Code of Ethics (2013), produced by Museums Aotearoa, the organisation responsible for codifying museum practices in

the country, also indicates the relationships required between museums and appropriate Māori groups in the community to ensure full authority rests not with the institution but is shared between all relevant entities.

The best resource regarding biculturalism in New Zealand is *Museums and Māori* (2011), in which Conal McCarthy details the process of how the National Museum of New Zealand, now known as Te Papa Tongarewa, incorporated the concept of biculturalism into the Museum. McCarthy discusses how the Māori cultural renaissance of the 1980s catalyzed a movement in New Zealand museums to become more welcoming and inclusive of Māori ideology, leading to the beginning of the bicultural shift in the country (McCarthy, 2011). Also helpful is McCarthy's definition of *biculturalism*: "two cultures or ways of doing things within a museum," and the complexity of the terminology will be discussed further later in this chapter.

Also central to this research is Christina Kreps' (2008) notion of "appropriate museology." Kreps illustrates the ways in which this concept operates: this museological approach takes into account local cultural and socioeconomic contexts. The approach is heavily influenced by the needs of the community and incorporates indigenous traditional museology where appropriate (Kreps 2008). Though not relating strictly to indigenous worldviews and museology, this concept is useful in further understanding biculturalism.

Biculturalism

Biculturalism refers to the duality of perspectives within a museum, and its use by Conal McCarthy in *Māori and Museums* (2011) and in this research refers to the duality

of the western museology alongside the "Māori" museology. Western museology refers to what many would consider the "traditional" museum, as often found in the western world, including: objects in cases that visitors are not permitted to touch, oftentimes linear timelines, labels with information about the object's history or meaning, and galleries segregated by theme or chronology (Stanley, 2007). A western museology reflects a colonial past, and is represented by elements such as linear timelines, monolingual exhibition elements, and the notion that museums are intended to offer public education in the form of objects and interpretation (Kreps, 2005). Another facet of biculturalism is the Māori worldview and its integration into a museum setting. In New Zealand, both museologies are often present to an extent, but fully bicultural institutions present both museologies as equally valid ways of interpreting content (McCarthy, 2011). In sum, "biculturalism is a stage in a longer process of decolonisation" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 9). The process works to actively decolonize a nation heavily affected by the colonial period.

Terminology

The term "biculturalism" can mean different things to different groups and institutions. According to McCarthy, the term is used by institutions to mean: "the changes that museums make in order to incorporate Māori values and practices" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 3). Yet he goes further by stating that at its most basic level, biculturalism simply means two cultural ways of doing things in a museum. The flexibility in defining biculturalism may play a part in how each institution decides they

are practicing biculturalism, as each may create and adhere to policies around different definitions.

Different scholars offer varying definitions for museums. Academic Andrew Sharp determined there were two main veins of biculturalism: "bicultural reformism:" the adaptation of *'Pākehā* institutions to meet Māori requirements,' and 'bicultural distributivism:' 'developing different and specifically Māori institutions to share the authority defined by the Treaty'" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 10). Biculturalism exists on a spectrum, from cultural awareness in the museum to autonomous Māori institutions, according to sociologists Augie Fleras and Paul Spoonley (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999, p. 238). They argue biculturalism envisions a society in which the two peoples, Māori and *Pākehā*, coexist and have control over their respectives realms, but share sovereignty of New Zealand. They interpret biculturalism as the "incorporation of Māori protocols, values and personnel into mainstream structures" (Fleras & Spoonley 1999, p. 237).

Additionally, Mason Durie, a professor of Māori studies in New Zealand, believes biculturalism exists on a continuum that offers multiple structural arrangements (Durie, 1998, p. 102). He argues that biculturalism also can mean different things and can reflect changes over time. In this way, biculturalism is further recognized for the elusive, uncertain, and above all complex concept it is. The terminology's murky nature further complicates the efforts of institutions intending to becoming bicultural when many may have different definitions or sets of policies or actions they feel fit into those definitions.

McCarthy found in his research for his 2011 volume *Museums and Māori* that the term "biculturalism" was fraught with ambiguity, and was seen differently by Māori and

Pākehā. He found Māori people were more likely to refer to the Treaty of Waitangi and the partnership between Māori and *Pākehā* defined by it, whereas *Pākehā* were more likely to see biculturalism as a method of incorporating Māori worldviews and customs (McCarthy, 2011, p. 14). Thus, depending on how each institution implements biculturalism, with particular regards to employees driving the shift, the ancestral backgrounds of those employees may play a role in the ways biculturalism is both defined and implemented.

The literature on biculturalism suggests a more nuanced and complex concept than most may find initially. A plethora of definitions and of ways to implement biculturalism based on those definitions may create a situation in which institutions and museum professionals disagree on what practices may constitute biculturalism. Should each institution create policies around a term agreed upon by the whole discipline, or one formulated by their own staff? Additionally, biculturalism represents a continuously evolving concept, further complicating the matter of pinning down a definition and creating museum policies and procedures around it.

Cultural climate of New Zealand

The cultural climate of New Zealand is a unique facet of the nation's culture, influencing its museology heavily. New Zealand experienced a cultural shift took place in the 1980s. There was a process of internal decolonization due to a Māori cultural renaissance, and this sparked the *Te Māori* exhibition, which showcased a record number of Māori *taonga*, sacred cultural objects (McCarthy, 2011). Following this, biculturalism

became a term and a concept used increasingly often in New Zealand museums. Additionally, "external pressures from tribal development" and internal pressures from the "new museology" created an environment in which biculturalism was ripe to become best practices in the country (McCarthy, 2011, p. 3). McCarthy elaborates: "Radical changes in governance, exhibition development and collection management in New Zealand did not come out of the blue, but as a particular response to a transnational phenomenon - namely a debate about the politics of collecting and exhibiting the culture of colonised peoples" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 3). After *Te Māori* sparked even more interest and pride in Māori culture, the Treaty of Waitangi became more central in policymaking and interest was renewed in the principles it outlined. In 1986, the New Zealand Cabinet decreed that all future legislation needed to take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and departments were required to consult with Māori on matters relating to the Treaty (McCarthy, 2011).

During and after the cultural renaissance, the 1980s saw biculturalism arise in the New Zealand business landscape, especially in museums, as guardians of *taonga* and dispensaries of knowledge. The changes included utilizing Māori names for objects and exhibitions, hiring Māori staff, increased collaboration and consultation with local *iwi*, and an increased sensitivity and responsiveness to Māori values, customs, and needs (McCarthy, 2011). These changes were the beginning of biculturalism in New Zealand museology, and eased the shifts to come in later decades through the normalization of these practices.

As often occurs in colonized regions, Māori were subject to much loss, pain, and destruction to both their land and their culture during the colonial period. The Treaty of Waitangi, or *Te Tiriti o Waitangi*, marked the beginning of New Zealand's identity as a British colony in 1840 (McCarthy, 2011, p. 7). The document recognized Māori rights and guaranteed them a degree of self-governance, and is largely recognized as preserving their status as *tangata whenua*, the people of the land.

McCarthy (2011) also notes that New Zealand lacks a national policy statement regarding Māori issues, and this results in confusion in a number of areas, including museums that are unsure of how to involve Māori groups, display Māori culture and history, etc. The country may need to put forth a policy from the government level that standardizes the practice of biculturalism, in the museum sector and in others.

The National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

The National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, now largely known and henceforth referred to as Te Papa, was hugely instrumental in the nation's museological shift toward biculturalism. There are four major museums in New Zealand: Te Papa (the largest) in the capital Wellington, Auckland War Memorial Museum in Auckland, Canterbury Museum in Christchurch, and Otago Museum in Dunedin (McCarthy, 2011, p. 15). In this research, Te Papa and particularly Otago Museum will be discussed at length, as Otago Museum's practices will be compared to the model set forth by Te Papa.

New Zealand is bisected geographically into two islands: the North and the South Island, and McCarthy (2011) also notes the historical and museological differences between the two. Te Papa is on the North Island, and is in the capital Wellington, while Otago Museum is at the South end of the South Island. The North Island is perceived to be much more of a cultural hub for both Māori and *Pākehā*, while the South Island is more rugged, unpopulated, and bears more damages from colonialism to Māori. This difference in the cultures of each island may play a role in the differences in how biculturalism manifests in Te Papa and Otago Museum.

The ways in which Te Papa implemented biculturalism is perhaps the only example against which the progression of Otago Museum can be measured. Te Papa is the only museum in New Zealand to employ biculturalism on the scale it has, and no other museum comes close to its progress. It is also difficult to compare Otago Museum to museums in other countries due to the unique cultural landscape of New Zealand, both in terms of museology and indigenous culture.

The beginnings of biculturalism and its manifestation at Te Papa can be traced back far into the history of New Zealand as a nation. After World War II, New Zealand was eager to reinvent itself in an attempt to distance itself from the damaged reputation of England, and a national decolonization began to take place. After centuries of exploitation and having their culture diminished and customs discouraged, Māori were finally recognized and felt a need to revitalize their culture and traditions. With this cultural renaissance, New Zealand saw an increased interest in the Treaty of Waitangi and its meaning to Māori people. The exhibition *Te Māori*, (The Māori), was a response

to an increased interest in Māori culture and pressure from Māori *iwi* to provide more and better representation of their culture. The exhibition toured the country, as well as the United States, from 1984 to 1987 (McCarthy, 2011). This marked the height of the cultural renaissance and a milestone in the indigenous fight for adequate representation in the museum world and for agency over their museum narrative. The exhibition also marked a turning point in how museums created content around Māori culture: collaboration with Māori groups and local *iwi* became best practices. McCarthy (2011) lists some of the museological changes that arose as a direct result of *Te Māori*:

> -Recognition of a Māori perspective on objects as *taonga*
> -Consultation about collection care and interpretation
> -Collaborative planning processes with communities
> -Adoption of Māori protocol to open and close exhibitions
> -Recognition of tribal *kaitiakitanga*, or guardianship, in decisions about their *taonga*
> -Māori participation in museum governance, management and operations (McCarthy, 2011, p. 62).

Te Māori also acted as a catalyst for Otago Museum's progression towards biculturalism. Critical in the shift to collaborating with Kāi Tahu, the local tribe of Dunedin (the city in which Otago Museum is located), the Otago region, and much of the South Island of New Zealand, was the exhibition *Te Māori*, a large collection of Māori objects that toured the country in 1986 (McCarthy, 2011). This exhibition sparked a partnership between Otago Museum and Kai Tahu and in the coming years, Otago Museum collaborated further with the tribe, leading to the development of a human remains repatriation policy, acknowledging Māori ownership of their kin and leading to the deaccession and return of many sets of human remains from the Museum's collection

(McCarthy, 2011). Under Otago Museum Trust Board, a Māori Advisory Committee exists to advocate for Māori objects and Kāi Tahu values and initiatives (McCarthy, 2011). Additionally, at least member of Otago Museum Trust Board must be a person of Māori descent. All of these changes occurred in response to *Te Māori*, and paved the way for biculturalism to take root at Otago Museum.

Te Papa underwent many changes to become the bicultural museum it is, and the processes and lessons are valuable for Otago Museum and other museums in New Zealand and overseas. The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act of 1992 shifted the National Museum to the institution it is today: a more inclusive bicultural museum with an updated name meaning "container of treasures" (*Te Papa Tongarewa*). The change was a direct response to *Te Māori* and Māori seeking repossession of their heritage, in conjunction with shifting national attitudes towards Māori people and Māori culture. Te Papa was actually a merger of the National Museum and the National Art Gallery. From the beginning, the reimagined National Museum was to be a bicultural institution (McCarthy, 2011). The merge and reorganization provided an ideal opportunity to reimagine the Museum as a bicultural institution, fundamentally altering the ways in which Te Papa operated. A group of Māori elders was assembled to advise the project team reinventing the Museum. The group liaised between *iwi* and the museum, and formed important relationships that were central to reimagining Te Papa.

After the merger, shifts began to take place, including the hiring of Māori staff, and Te Papa navigated the challenges of incorporating another worldview into their museology. *Pākehā* staff found they needed to be open to the changes and embrace them,

and there was extensive learning on both sides. Te Papa conducted an internal reorganization after *Te Māori*, and created follow-up exhibitions like *Treasures* and *Taonga Māori* (McCarthy, 2011). These exhibitions required increased Māori involvement for what Te Papa curator James Mack called an "inside view," marking the seeds of Māori self-representation in the Museum. With the hiring of Māori staff, most notably in the form of museum guides and later in the education team and other departments, Māori, rather than *Pākehā* staff, were for the first time disseminating knowledge of their own culture and *taonga* in the Museum.

Te Papa also put in place a *mana taonga* policy during this shift. *Mana taonga* means the "power and authority, *mana*, that resides in/derives from cultural treasures, *taonga*" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 97). The policy declared that Māori had control over their *taonga*, changing the relationship between Māori and museums and adding to the conversation of ownership. In Te Papa, the policy was instrumental in providing guidelines for navigating the ownership, authority, and representation of Māori *taonga*, especially for *Pākehā* staff members. In the coming years, Te Papa added several more policies surrounding *mātauranga* (stories, knowledge) Māori and biculturalism, most notably in collection management and exhibition development. A notable change in collections management that is unique and exceptional is the inclusion of Māori spiritual practices in handling sacred objects in the Museum's collection.

Another important step in New Zealand's bicultural process came in the form of a research report commissioned by National Services Te Paerangi and conducted by Gerard O'Regan. O'Regan surveyed legislation, collections, programs, visitors, and staffing in

New Zealand museums in 1997, just a few years after Te Papa's reorganization. He found that even with several changes in place, Māori staff and community members believed there was still much to do in the endeavor of redress. They felt that museums were still "*Pākehā*-centric" and felt more Māori staff were needed, especially in the managing and exhibiting of *taonga* (McCarthy, 2011). Some even saw biculturalism as a "compromise" to appease both Māori and *Pākehā* (McCarthy, 2011, p. 102). These attitudes highlight the tricky process of defining and implementing biculturalism, and raise questions about the best way to navigate a society of dual cultures.

Additionally, O'Regan found that biculturalism was defined differently by different museum professionals. Regarding the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori were more likely to focus on the principle of partnership, which translated to shared authority in the museum. *Pākehā* were more likely to see biculturalism and adherence to the Treaty as social inclusion and less on the changes required. O'Regan argued that biculturalism meant altering Māori participation in museums from passive to active on several levels, and O'Regan provided some valuable recommendations in the course of his report:

> 1. Cultural awareness training for *Pākehā* staff to enable them to understand, interact with and respond to Māori individuals and communities as well as be proactive in cultural developments.
> 2. Training of *kaitiaki* (guardians) at entry level and middle management.
> 3. Advancing discussions between museums and *iwi* at local level on bicultural development, particularly governance and leadership (McCarthy, 2011, p. 103).

A second report from Te Paerangi National Services came in 1999, this time conducted by consultant Hineihaea Murphy, and made further recommendations for the progression of biculturalism (McCarthy, 2011). Murphy suggested cultural awareness

training, sponsorship of partnership programs between Māori and museums, and that each region of New Zealand create and implement its own 'bicultural strategic plan' (McCarthy, 2011). Murphy also noted that biculturalism was central not only to the Māori collections and *taonga*, but to the rest of a museum's collections and operations as a whole.

Both reports on the state of biculturalism in New Zealand were conducted by a national agency and spanned the country, highlighting the national importance afforded the rising concept of biculturalism.

The reformation of Te Papa was extensive, and included several changes to their museology and organization. The shift, enacted through the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act of 1992, came when the Labour (liberal) government was in power. The reorganization divided the Museum into three sections:

1. *Papatūānuku* - mother earth
2. *Tangata whenua* - people of the land
3. *Tangata tiriti* - people of the Treaty

This arrangement recognized the land, Māori, and settlers and all later migrants to New Zealand. McCarthy (2011) argues that developers working to reorganize the museum in this way struggled to segment it into those three categories, and instead retreated back to the more traditional, and western, ideals: natural environment, Māori culture, art, and history.

Additionally, beginning in the 1990s, Te Papa sent several years developing a bicultural policy, and finally adopted the following policy in 2002 (McCarthy, 2011):

> Biculturalism at Te Papa is the partnership between *Tangata Whenua* and *Tangata Tiriti* recognising the legislative, conceptual and Treaty framework within which the Museum operates as well as reflecting international developments. This framework provides the mandate for the Museum to express and celebrate the natural and cultural diversity of New Zealand. It acknowledges the unique position of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand and the need to secure their participation in the governance, management, and operation of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (McCarthy, 2011, p. 114).

The policy was developed by policy analyst Cath Nesus, who argued that active relationships with local *iwi* were key to biculturalism's shift from policy to actual practice (McCarthy, 2011).

In the following years, Te Papa developed additional policies that supplemented their bicultural efforts. In 2003, a *mana taonga* policy was added that recognized Māori ownership of their *taonga* and their right to care for them, speak for them, and dictate how the Museum used them (McCarthy, 2011). A *mātauranga* Māori (Māori knowledge) policy was developed in 2004, and this established and acknowledged a system of Māori knowledge used to understand and explain the world. The policy aimed to preserve and develop *mātauranga* Māori in the Museum.

A major milestone in Te Papa's biculturalism process was the addition of the Kaihautū, a position analogous to the CEO. The role was intended to give Māori an equal say in the management of the Museum, with both the Kaihautū and the CEO working together to operate the Museum, but Kaihautū generally handled Māori matters. The position is overseen by the CEO however, rather than the Board of Directors, as the CEO position is. Thus many who have filled the role of Kaihautū believe it will not be equal

until the position is overseen by the Board, giving the Kaihautū equal footing with the CEO (McCarthy, 2011).

In other areas of the Museum, Māori were hired in much higher numbers beginning in the 1980s, and eventually a Māori unit was established at Te Papa (McCarthy, 2011). A Māori support group was created, Te Ropū Whakamana Māori, whose duties included maintaining *iwi* relationships, developing bicultural policies and training programs, and operating the Māori remains repatriation program. In the collections department, changes in the protocols surrounding Māori objects changed to include *tikanga* Māori (Māori customs and ideologies), such as restricting food near *taonga* or placing water basins near collections vaults for staff to cleanse their hands after being in the presence of *taonga* (McCarthy, 2011).

Understanding the processes Te Papa and New Zealand underwent to become more bicultural is helpful in investigating the ways in which Otago Museum approaches and implements biculturalism. Te Papa provides essentially the only relevant example off which Otago Museum can base their strategy, and against which their "success" in implementing biculturalism might be measured by a researcher.

Motivation for investigation

The topic of biculturalism and Otago Museum was chosen because, as the researcher, I had past experience in Otago Museum as an intern. I was familiar with Otago Museum as a whole, including general operations, endeavors, and most importantly their shift towards biculturalism. Te Papa Tongarewa provided the example

of becoming a bicultural institution in New Zealand, and I was curious to know how Otago Museum measured against Ta Papa and what those biculturalism processes looked like. This was an excellent opportunity to learn more about biculturalism as an emerging museological best practice, but also would hopefully shed light on ways that perhaps biculturalism could provide useful lessons for museums in the rest of the country and outside New Zealand.

Chapter 3: Methods

Research Methodology

Purpose statement

The purpose of this study is to detail and better understand the efforts towards museological biculturalism that Otago Museum incorporates into public and nonpublic practices, with the hope that this knowledge might provide inspiration or spark conversation in the rest of New Zealand and in museologies in other nations.

Methodological paradigm

This research was approached with a critical, postcolonial, constructivist paradigm in order to address bicultural practices in an effective way.

Role of the researcher

As a researcher, I bring my own set of biases to the data collection and interpretation. I approach the research with a background of anthropology and art, and with a strong interest in indigenous cultures. My interpretation of the role of indigenous

culture and indigeneity will differ from that of others researcher investigating the same topic (also a limitation), but can be better understood knowing the perspective from which I approach this topic. Also important to note, as mentioned in the conceptual framework, is the fact that I view biculturalism as best practices in museums, especially those in New Zealand. This research was approached with the understanding that biculturalism is an ethical ideal indicative of best practices.

Primary research question

1. What are the ways in which Otago Museum in Dunedin, New Zealand, incorporates or plans to incorporate biculturalism into its practices?

Delimitations

While it provides an interesting window into the process of becoming bicultural, Otago Museum was approached first and foremost as a case study, and researched at a time of transition, which may raise questions about the validity of the study. This research focuses on the transition from a purely western museology to one in which both western and Māori worldviews are utilized. The time period chosen was intentional because it illuminates a dynamic and critical stage of the development of biculturalism in Otago Museum. This research provides a invaluable glimpse of the practices and arguably more important, of navigating the shift from monoculturalism to biculturalism.

Limitations

Limitations include choosing one museum rather than selecting a few to represent Otago region, the South Island, or some larger region of New Zealand or Oceania. Additionally, with several dozen staff members, only certain key employees of Otago Museum were interviewed for the sake of feasibility.

This organization does not speak for New Zealand as a whole, nor does my experience speak for American museums as a whole. My results are not generalizable; however, the data will hopefully provide useful lessons for both Otago Museum and museums elsewhere.

Context of Otago Museum

It is important to discuss the context of Otago Museum, situating it within a greater museum culture in New Zealand. This national museum culture differs from that of the United States in several ways, the most relevant of which is the relatively greater commitment to biculturalism often found in New Zealand museums. This practice permeates many institutions of the country's culture, trickling down into museums. This research represents a case study that details only the practices of Otago Museum, which contributes to but does not speak for, the great New Zealand museum culture and set of best practices.

Research Design

Research approach and dimensions

Interviews with Otago Museum staff and observations of exhibitions and practices has helped to better understand Otago Museum's efforts in achieving biculturalism. The scope of this research narrows in on one museum, Otago Museum, in New Zealand, and focuses on practices there specifically linked to bicultural efforts at the time research was conducted in December of 2017.

Strategy of inquiry

In the body of scholarly literature, little has been written about biculturalism efforts in museums, especially those museums not in New Zealand, a country arguably spearheading the movement. Only one article, "Tangata Whenua: Otago Museum's Sesquicentennial Gallery: An Exercise in Biculturalism" (Anson, 1993), exists about Otago Museum's practices in the biculturalism realm, and its scope is limited to one gallery and was published more than two decades ago.

Overview of research design

Utilizing interviews and observations, I investigated and detailed Otago Museum's current and planned endeavors in achieving biculturalism.

Research site selection

I chose Otago Museum due to prior connections with Museum staff, allowing for ease of access, as well as their status as a museum putting great effort into achieving biculturalism. Otago Museum also offered a valuable glimpse into a biculturalism transition in a museum setting. Additionally, Otago Museum represents an institution with a strong collection and strong ties to the community.

Participant selection

I selected certain staff members due to their involvement or proximity with the endeavor, thereby providing more useful data. Seven key interviewees were chosen in order to complete the research in a feasible timeline:

-Executive Director Ian Griffin

-Curator Māori Rachel Wesley

-Education Manager Kate Timms-Dean

-Science Centre Manager Samantha Botting

-Director of Public Programmes and Science Engagement Craig Grant

-Science Communicator and Educator Nick Yeats

-Gallery Guide Teina Ruri

Staff members were recruited through email correspondence.

Research was conducted on site at Otago Museum during the month of December 2017. This entailed conducting staff interviews and museum observations. Museum documents were obtained during this time period, but analyzed later.

Observations

The researcher recorded observations noted from Otago Museum that include gallery layout, Museum layout, exhibition labels, presence of Māori language in the Museum, color schemes, lighting, and any other spatial or physical elements that indicate elements of biculturalism as outlined above.

Document analysis

Documents such as Otago Museum's strategic plan and internal policies were analyzed to better gauge future plans regarding biculturalism.

Counteracting against potential ethical issues

There is a risk that I may have misinterpreted or misconstrued Otago Museum staff members' words, leading to incorrect data analysis and potential backlash to staff. To counteract this risk, I have shared my research data and analysis with those staff members to ensure their thoughts and ideas are written with the correct context and intended meaning.

Anticipated results

I expected to find a dynamic set of practices employed or intended to be employed at Otago Museum. I expected that these practices will vary by degree depending on the staff member, their department, area of expertise, and potentially their ancestry or personal connection to the endeavor.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedures

Overview

Data collection took place only at Otago Museum in Dunedin, New Zealand, and only in the form of interviews, document analysis, and observations of bicultural elements and practices in the Museum. Bicultural elements include, but are not limited to: object labels written in both English and Māori language, Māori worldview elements incorporated into exhibition interpretation and programming, and Māori cultural practices adhered to in any Museum spaces.

Interviews lasted 45-60 minutes, taking place in Otago Museum staff meeting rooms at Otago Museum. These interviews were recorded with an audio recording device, and only with participant consent. After the interviews were completed, part of the data processing involved summarizing in writing each interview recording to better analyze the data. Interviewees were informed of any of all potential risks they may incur due to their participation in this study. Consent forms were provided by the researcher and signed by the interviewee before interviews take place. See Appendix D for the consent form that was provided to interviewees. Interviewees signed an informed consent form as a prerequisite to participation in the study. Potential benefits to participants in this study include a better or deeper understanding of their motivations or the Museum's motivations for engaging in bicultural efforts.

Data from interviews and observations were analyzed qualitatively. All interview questions were strictly about Otago Museum's biculturalism process and efforts, and all observations and document analysis was also strictly in search of bicultural efforts at

Otago Museum. Using the conceptual framework mentioned above, all data collected were analyzed against McCarthy's definition of biculturalism and detailed descriptions of bicultural practices.

Preliminary coding schemes and analysis procedures

To analyze the data collected, the researcher will refer to the conceptual framework and to Conal McCarthy's (2011) definition of biculturalism and detailing of potential manifestations. Data was qualitatively analyzed, and is explored in text in "Chapter 4: Findings".

Strategies for validating findings

The researcher took measures to increase validity in this study. To increase validity, the researcher was physically in Otago Museum (for conducting observations), with its documents (for document analysis), and with staff members (for conducting interviews) for a length of time necessary to extract all relevant data. Data was collected persistently and with a high degree of accuracy. Clarification was requested when needed in interviews. Additionally, peers and advisers reviewed and critiqued this study at all necessary stages to ensure sound methodologies and logic. Disconfirming evidence was also sought out, in order to avoid acquiring only data that supports the expected results. Three data collection methods were used to provide a well-developed data corpus with well-rounded and adequate sources. During the process of data collection and at the completion of data collection, members checks took place to ensure interviewee ideas,

thoughts, and statements were accurately reflected, and that appropriate conclusions were drawn.

Investigator experience

My background consists of a Bachelor of Science in Anthropology, with a Minor in Art. My research experience has primarily consisted of bioarchaeological research projects, including an undergraduate thesis on Polynesian pre- and post-colonial human remains and an Alaska Native remains repatriation project. My interests are primarily in indigenous cultures and museology, manifesting in research projects, purchasing Alaska Native artwork for an Alaskan museum, and interning at Otago Museum, whose focus is on science, nature, and culture, prior to conducting this study. I pursue projects, employment, and experience relating to indigenous cultures and the ways they are situated in the world and in museums.

Chapter 4: Findings

In trying to triangulate the nature and progression of Otago Museum's biculturalism efforts, data in the form of interviews, observations, and document analysis were collected and analyzed.

Interviews

Overview

Interviewees were chosen from a range of departments and management levels in order to gauge differences that may manifest due to these factors. Certain staff were selected due to their involvement or proximity with the bicultural shift, thereby providing more useful data. Seven key interviewees were chosen in order to complete the research in a feasible timeline:

-Executive Director Ian Griffin

-Curator Māori Rachel Wesley

-Education Manager Kate Timms-Dean

-Science Centre Manager Sam Botting

-Director of Public Programmes and Science Engagement Craig Grant

-Science Communicator and Educator Nick Yeats

-Gallery Guide Teina Ruri

The summary of major ideas discussed by staff include the following: biculturalism as defined and discussed by each staff interviewee, the shift taking place, and the future of biculturalism at the Museum. Each appears as a subheading and will be discussed below.

Interview questions

Questions asked of each interviewee remained largely the same, with some alterations depending on relevancy to each person's position and duties. The main questions are as follows:

1. How do you personally interpret biculturalism?
2. How does Otago Museum interpret biculturalism?
3. How did Otago Museum's shift to biculturalism begin?
4. What is the end goal, or the ideal in this shift? What are some future plans to this end?
5. What are the ways in which you incorporate biculturalism into your professional practice, including influencing the work of those you supervise?

The collective definition of biculturalism at Otago Museum

As discussed earlier, biculturalism can mean quite different things and entail varying practices to different people. Several Otago Museum staff members were

interviewed about their personal interpretation of the term, as well their thoughts on how the Museum interpreted and implemented it.

Education Manager Kate Timms-Dean believes biculturalism represents different relationships: between Māori and everyone that came after, and between Māori and the New Zealand government. Because Otago Museum receives both public and government funds, she says, the Museum has a duty as an extension of the government (and as caretakers of Māori *taonga* and other objects) to uphold bicultural ideals and implement bicultural practices. Director Ian Griffin views biculturalism as reflecting the community the Museum serves and that community's values. Griffin is British rather than a New Zealander, and his background may play a role in his interpretation or commitment to biculturalism. He believes the "biculturalism line," or what bicultural practices are possible or feasible, varies from exhibition to exhibition. Science Centre Manager Samantha Botting views biculturalism as "fully equal in every way and every facet of the Museum," including shared authority in decision making. Curator Māori Rachel Wesley, who is of Kāi Tahu (local *iwi*) descent, views biculturalism as the equal consideration given to power and authority, in decision making, knowledge systems, and other general operations. She sees the bicultural museology as two equal frameworks or worldviews, in which both ideologies are given equal authority over decision making and the way the institution is run. She continues: "(biculturalism) is currently using local *iwi* as a step in the consultation process, rather than as an equal partner." Another facet of what it means to be bicultural was introduced by Science Communicator and Educator Nick Yeats, who adds the concept of stewardship and guardianship inherent in biculturalism. All

interviewed staff were receptive to the idea of biculturalism in the Museum, but definitions varied slightly.

Otago Museum's shift

Changes began slowly, but picked up momentum exponentially around 2014. According to Director Ian Griffin, Otago Museum's Māori Advisory Council, often referred to as MAC, has been around for around 20 years. Timms-Dean states that the first Curator Māori was hired four years ago, and shortly thereafter the renovation of Discovery World, Otago Museum's science center, was announced.

A keystone of the Discovery World renovation, which has seen the reopening of the space as Tūhura (meaning discovery) in December of 2017, was the retraining of the Science Engagement team members. This training included education in the history and meaning of the Treaty of Waitangi, *te reo* (Māori language), and *mātauranga* Māori (Māori knowledge). Timms-Dean states that the training has been successful, and as an optional training program, most every employee in the Science Engagement team has shown up for it. The program is a pilot, as Tūhura provided an opportunity to redesign the operations of that space and that team, and several employees are hopeful that the program will be expanded into other areas of the Museum.

Tūhura also features a large bicultural focus in the gallery space. The space is divided into several areas with different scientific foci, such as geology, anatomy, or biology. Throughout each, there are interwoven elements of *mātauranga* Māori, Māori stories, and *te reo*. A ribbon of glass hangs from the ceiling, and depicts the *whakapapa*,

or geneology, of each area, as the pathway winds through the scientific areas of Tūhura. A *mauri* stone (of *pounamu* greenstone, prized by Māori) stands at the beginning of Tūhura as a guardian. Additionally, there are *pō*, posts that are central in a Māori *marae*, covered in vinyl with Māori gods that pertain to each region of Tūhura , as decided in collaboration with local *iwi*. Because there was no Māori written language, there is no writing on these posts, according to Botting. Craig Grant, Director of Public Programmes and Science Engagement, also mentions the lack of a written language allowed for more oral histories and their increased importance. This was a factor in training Science Engagement staff in *mātauranga* Māori: in order to provide oral histories and verbal interpretation, as is consistent with Māori *tikanga*, or the Māori way of doing things. Curator Māori Rachel Wesley acted as an informal Māori advisor on the project, as she does with several projects in the general operating of the Museum. These considerations reflect the collaboration between Otago Museum and Kai Tahu, the local *iwi*.

Both Griffin and Timms-Dean describe biculturalism as a journey, with Tūhura being a major stepping stone in that journey, and providing momentum for further expansions of biculturalism into the rest of the Museum. Botting also believes that Tūhura ’s focus on biculturalism is “not just about ticking boxes,” but reflects a deeper commitment to acknowledging and respecting Māori culture. Craig Grant, Director of Public Programmes and Science Engagement, notes that Tūhura features Māori and western museolgies parallel to each other in some interactives, stating that more interaction and intersection between the two is possible or feasible depending on the interactive in Tūhura .

Timms-Dean and Wesley also mentioned other smaller endeavors in the pursuit of a bicultural Otago Museum. There is an informal group of staff, mostly of Māori ancestry, that acts as an unofficial advocacy group for Māori and biculturalism at the Museum. They take upon themselves tasks like advocating for and planning regular practice of *waiata*, the singing of Māori songs in a customary greeting for large or ceremonial events, but can serve other functions. Māori staff at the Museum thus have extra duties in this advocacy role, though unassigned. They answer staff members' questions regarding Māori customs and do other extra work outside their normal duties in order to advocate for and assist with bicultural ideals and practices.

Other elements of biculturalism are present in various areas of the Museum. The Egyptian mummy is kept in a separate room from the rest of the exhibition in the People of the World gallery, but in the last year a sign has been added directing visitors to the washroom where they can wash their hands, in accordance with Māori *tikanga* surrounding death. Furthermore, Ian Griffin cites the *Taoka* Digitization Project as another area in which the Museum prioritizes Māori culture and *taonga*, and illustrates the desire to learn more and to make the Māori collection and its information more widely available. Craig Grant notes that biculturalism, as it is more easily incorporated into certain interactives in Tūhura , is also more easily incorporated into certain departments of the Museum as well. Collections, he says, is more attuned to Māori tikanga because of their proximity to *taonga*. Additionally, when an endangered jewelled gecko found a permanent home at Otago Museum, a discussion was started as to how to name it. The Museum finally settled on Manawa, meaning "heart" in *te reo*, further

incorporating te reo into available practices and taking available opportunities. Curator Māori Rachel Wesley lists some of the steps the Museum has taken as well, including the creation of her role as Curator Māori, the exhibition on Kai Tahu women: "Hākui," signage surrounding the Egyptian mummy, and support from staff in planning and attending *waiata* practice.

Curator Māori Rachel Wesley describes the Museum's current efforts as practices mostly out on the floor, and notes that the board "still hasn't grasped what (biculturalism) means, but they are working towards it, and as a general rule learning what that means." Important to note, she says, is the context in which the Museum is attempting this shift: the Otago region in New Zealand is "racist and redneck," in Wesley's words, and the Museum used to be thought of in that way as well. This makes the Museum's commitment and progress all the more impressive, and hopefully provides momentum going forward. She continues, stating that Shimrath Paul, the director prior to Ian Griffin believed any money spent on the Tangata Whenua gallery should come from *iwi*, not the Museum, adding, "so we've come a long way." Paul believed the care and interpretation of Māori *taonga* was the financial responsibility of Kai Tahu rather than the Museum, the caretaker of those *taonga*. Science Communicator and Educator Nick Yeats agrees that New Zealand's Otago region, in which Dunedin and Otago Museum are found, is a more colonial "white" region of the country, but echoes "kiwi" culture as a whole through inclusivity and cultural sensitivity, particularly after the cultural renaissance of the 1980s. He believes that the increased recognition of the Treaty of Waitangi has led to the

increased interest in biculturalism as the country's cultural climate shifts and trickles down to its museology.

Future of biculturalism at Otago Museum

While Otago Museum is still in the beginning stages of a bicultural shift, several promising practices are currently employed, and perhaps more importantly, many are being planned.

Te Papa found success in implementing and standardizing the practices associated with biculturalism through the creation and enforcement of several policies. When asked about the development of future policies, most interviewees believed this to be forthcoming in the coming years, and saw it as a necessary step in the Museum's future. Sam Botting firmly believes that biculturalism policies are in the Museum's future, though the timeline is uncertain. She hopes the policies will be robust, with several procedures and guidelines, including an in-depth unpacking of the term "biculturalism" and all it entails in the museum setting. Craig Grant agrees that biculturalism training during the new employee induction process is a good suggestion, and because that process is largely run by one HR staff member, the training would be consistent for all incoming employees.

Gallery Guide Teina Ruri states that many businesses in New Zealand feature a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi on the wall, especially after the cultural renaissance and increased interest in the Treaty in the 1980s. She speculated that this is a practice that

Otago Museum will eventually employ, as it is a good reminder of those principles upon which many biculturalism policies could be based.

Timms-Dean believes that a dual approach is necessary in successfully implementing biculturalism on an institutional level: top-down and bottom-up. Top-down involves commitment and policies driven from the CEO and upper management, while bottom-up involves middle and lower management and those below setting individual or team goals and driving biculturalism from that level. Timms-Dean finds that much of the momentum has been driven bottom-up, with localized and individual goals that are largely self-driven by lower and middle management staff. She is hopeful that in the future, biculturalism at the Museum is more top-down driven, with policies and procedures put in place to help guide employees. Sam Botting believes that the top-down approach has been much more apparent with Ian Griffin as Director, citing his genuine passion and respect for both biculturalism and Māori culture. She mentions his desire for including *te reo* in the Science Engagement Team and in Tūhura 's redevelopment. Rachel Wesley expresses a desire for a top-down approach, including Treaty training for the executive team in the hopes that the museology will trickle down into the rest of the Museum.

Part of incorporating biculturalism, especially without written policies to guide staff, lies in leading by example, according to several interviewees. This includes utilizing *te reo* where appropriate or meaningful, providing space to include *mātauranga* Māori in interactive/program development sheets, and assisting supervisees in developing personal goals in bicultural practice. By providing examples for supervisees and

resources and spaces for developing those skills (*te reo*, *mātauranga* Māori, *tikanga* Māori, etc.), supervisors are able to foster an environment in which biculturalism can grow and expand in the Museum. Gallery Guide Teina Ruri believes that providing staff and with the resources, materials, and trainings to succeed is key in achieving a more bicultural institution. There is currently systemic training across the whole Museum, and the degree of biculturalism to which each department adheres is at the mercy of each department director, according to Rachel Wesley.

Exposure to Māori culture, *tikanga*, and *te reo* will over time normalize those elements and ease staff and visitors into a more accepting and bicultural Museum. Utilizing *te reo* in email greetings, for example, is a practice that many staff members already incorporate, and the more it is used, the more it is seen as a normal practice. Teina Ruri mentions that for Māori language week, the employee work schedules were switched to *te reo*, and after the week passed, they were left in *te reo*. Small changes over time, incorporated in ways that are easiest and most accessible, allow for more daunting changes later on. Science Communicator and Educator Nick Yeats agrees, stating that each change will build on each other over time to create a more bicultural Museum. Ian Griffin, himself an astronomer, cites the potential issue of presenting Māori mythology alongside widely accepted science in Tūhura or other spaces as a possible negative aspect of biculturalism.

Rachel Wesley had to fight for Māori training in the Science Engagement team, and wants to roll that out for all staff at some point in the future. Additionally, she hopes the Strategic Plan will flesh out any text regarding the Treaty of Waitangi to include

policies dictating partnerships and bicultural practices. She also hopes to see the Museum have greater representation of Māori staff in the future. Another element of the push for biculturalism in museums is the difference between consultation and collaboration, she says. Collaboration is much more involved and allows iwi greater say in their representation, allowing for a model closer to equal partnership than consultation alone provides. Wesley also mentions that visitors sometimes inquire why the Museum is not doing things in a more Māori way, and this further prompts efforts to remedy that.

Additionally, Timms-Dean believes a large part of any hold-ups in becoming more bicultural rests in a fear of the unknown, and for some staff members, Māori culture and customs represents that unknown, and some are afraid of offending. Timms-Dean also discussed a factor that complicates the endeavor: biculturalism is about intrinsic value, like the arts or other intangible but necessary pursuits. It is difficult to quantify and thus a tricky entity around to build policies. With these factors in mind however, Otago Museum can continue to move forward in its efforts to become bicultural.

Observations

Overview

In triangulating Otago Museum's practices in the way of biculturalism, direct observations of the galleries and other spaces reveal practices that may not appear in Museum documents or be mentioned in interviews with staff members. Observations help to fill in more of the picture and provide information about what practices are visible to the public. Otago Museum's exhibitions, signage, and other elements were examined for bicultural practices. This could include use of *te reo*, signage enforcing Māori *tikanga*, or indications of collaboration with Māori *iwi*. Unsure of which elements might present themselves in the course of research, the guidelines for constituting biculturalism were intentionally kept open-ended. They were comprised of any indication of biculturalism, including indications that Otago Museum staff put thought into being more inclusive to Māori or to the incorporation of Māori worldview or *tikanga*. This includes mention of inclusion of Māori voices, peoples, or groups, as well as mention of biculturalism or any practice that indicates biculturalism, such as adherence to the Treaty of Waitangi or to *tikanga* Māori. The discussion of elements detected in a visual survey of the Museum will focus on the main galleries affected: Tūhura and Tangata Whenua, as well as a general overview of other elements found throughout the Museum.

Tūhura

The 2017 redevelopment of Discovery World as Tūhura provided Otago Museum a perfect opportunity to employ a more bicultural museology, evidenced by several

elements found in the gallery space. Tūhura provides an overview of the scientific world, and is segmented into separate zones that specialize in different scientific arenas. As noted above in interviews, elements of *mātauranga* Māori, Māori stories, and *te reo* are interwoven into the space where appropriate. A ribbon of glass adorned with Māori designs hangs from the ceiling, and depicts the *whakapapa*, or geneology, of each area, as the pathway winds through the scientific areas of Tūhura. In the infinity room designed to illustrate the Big Bang, there is text telling visitors about the Māori creation story. In this case, and in others in the science center, *mātauranga* Māori is presented alongside accepted western science on equal footing. A *mauri* stone (a small natural boulder of greenstone, prized by Māori for its *mana*, color, and strength) stands at the beginning of Tūhura as a guardian. Additionally, there are pō, posts that are central in a Māori *marae*, covered in vinyl with Māori gods that pertain to each region of Tūhura, as decided in collaboration with local *iwi*.

Tūhura features several elements incorporating Māori knowledge and culture, but not every instance of western science interpretation will allow for a simple incorporation of Māori elements. Tūhura exemplifies a Māori worldview, as married with a western science interactive gallery. Staff were careful to intentionally exclude *te reo* or English text on the *pō*, as the local *iwi* Kai Tahu decided they did not want to include it because there is no written Māori language. In this way, Māori culture relies heavily on visual elements to impart information, such as motifs or images of gods. Oral tradition is also a pillar of Māori culture due to the lack of written language, and thus the Science Engagement staff are taught *mātauranga* Māori and *te reo*, in order to impart knowledge

to visitors orally, as is consistent in Māori culture. This is also consistent with the trend for museums to minimize text in gallery spaces and with interactives, in order to keep clean lines and avoid visual clutter. The *whakapapa* ribbon that hangs from the ceiling is connected to the western science on the floor by the *pō*, which would be central carved posts in a Māori *marae*, or meeting house. The *mauri* stone also acts as a guardian for the space, and a stone like this one is often placed near the beginning of an exhibition that contains *taonga*. One of the more subtle ways in which Tūhura shows a bicultural shift and a Māori worldview is in the collaboration with Kai Tahu the Museum engaged in to both gather information and create a space that was inclusive and respectful. This partnership, of collaboration rather than consultation, highlights the Museum's adherence, in this instance, to the Treaty of Waitangi and the principle of partnership between Māori and Pākehā.

Tangata Whenua

Though this gallery will be redeveloped in the coming years, and it presents several historical inaccuracies or offensive aspects, Tangata Whenua represents an early attempt at a gallery of Māori *taonga* that was more inclusive and hinted at the future of biculturalism. The gallery was installed in 1990, and is arranged in the style of a *marae*, or Māori meeting house (Anson 1993). The gallery is divided into sections, with a right, left, and center nave. Visitors are greeted by a large *waka*, or canoe, to mimic the arrival of visitors and the first thing they would see. The left side of the gallery is where the Kai Tahu *taonga* are displayed, as the left side of the *marae* is where the local people would

sit. Alternately, the right side of the gallery displays objects from North Island *iwi*, as the right side of the *marae* is where visitors would sit.

However, issues exist in Tangata Whenua. For example, mannequins and murals of Kai Tahu Māori are depicted nude, which is both offensive and inaccurate. Several other inaccuracies are present, and highlight the need for the redevelopment of the material presented and the method of doing so.

Other regions of Otago Museum

The Egyptian mummy is kept in a separate room from the rest of the exhibition in the People of the World gallery, but in the last year a sign has been added directing visitors to the washroom where they can wash their hands, in accordance with Māori *tikanga* surrounding death.

In the hallways leading to the collections stores, there is a wash basin against the wall opposite the door to the store. In Māori *tikanga*, being in the presence of *taonga* or the deceased requires a cleansing of the hands afterwards, so some exhibitions about war or that feature *taonga* will supply a wash basin upon visitors' exit. For this reason, the collections staff has access to a wash basin upon exiting the collections stores to wash the *tapu*, which can mean "sacred" or "spiritual restriction" from their hands.

As mentioned in interviews, Otago Museum employs *te reo* in few locations outside Tūhura and Tangata Whenua. *Te reo* appears in some signage surrounding galleries, on supplementary visitor pamphlets (minimally), and Museum guides (an entire guide exists in Māori). Beyond Tūhura and Tangata Whenua, however, biculturalism is

largely absent. These two galleries offer the greatest opportunity to incorporate biculturalism. Tangata Whenua was created in collaboration with local *iwi*, and as a gallery of *taonga*, is also an opportunity to teach visitors about tikanga as an element of Māori culture. Until the redevelopment of Tūhura, Tangata Whenua was alone in its bicultural status, while poor. Tūhura was able to provide an opportunity to redevelop the museology of the space due to the redesign of the entire space and the necessary retraining of the staff assigned to those interactives. In the future, as each other gallery is redeveloped, biculturalism will likely be much more apparent, though in which ways it manifests is uncertain.

Document analysis

Overview

Examining Otago Museum's documented mentions and plans regarding biculturalism helps to understand its efforts in this endeavor. For this research, I requested any relevant documentation that may contain any mention or hint of biculturalism, whether it is found in a policy document, annual plan, or brochure. The following documents listed were the ones that were provided to me and acquired by me that may have contained any information about biculturalism at Otago Museum. Each document was examined thoroughly for mention of biculturalism or associated topics, such as Māori programs or trainings, or instances of *te reo*, Māori language.

Annual Plan 2017-2018

The "Annual Plan 2017-2018" lacked much in the way of mentions of the Museum's committment or plans for becoming a bicultural institution. Some items included the Māori names for some things; the document's subheading is *Te Ara Hou - The Road Ahead*. Oftentimes at events, the director will provide a *mihi*, a greeting that tells the audience about himself or herself, and this is sometimes found in documents or books as well. In this Plan, there was no *mihi* from director Ian Griffin. There was also no mention of biculturalism in the long term strategic plan. There is little mention in the document's "strategic goals" and "objectives" sections, with mention of the grant-funded *Taoka* Digitization Project. This project allows for collections conservation, documentation, and digitization of

Māori *taonga*, which is notable because it highlights an increased interest and commitment to Māori culture and therefore the seeds of biculturalism. The document also mentions the upcoming Tangata Whenua (Māori culture and *taonga* exhibition) gallery redevelopment, in which the space will be updated in accordance with changing views on Māori culture and exhibition design and display. The Plan cites the "consultation, research, and concept development" in the future of the gallery.

Strategic Plan 2014-2020

Again, the document is titled *Te Ara Hou - The Road Ahead*. A critical line appears on page 7: "Importantly, (the strategic plan) adds a commitment to honouring the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi as an overarching guide." However, this line is only followed up on in the "Guiding Values" section on page 9:

> "We will honour and care for our collection in partnership with *mana whenua*. We will recognise our commitment with the addition of a proposed statement that acknowledges the importance of our collection to *mana whenua* in the otago region, and the people of Otago and Aotearoa."

Additionally, the redevelopment of the Tangata Whenua gallery and the Museum's collaboration with the Māori Advisory Council in that endeavor is mentioned in the strategic developments projects slated for 2016-2018.

2017 Educational Programmes

Programs reflect the Museum's strengths and interests. "Bicultural New Zealand" centers on "exploring bicultural origins of our nation in three galleries:" Pacific Cultures, Tangata Whenua, and Southern Land, Southern People. There are also four programs on Māori culture and/or the Treaty of Waitangi.

Museum Guide

Otago Museum, with a large tourist base in summer, stocks museum guides in several languages, but one is in the Māori language, with no English for translation.

Collections Policy 2015-2020

The Museum's Collection Policy reflects the Museum's sensitivity to and for Māori *taonga*, and lists special considerations:

1. The Museum recognises the cultural and spiritual connections of *taoka* with their *iwi* through their *whakapapa*.
2. Spiritual and cultural ownership rights are conferred through *whakapapa* in respect of the traditions and histories that *taoka* represent, as well as the *whakapapa* of the creator of the *taoka*.
3. These rights accord to the *iwi* the right to care for their *taoka*, to speak for them and to determine their use or uses by the Museum.
4. Access and general handling of *taoka* will be in consultation with the Curator, Māori.
5. In addition to preservation and conservation, there must be an overall understanding of reconnecting *taoka* with *iwi*.
6. Collections affected by tikaka will be determined by collections management and/or the Curator, Māori. (p. 14)

Furthermore, collections policies have been put in place regarding Māori human remains (*kōiwi takata*). The policy dictates the recognition of *tikaka* (traditional Māori customs) in handling, storing, and moving remains. Additionally, access to remains and to *taonga* is highly restricted, and includes several policies involving appropriate iwi involvement and *tikanga* surrounding all aspects of care. Important to note is the inclusion of an important custom: "Māori ritual practices, including cultural restrictions such as *tapu* and noa, presence of food and *taoka*, must be observed." The Collections Policy also notes that the Museum collections conforms to the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi and to the Museums Aotearoa Code of Ethics and Professional Practice. In the document as a whole, the term "biculturalism" is not used, but elements such as adhering to a Māori worldview and the Treaty are important to recognize and acknowledge.

Annual Report 2011-2012

In this document, there is no mention of the Treaty of Waitangi or the principles outlined in it. There is also no mention of any activities relating to biculturalism or the Museum's efforts in that arena. This report was written and published before the idea took solid hold in the Museum.In this document and previous ones, Otago Museum mentions its interest, even adherence, to multiple points of view, but does not use the word "biculturalism".

Annual Report 2013-14

This document reflects a slight shift in ideology from the previous Report. (The Report 2012-2013 was not available.) "Importantly, it adds a commitment to honouring the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi as an overarching guide" is a critical line that brings in the Treaty, but it does not flesh out what it means to honor those principles. Also, the first mention of the position of Curator Māori is found in this Report. Furthermore, the first mention of the redevelopment of the Tangata Whenua gallery is mentioned:

> 2015–2016 Tāngata Whenua redevelopment: This iconic gallery has not been renovated for 23 years. In line with the new strategic redevelopment plan, the Museum plans to create a world-class gallery in keeping with the significance of the *taoka* in the Museum's care, taking into account the many changes in attitudes to and appreciation of Māori culture since the gallery first opened. In partnership with the Māori Advisory Committee, the plan is to create a new gallery in time for a November 2016 opening. The estimated cost of this project is $2 million. (p. 23)

While the redevelopment was stalled due to a realized need to digitize the Māori collection, with Discovery World being redeveloped into Tūhura first, the mention is important, and all these changes combined indicate a growing interest and commitment to becoming more bicultural.

Annual Report 2014-2015

One change new in this document is the addition of a section pertaining specifically to "Māori collection research," in addition to the standard "Humanities research" section found in every past year's report. This document also mentions the Museum's plans to digitize the Māori collection with the help

of a Lotteries Board grant, which was eventually granted. This project related directly to the Museum's plans to renovate the Tangata Whenua gallery:

> A complete survey of *taoka* held by Otago Museum must be undertaken before the redevelopment of Tāngata Whenua is possible. The Board has agreed to delay the opening of the new gallery until 2018 in order to be able to fully assess the Māori collection. (Previous opening date 2016). (p. 5)

Another important step forward comes in an increased interest and commitment to collaborations with Māori groups in order to better understand the Māori collection. The document highlights the benefits of the Curator Māori: "The relationship between Te Tumu, University of Otago and the Museum has been reinvigorated and intensified with the appointment of the Museum's Curator, Māori."

Other steps include the development of "Hākui: Women of Kāi Tahu" exhibition to engage with and reflect the Māori audience, and critical program development: "Specific programmes and activities were developed for the following groups: Māori learners – training in *te reo* and *tikanga* Māori with Otago Museum's Curator, Māori."

All these additions reflect an increased interest and acknowledgement of Māori culture, which is critical in becoming a more bicultural institution. An increased commitment to engaging with local *iwi* is seen in the development of the "Hākui:

Women of Kāi Tahu" exhibition, through an "identified Museum priority to engage with Kāi Tahu," executed with collaboration from the Mana Wāhine steering committee.

Annual Report 2015-2016

This Report continues the momentum from the prior year, citing the success of the Curator Māori and of Hākui: Women of Kāi Tahu, "which built on new linkages forged with *iwi*, *hapu* and *whānau* across Te Waipounamu South Island." Additionally, the *Taoka* Digitization Project moved forward with the award of $395,000 from the Lottery Environment and Heritage fund to support the project, which was slated to last three years. The Museum also states that the information gained in the project will be shared with local iwi and the rest of the community. Also of note is the hiring of Rachel Wesley as Curator Māori.

The creation and success of the above projects, as well as the hiring of staff relating to these endeavors, highlights the Museum's priorities, and the the shift towards biculturalism.

Annual Report 2016-2017

This Report furthers the success of projects and success from the prior two years, including the addition of Treaty of Waitangi and *pōwhiri* workshops presented to

second year medicine students, research and development work for the renovated Tāngata Whenua gallery, and the Discovery World Stage renovation and "bicultural interpretation," the first mention of biculturalism in any Museum document analyzed. Additionally, the Museum began the annual Creative Pacifika celebration, which includes cultural activities from across the Pacific made accessible to all audiences. *Waiata* was practiced in Tangata Whenua, and songs were sung in both *te reo* and English.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations for Otago Museum and Museums Outside New Zealand

Overview

This chapter will be dedicated to the conclusions I draw from my findings, but also to some recommendations I will make for museums outside New Zealand that are in very different contexts. I will make these recommendations based on my conclusions from research completed at Otago Museum, discussions of those lessons and their potential applications in other museums.

Findings

Using staff interviews, document analysis, and direct observations of Otago Museum, this research aimed to provide a clearer picture of the Museum's biculturalism shift. In analyzing the data, these sources of information indeed illustrate the ways in which Otago Museum is implementing the shift. The changes are largely occurring in lower levels of the Museum, reflecting a bottom-up approach, but there is commitment from the top-down as well. Both are important, but the top-down model has greater influence over the Museum's practices.

Interviews were useful in hearing directly from staff who had varying levels of involvement in the bicultural process. These staff members' definitions of biculturalism were illuminating as well, underscoring the varying definitions accepted in the museum field and beyond. The variance in definitions creates a murky environment for biculturalism to manifest, in any setting. When different countries, institutions, or even

employees have differing definitions without a standardized definition or policies defining it, the circumstances create opportunity for disagreement, resentment, and stunted forward progress.

Interviews also revealed that staff in lower or middle management levels were more adamant about the importance of biculturalism and of a top-down approach in order to ensure its success. There are several potential factors at play: these employees spend more time on the floor, spend more time directly with visitors, some are of Māori heritage or had a greater background in Māori culture and history, and arguably have more involvement in small day-to-day changes in behaviors and practices, as upper management handles more big-picture issues. While both top-down and bottom-up models present opportunities for bicultural practices to emerge, lower and middle management may provide easier opportunities that allow for smaller simpler changes to have trial and error in order to see which practices work best.

Analyzing Otago Museum's documents provides a glimpse into policies, programs, and other internal and external documentation of bicultural practices. Documents show an organization's priorities through what is included or excluded, such as the lack of supplementary bullet points about what it means to honor the Treaty of Waitangi, or the simple inclusion of the Museum's commitment to adhering to the Treaty. The analysis shows an influx of at least interest in Māori culture and commitment to acknowledging and honoring that audience and culture, but the documents reveal very little in the way of bicultural practices. However, the small shift that is occurring is taking place largely in the Annual Reports, perhaps as the Museum takes a more comprehensive

look at their past and future actions. Documents alone are not the best way of analyzing a museum's activities, but they help provide information about what is presented to staff and/or the public. They provide useful information about an institution's values, and where it funnels funds in accordance with those values.

Observations also provided useful information, with bias only from the researcher and no possible bias from Otago Museum, as it was not disseminating this information, as it was with interviews and documents. Direct observations of Museum spaces showed a slower progression of biculturalism than the interviews or documents provided. Physical manifestations of biculturalism often require a more lengthy process than including bicultural elements in an Annual Report, for example. Even staff training can take less time, funds, and effort than some physical manifestations, which are often costly as well. The easiest changes are those that appear first, and changes are more likely to appear when opportunities present themselves, such as a gallery renovation, replacing of signage, or a staff retraining.

In sum, a shift is definitively taking place in Otago Museum. Momentum comes from both the top and bottom of the Museum, but in different ways. Top-down efforts are more policy-related, which makes sense given the duties of upper management, while lower and middle management staff are more behavior-oriented, as they are on the floor more and have positions that are more hands-on. The policies relating to biculturalism at Otago Museum have yet to be written, and that will likely help standardize the Museum's practices and provide helpful guidelines to ease employees into behaviors consistent with biculturalism. At present, there is no indication when the formulation and approval of

such policies might take place at Otago Museum. Some institutions or individuals adhere to a notion of biculturalism that pertains more to the inclusion of the Māori worldview, while others view it as more of a collaborative partnership between the organization and Māori, wherein Māori are granted equal authority in decision making. Again, the different definitions mentioned by staff of Otago Museum point to a need for more standardized language and practices in order to have every employee on the same page in the same endeavor. The different definitions may play a part in how each institution decides they are practicing biculturalism, as each institution may adhere to and create policies around different definitions.

Recommendations for Otago Museum

Te Papa's ability to shift toward biculturalism was due in part to the merge of both the National Museum and the National Art Gallery, and the shift allowed greater possibility for reorganization and a reassessment of the current museology. Like Te Papa, Otago Museum used a shift, in their case the opening of Tūhura, to implement an updated museology. With the renovation and update of the Tangata Whenua gallery, and subsequent galleries in the future, Otago Museum has opportunities to reinvent their museology surround all galleries. While Te Papa reimagined the entire museum at once, this perhaps eased the shift and allowed it to happen on a larger scale. Otago Museum is updating each gallery individually by contrast, and this may slow or segment the progress towards biculturalism.

In future endeavors, Otago Museum has several opportunities to drive the bicultural ideal forward. Ensuring it becomes a priority in all projects will require commitment from the top down. The Museum will need to obtain more education on biculturalism and the ways it which it can be implemented in this particular Museum, with the assistance of resources like *Museum and Māori*, other volumes on biculturalism, Te Papa's professional network, and Māori leaders and advocates, such as the Māori Advisory Council.

One option that Otago Museum has is the creation of a more formal internal Māori Advisory Committee made up of staff members. An informal group already exists, comprised of staff members but not formally recognized by the Museum. The formalization of the group will lend more legitimacy and the recognition could allow for potential funding from upper management.

Additionally, the standardization of language, policies, procedures, and practices surrounding biculturalism in the Museum will streamline the effort of becoming a bicultural institution. Otago Museum's documents lack the use of the term "biculturalism", and the utilization of the word will normalize it and the practices it embodies. Utilizing words like "biculturalism" and clearly outlining the relevant terminology and practices will allow employees some guidance and resources in helping the Museum become bicultural.

In *Museums and Māori*, McCarthy introduces recommendations from the O'Regan Report, conducted in 1997 by Te Paerangi National Services (McCarthy, 2011,

p. 103). In this Report, O'Regan outlines recommendations for museums attempting to become bicultural.

> 1. Cultural awareness training for *Pākehā* staff to enable them to understand, interact with and respond to Māori individuals and communities as well as be proactive in cultural developments.
> 2. Training of *kaitiaki* at entry level and middle management.
> 3. Advancing discussions between museums and *iwi* at local level on bicultural development, particularly governance and leadership (McCarthy, 2011, p. 103).

Otago Museum already employs some of these tactics, but in a limited capacity. The training in *mātauranga* Māori and *te reo* for the Science Engagement fulfils part of cultural awareness training in educating staff about Māori culture, but should be fleshed out much further. Additionally, the training should be expanded to include the rest of the museum, including both Māori and *Pākehā* staff. At this point in time, it is unclear to what degree Otago Museum trains entry and middle management in *kaitiaki* (guardianship), but there is little indication, if any, from this research that indicates this term or its associated behaviors are included in the current staff trainings. Regarding collaborating with local *iwi*, Otago Museum does indeed engage in moderately extensive collaborations, the most notable of which would be Tūhura's redevelopment. However, regarding those collaborations in a the bicultural shift, the Museum has not provided indications of efforts beyond Tūhura. O'Regan's suggestions are not comprehensive, but offer a starting point from which Otago Museum can find firmer footing, and working with local *iwi* will provide help in becoming a more inclusive and appropriate institution.

In 1999, Te Paerangi National Services conducted another survey of biculturalism in New Zealand museums, and further recommendations were provided. The

recommendations included cultural awareness training, sponsorship of partnership programs between Māori and museums, and that each region of New Zealand create and implement its own "bicultural strategic plan" (McCarthy, 2011).

In addition to the above suggestions, Te Papa offers another helpful example: the top-down model of incorporating biculturalism. Te Papa's directors and senior managers are required to demonstrate a commitment to biculturalism through attending *pōwhiri*, ceremonies, and public events at the *marae*, and this practice is now seen as a normal part of the professional practice of the organization (McCarthy, 2011). Implementing this at Otago Museum would require a deeper partnership with Kai Tahu and the organizers of local *marae* in Dunedin, but will yield positive results. Executing biculturalism at Otago Museum will require first a high degree of commitment form the Director, Board of Directors, and upper management, in order to enact change throughout the rest of the organization.

McCarthy also notes that much of the efforts Te Papa has put into developing a bicultural museum has gone into training non-Māori staff in Māori language, values, and practices (McCarthy, 2011). Te Papa provides adequate resources for staff, and this practice is critical in the success of their efforts. The Museum offers workshops on the Treaty of Waitangi, *tikanga*, and other Māori topics. Also available is a set of internet resources detailing Te Papa's practices, *pōwhiri* guidelines and behaviors, *tikanga* pointers, and more, in order for staff to feel supported in working in a bicultural institution and adding to the endeavor. An important element in this training and resource set is the reminder that not every element of professional practice must be bicultural; it is

important that the process by which the Museum makes decisions and implements actions and projects is inclusive and reflects biculturalism, instead of aiming for a visibly bicultural output.

Otago Museum would benefit from more trainings and resources for staff, which would increase confidence among staff in their ability to speak *te reo* or implement Māori customs and behaviors in their professional practice. Te Papa also put in place a *mana taonga* policy during their shift to biculturalism. *Mana taonga* means the "power and authority, *mana*, that resides in/derives from cultural treasures, *taonga*" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 97). Otago Museum has no such policy in place, but one would surely help standardize bicultural practices across the Museum, while also providing behavioral guidelines for staff.

At Otago Museum, the Museum Director and other upper management staff will have to prioritize biculturalism in order for their leadership to effect positive change lower down. These staff will have to allow time and budgeting for trainings for both themselves and those below. They can then incorporate bicultural knowledge and practices into policies for both visitors and Museum staff. Additionally, providing the necessary resources for staff to succeed and feel supported in becoming a bicultural institution is critical.

Recommendations for museums outside New Zealand

"Museums in plural democracies, and particularly in former settler colonies, have a lot to learn from New Zealand" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 3). Otago Museum, and New

Zealand as a whole, offer many lessons for museums in the rest of the country and the world, particularly in countries affected by colonialism. These nations and regions often manifest with two or more dominant cultures, and typically the narrative authority (of a museum or otherwise) remains with the colonizing group.

In *Museums and Māori*, McCarthy (2011) notes that the cultural climate of New Zealand is unique, and has allowed for biculturalism to become best practices, whereas this may not be possible in other countries with other circumstances. However, McCarthy notes that museum professionals in other countries should keep some key points in mind when analyzing New Zealand museology:

1. The Treaty of Waitangi is a unique feature of New Zealand society, preserving Māori status as *tangata whenua*
2. New Zealand is a small centralized nation-state with a central government that has been instrumental in bringing about change in society
3. The history of Māori and *Pākehā* in New Zealand, and their constant interaction; the relatively large Māori population in such a small country has largely prevented Māori from being viewed as a minority

With these points in mind, other countries can more realistically approach their bicultural goals, with a comparison of their own society and that of New Zealand. Even as a nation with these unique traits, other countries are not barred from success, but will have more barriers than New Zealand. The above reasons are in large part why

biculturalism is able to manifest in the ways and to the degree it does, and will continue to play a role in the momentum of the movement in New Zealand.

In other countries that present with more than two main groups (Māori and *Pākehā*) might be able to employ a model to biculturalism, but with multiple cultures represented - a form of museum multiculturalism. Using the lessons of biculturalism could prove fruitful, and the model might be able to be adapted for countries or regions with greater mixes of different ancestries that Museums would want to represent.

Museums in other countries should also examine resources like *Museums and Māori*, and the reports, produced by Te Paerangi National Services, that set forth recommendations for New Zealand museums aspiring to be more bicultural. Taking the considerations McCarthy notes above in conjunction with these recommendations will provide ample groundwork for museums around the world to examine what bicultural changes might be possible in their local museums.

Conclusions

> "Ethnologist Janet Davidson agreed that museums were 'at the forefront of something important in our country'" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 100).

Museums reflect society and its local community back upon itself, responding to the needs of its visitors and stakeholders. Additionally, museums have the opportunity and perhaps the duty to reflect not only what they see in society but what they wish to see. The have the power to infuse positive and progressive change into society through

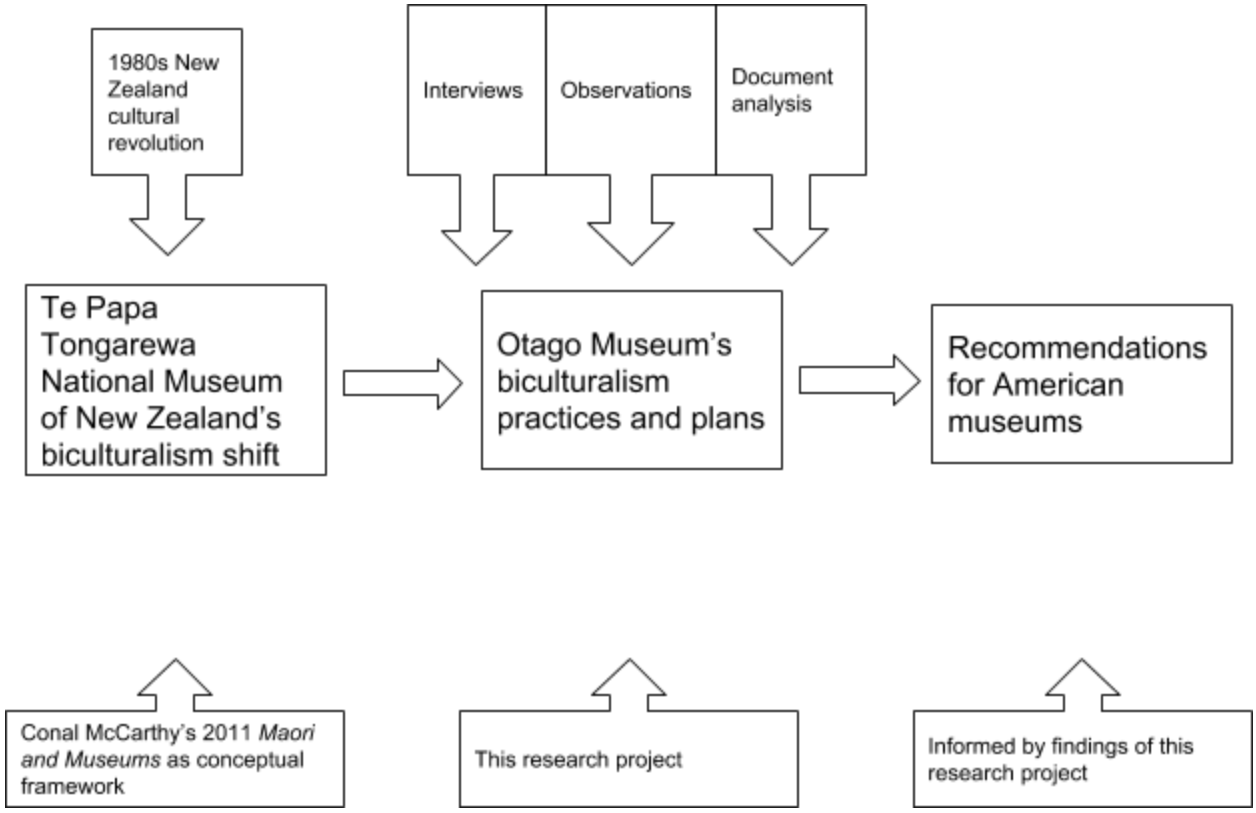
every way in which they have an opportunity to impart knowledge. Otago Museum is in a position to reflect the more progressive elements of New Zealand society, rather than the more conservative ones that are less invested in decolonizing the nation.

The future of this research will hopefully explore other museums both inside and outside New Zealand. Future scholarship will also include research the impact that an employee's heritage or status as Māori descendant has on their definition or commitment to biculturalism. Also important to know is how biculturalism manifests in smaller museums or tribal museums across the country, and compare to museums in Canada or other former colony countries with large indigenous populations.

Biculturalism represents best practices in New Zealand museology, and the future will require increasingly high degrees of biculturalism for museums to remain relevant and politically correct. Incorporating a bicultural ideal will help Otago Museum move forward into the future, and Otago Museum's Education Manager Kate Timms-Dean has one word for those who would debate the need for biculturalism: "Tough." Academics Richard Hill and Brigitte Bönish-Brednich view biculturalism as a "healthy debate" in the pursuit of "indigenous justice and cultural pluralism" (McCarthy, 2011, p. 9). Biculturalism seeks to decolonize the postcolonial paradigms of New Zealand society, fueled by societal changes and aided by the unique national social climate. Museums are "safe places to have unsafe conversations," as Director Ian Griffin said. Hopefully, Otago Museum can continue its bicultural journey, providing lessons for museums in the rest of New Zealand and the world.

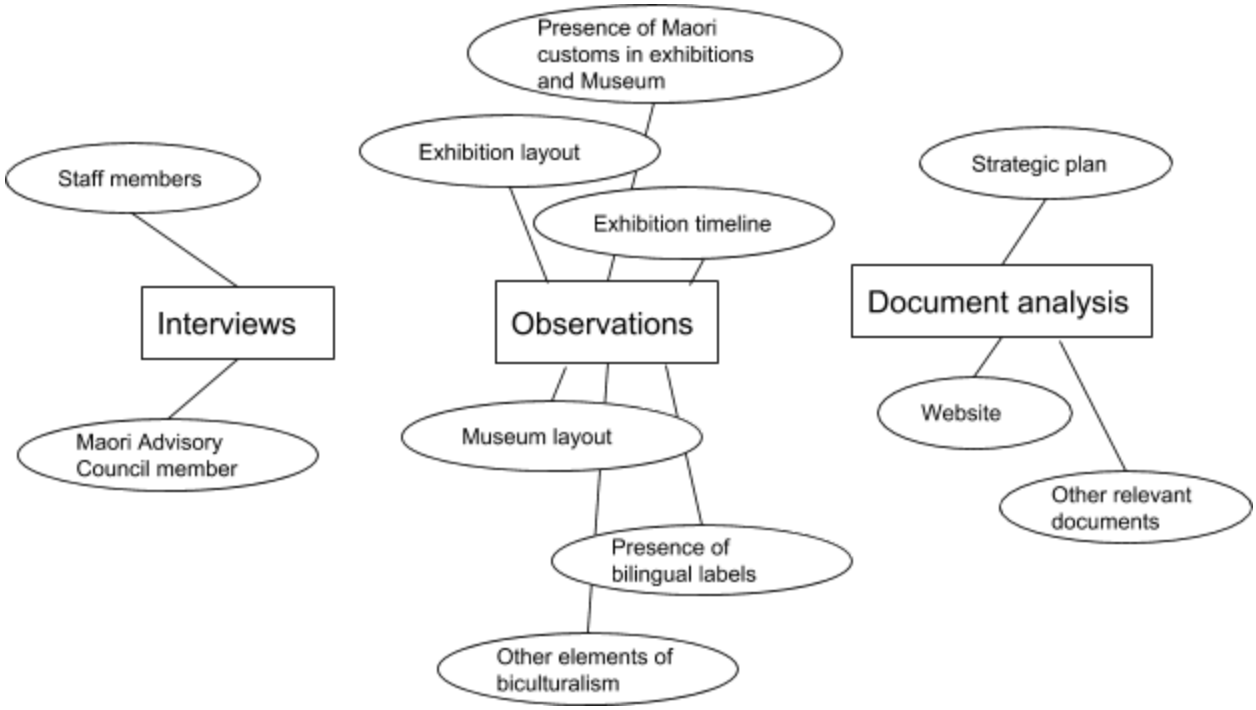
APPENDIX A

Conceptual framework schematic



APPENDIX B

Data collection schematic



APPENDIX C
Research instruments

Data Collection Sheet for Interviews

Interviews

Case Study:

Key Descriptor:

Date: *Interview Location:*

Interviewee Details:

Consent: ____ Oral ____ Written (form) ____ Audio Recording ____ OK to Quote

Notes on Interview Context:

Key Points:

CODING	*INFORMATION*	*NOTES*

Semi-Structured Interview Questions (subject to change according to each interviewee):

1. How do you personally interpret the term "biculturalism" as used in a museum setting?

2. How do you think Otago Museum interprets biculturalism?

3. What are the biculturalism goals of Otago Museum?

4. What are the ways in which you employ elements of biculturalism into your practice, including influencing the work of those you supervise?

Data Collection Sheet for Document Analysis

Case Study:
Key Descriptor:

Date: *Document Location:*

Document Type: ____ Report, Article, Book etc
____ Online Information ____ Notes ____ Other: _____

Reference Citation:

CODING NOTES	*INFORMATION*

Data Collection Sheet for Observations

Case Study:

Key Descriptor:

Date: *Activity Location:*

Activity: ____ Participant in Workshop, Panel, or Forum ____ Research Project ____Other: specify _____

Details:

CODING NOTES	*OBSERVATION*

APPENDIX D
Consent form

Research Protocol Number: _____
Biculturalism at Otago Museum: A Case Study
Avery Underwood, Principal Investigator
Arts and Administration Program
School of Planning, Public Policy and Management
University of Oregon

You are invited to participate in a research project titled *Biculturalism at Otago Museum: A Case Study,* conducted by Avery Underwood from the University of Oregon's Arts and Administration Program. The purpose of this study is to explore how biculturalism manifests or will manifest at Otago Museum.

There is a gap in the literature describing practices of incorporating biculturalism, especially at Otago Museum. To begin to address current and future biculturalism efforts at Otago Museum, this study aims to detail and better understand these efforts through interviews, observations, and document analysis.

You were selected to participate in this study because of your leadership position and/or involvement with biculturalism efforts with Otago Museum. If you decide to take part in this research project, you will be asked to participate in an in-person interview, lasting approximately one hour, in December 2017. In addition to taking handwritten notes, with your permission, I will use an audio recorder for transcription and validation purposes. You may also be asked to provide follow-up information through phone calls or email.

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study will be carefully and securely maintained. All research records will be stored on a password-protected computer, and hard copies of documents will be stored in a locked file cabinet. Audio recordings will be immediately downloaded to password-protected storage and erased from the audio device. Research records will be retained through completion of this research project for validation purposes and shortly past publication of the master's research project; research records will be destroyed one year after completion of the study. Only the principal investigator and the faculty research adviser will have access to these records.

There are minimal risks (loss of privacy and/or breach of confidentiality) associated with participating in this study. To maintain credibility of the research, I intend to identify participants and use quotes from participants in the final publication. Your consent to participate in this interview, as indicated below, demonstrates your willingness to have your name used in any resulting documents and publications and to relinquish confidentiality. You will have the opportunity, if you wish, to review and quotes and

paraphrasing of your statements prior to publication. It may be advisable to obtain permission to participate in this interview to avoid potential social or economic risks related to speaking as a representative of your institution. Your participation is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty.

I anticipate that the results of this research project will be of value to the cultural sector as a whole, especially in the Pacific Northwest region. However, I cannot guarantee that you personally will receive any benefits from this research.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at awu@uoregon.edu, or Dr. Patricia Lambert at pdewey@uoregon.edu. Any questions regarding your rights as a research participant should be directed to the Office for Research Compliance Services, University of Oregon, Eugene, OR 97403, (541) 346-2510.

Please read and initial the following statements to indicate your consent. Because interviewees differ in their wishes for information to be collected during the interview and in reviewing the information before publication, please specify your understandings and preferences in the list below:

_____ I understand that I will be identified as a participant in this research project.

_____ I consent to the use of note taking during my interview.

_____ I consent to the use of audio recording during my interview.

_____ I consent to the potential use of quotations from the interview.

_____ I consent to the use of information I provide regarding the organization with which I am associated.

_____ I wish to have the opportunity to review and possibly revise my comments and the information that

I provide prior to these data appearing in the final version of any publications that may result from this study. I understand that the principal investigator will send me by email a copy of all of the quotes and paraphrases that are directly attributable to me, and that I will have the opportunity to approve and/or revise these statements by a clearly defined deadline.

Your signature indicates that you have read and understand the information provided above, that you willingly agree to participate, that you may withdraw your consent at any

time and discontinue participation without penalty, that you have received a copy of this form, and that you are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies. You have been given a copy of this letter to keep.

Print Name: _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Thank you for your interest and participation in this study.

Sincerely,

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Glossary

Biculturalism
The practice of operating two equal museologies; two cultures operate equally in a museum, including decision making and authority

Iwi
Tribe, in Māori culture

Kāi Tahu
The indigenous tribe, or *iwi*, of most of the South Island of New Zealand, including the Otago precinct, in which Dunedin and Otago Museum are situated

Kaitiaki
Guardian, caretaker; in the case of museums, they are guardians of *taonga*

Kōiwi takata
Māori human remains

Mana
Power; authority

Mana taonga
The power or authority that rests with Māori *taonga*, or sacred objects

Māori
The indigenous people of New Zealand

Marae
Māori meeting house

Mātauranga Māori
Māori knowledge

Mauri
"Life force" in *te reo*

Mihi
Introduction, given in Māori, that tells the audience about the speaker, their family, and history; can be used to initiate a ceremony, event, official document, etc.

Taonga
Sacred objects of cultural significance to Māori; sometimes *taoka* depending on dialect

Tangata whenua
"People of the land" in *te reo*, referring to Māori people, also the Māori gallery of Otago Museum

Te reo
Māori language

Tikanga
Traditional Māori customs; the Māori way of doing things

Pākehā
Non-Māori New Zealanders; all migrants to the country that are not of Māori descent

Pō
Posts, central in *marae*; in the case of this research they are posts decorated with vinyls in Tūhura

Pounamu
Greenstone; sacred stone in Māori culture

Pōwhiri
Māori welcoming ceremony

Rangatiratanga
Power, sovereignty

Tangata Whenua
"People of the land," usually referring to Māori people, or in the case of this paper, the Māori gallery of Otago Museum as well

Tapu
"Sacred" or "spiritual restriction;" taboo; often used to refer to a practice restricted due to Māori spirituality

Waiata
Māori songs, performed in a customary greeting for large or ceremonial events, but the songs can serve other functions, such as laments or lullabies

Waka
Māori canoe, usually a large vessel used for war or travel

Whakapapa
Genealogy

Whānau
Family, often extended family, in Māori culture

Whenua
Land, in Māori

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