**‘Librarian myths and legends for Maori:
He kupu, He whakaaro, He waiata’**

by

Geraldine Tania Warren

Submitted to the School of Information Management,
Victoria University of Wellington
In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Library and Information Studies

October 2006

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
OF WELLINGTON LIBRARY

Acknowledgements

Nga mihi nui ki a Rowena Cullen mo tou Awhina, tou matauranga me te mohiotanga hoki..

Many thanks to my supervisor Rowena Cullen for her guidance, direction and patience through out this 580 project.

He korero aroha mo taku mama ko Ripeka Tuhoro. He manu whai rauemi i rere atu ki te Atua i te rangi. Ko tona hiahia ka kitea te kanohi o te Matua, a, ka koroki ki a Ihu.

For Mum.

Contents

Introduction	3
Traditional Guardians of Knowledge	5
Modern Guardians of Knowledge	6
Description of the Research	10
The Treaty of Waitangi	11
Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi	13
Biculturalism	16
Educational Models	18
Public Service Models	27
Library Literature on Biculturalism	29
Maori expectations of Public libraries	34
Te Ara Tika	36
Library Models	37
Building a concept for Maori information workers: A model	42
Conclusion: Why libraries are not successful in the Maori World	45
Te Manu Whai Rauemi	48
Bibliography	51

Introduction

Library Management in libraries that profess commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi principles and biculturalism strive to acknowledge the uniqueness of both *Maori* and *Pakeha*, and their individual and group identities. Libraries strive to engage with “fundamentally distinct and competing ethnic conceptions of right and wrong” (Sharp 1990, 23). Therefore the importance of a nation-wide and integrated professional statement and policy about providing bi-cultural services cannot be overlooked. Information institutions have the responsibility of seeking and implementing policies and practices that ‘recognize differences and injustices’ (Sharp 1990).

This essay’s purpose is to consider the direction and leadership *Te Ropu Whakahau*, the Maori Library and Information Workers Association, Library Institutions and individuals can give to the complex issues facing contemporary librarians in the ongoing survival of Maori as Maori and the selection, maintenance and dissemination of Maori information resources. Maori Library and Information Workers and *Te Ropu Whakahau* must engage as a collective in contemporary society to state cultural paradigms for Maori and build appropriate Management Policies for Maori information resources within library institutions.

One definition given for culture is; *the total range of activities and ideas of a group of people with shared traditions, which are transmitted and reinforced by members of the group* (Collins English Dictionary, 1986).

The activation and validation of *Matauranga Maori* (Maori information) and its use in the traditions and rituals of Maori people within library institutions challenge Eurocentric practices and methodologies that ignore the life force of

Maori. As the creating peoples, Maori demand ownership, authentication and control of their culture, in order to remain a dynamic and diverse community. The use of Maori as an ethnic identification or as cultural affiliation marker, are contested in New Zealand under the guise of multi-racial concerns as evident in a 2006 newspaper article.

Maori are a diluted race who have intermarried until few, if any remain full-blooded, says National leader Don Brash. He says Maori are different from other indigenous people around the world and also labeled judges as "out of touch" with the rest of New Zealand over their left-wing views on the Treaty of Waitangi (Fisher, 2006).

This ignores the substance of culture and seems to apply eugenic standards of racial impurity and decline upon Maori. Political posturing in exploiting majority population fears about positive discrimination to indigenous groups has the potential to deny indigenous people the ability to adapt and continue. Maori are considered a problem in New Zealand, in statistics this problem is seen to be distinct and clear for Childcare (Child, Youth and Family, 2001) Housing (Statistics New Zealand) Health, Education, Employment, (Te Puni Kokiri, 2000) and Crime (Ministry of Justice, 2000).

Why are Maori considered to be such a problem? Early New Zealand history from 1800 reveals that Maori welcomed other cultures and technological advancement. Maori willingly embraced European ideas and markets, yet became demoralised and marginalised.

It is the premise of this essay that Government departments, public institutions and mainstream public opinion have smothered Maori in an embrace of disapproval and shame by seeking to apply European cultural values. There is also the charge of 'appropriation of libraries by the white

middleclass' and the struggle to accommodate the diverse ethnic communities, the youth, the aged, migrants and the illiterate. Therefore the task falls to Maori Information workers, to stand strong like *Tane Mahuta* and help push away the weight of disdain and paternalism, to self-determine Maori pride and accomplishment in Aotearoa. Tasks such as the redistribution of power and resources, the creation, collection and ownership (past or present) of iwi intellectual property are still to be resolved.

Traditional Guardians of Knowledge.

The time is long past, when the heirlooms and the treasures of Maori culture can be hidden in the memories of a fond few or in laboriously compiled manuscripts dedicated to descendants, who may never prize them (Ngata 1943, 5).

Maori oral tradition locates *matauranga* (knowledge) as a treasure that must be wrestled from the ancestral owners. Knowledge as a *taonga* was only passed from an elder to a worthy candidate so the gift was not bestowed on the inept. It was the older generation who were the first teachers of the young and the parents the production units in traditional society. As children belonged to the whanau, childcare and education were an integral part of the connection between the very young and the old. Children were immersed in an environment where they learnt easily through constant repetition; and were indoctrinated daily in hapu identity. Respect for Kaumatua and their knowledge being imparted was gleaned from the daily ritual and observance of mana, tapu and noa.

Oral tradition recalls that Maui had to work hard to deceive his ancestress Muriranga Whenua to gift her jawbone of enchantment and knowledge to him.

As she declined, a dying Muriranga Whenua told *Maui* that it had been reserved for him. Another *Maui* account recalls him stealing knowledge from his ancestress *Mahuika* for the art of fire making; it is clear that Elders were considered to hold the knowledge essential to life and occasionally it must be taken.

Information had to be searched for, its attainment was difficult and once given, the donor's authority would diminish. The transmission of knowledge was vital to the well being of the group therefore, the education of each member of the hapu had specific functions. Pertinent to further education in a *Whare Wananga* were the concepts of strict attention to detail and an intolerance of any deviation or errors. Students of these schools were chosen specifically by elders for showing early characteristics of focus, concentration and the ability to recall information. This was to ensure that knowledge survived intact, so that the technology and skill accumulated by previous generations would continue to nurture their descendants.

The respect shown for knowledge was to protect the mentor and pupil from the wrath of the deity who protected its domain from abuse and carelessness

Modern Guardians of Knowledge

**He aha te mea nui o te ao?
Maaku e kii atu,
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata!
What is of the utmost importance in the world?
I will reply,
It is people, it is people, it is people!**

This traditional Maori proverb speaks of the utmost importance of people.

Resources and information are created by and for people, to be used wisely

and with respect to the contributors, without people it is just words, just myths and legends.

It is suggested that the traditional responsibility of guardians or disseminators of *Matauranga Maori* is a role for Maori information and library workers, within library institutions.

As guardians of *Matauranga Maori*, it must be discovered how to provide a library service appropriate for the wants and needs of tangata whenua, where the fundamentals of *whakapapa* and *kaitiakitanga* underline the ownership, purpose and use of information resources.

The acceptance of Christianity and literacy ushered in significant changes in traditional Maori society. Traditional values were not lost in the persistent drive to assimilate Maori into Pakeha society, because the Europeansation of traditional Maori forms did not alter the non-material attributes of Maori customs and rituals (Yoon 1986). There are still differences between Pakeha practices and European influenced Maori practices. Maori reshaped Pakeha customs to accommodate traditional Maori values.

Ngata (Walker 2001) was adamant that education had to be modified for Maori requirements. It not proposed that only a selected few hold the knowledge and information; as Ngata (1943) foresaw *Matauranga Maori* must emerge not retreat.

Caretakers of Maori resources are accountable to the various stakeholders of Library institution, the local council, the communities, Maori patrons and the local iwi. This places a heavy responsibility on Maori-dedicated position holders for consultation and the validity of Maori information and resources.

Library Institutions have the challenge of having to justify their relevancy, funding and falling user numbers to their Territorial Local Authority. However, library management imperatives to increase the statistical percentages of Maori library users are not in accordance with Maori values. According to Maori custom of reciprocity there is a requirement from those who use information institutions to be *tika* or 'appropriate' for the enquiry; to respect and demonstrate a right to the resources. It is pragmatic for hapu or families doing research to appoint such researcher/s' who will then disseminate their finding to the collective. This cultural norm of *kanohi ki te kanohi* or face to face, is still a favoured information channel at *Wananga*; upon *marae* and at *hui*. It is an investment in relationship building and time management.

The impetus for higher numbers appears to ignore the parameters of Maori information seeking; those of selection and dedication. Some traditional attributes of Maturanga Maori could be considered for shaping Maori reference collections in public libraries, two of these qualities being; a informative resource whose attainment is valued; and the guardianship of a *taonga*.

Heritage collections require conservation standards for materials and intellectual property debates are activated by the use of traditional Maori knowledge. It is a difficult task to shape and build collections that protect and preserve information resources without becoming gatekeepers.

Iwi have frequently shown their eagerness to engage with new technology, be it literacy, guns or horticulture. Emerging technologies and their application for indigenous cultures, such as the World Wide Web, electronic access and wireless technology bear investigation.

A survey respondent in *'The Customers Voice II; another quest. Improvement of services to Māori at Auckland City Libraries* states; **"I feel hoha asking for help when there's not enough"**. Therefore, if Māori are not eager to interact with staff but willing to use technology, then R.F.I.D. technology may well provide a seamless interaction.

Radio frequency identification (RFID) amalgamates radio-frequency technology, with transmission through walls and materials; and microchip technology. The result is a computer chip with a small radio antenna, the tag transfers data via radio waves to a reader database, in real time. Information about the item is stored on the tag which a Reader will scan for identity and status. Library items are scanned out of the Library Management system, without the need to present library cards or approach staff, and promise an unobtrusive library services to patrons. However the technology is still developing standards of performance, reliability and convenience.

Singapore Libraries replaced their limited Library Management System with first generation RFID technology. Political leaders linked economical and information development, and allocated \$1 billion for a Library System to educate and expand learning for its population in its four official languages; English, Mandarin, Malay and Tamil.

Description of the Research

Definitions and models of biculturalism are discussed and compared to those demonstrated in the policies and practices implemented in Maori Collections.

The issues to be explored are:

- a) The Treaty of Waitangi
- b) Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi
- c) Biculturalism
- d) Education Models
- e) Public Service Models
- f) Maori Patrons expectations of Libraries
- g) Library literature on Biculturalism
- h) Library Models
- i) Te Ara Tika

The Treaty of Waitangi

It is beyond the scope of this essay to debate the various interpretations of the two treaty texts, or to document the historical motivations of either the Crown or Maori. This is an acknowledgement of the *mana* widely applied by Maori to the status of the treaty, and the resistance by the majority of non-Maori New Zealanders to its authority.

The Treaty of Waitangi is not part of New Zealand domestic law (Burrows 2003), a fact that is not understood by many (Maori). For the Maori signatories, it signified an enduring covenant to establish a duality and dichotomy between two nations, the British and the Maori. This duality is evident in the two texts of the Treaty, the Maori version and the English version. The two texts are not precise translations. The interpretations by the Missionary Henry Williams, for the Maori text of the treaty are problematic. The word *kawanatanga*, a transliteration used for governorship and not the Maori word 'mana' is used to interpret the concept of yielding sovereignty in Article 1. In Article II, the granting of *Te Tino Rangatiratanga* or full sovereignty is translated as chieftainship in the English text. For *iwi* in New Zealand, the Treaty of Waitangi has the status of the Magna Carta, yet its 'precise legal status' is still uncertain and it is not constitutional (Burrows 2003).

For the British Crown, it was an obligation to advance socially and economically the excess migrating British population to New Zealand; and offer British protection to native peoples. The use of a treaty was necessary because Great Britain had recognised the *1835 Declaration of Independence*,

which acknowledged Northern Chiefs as having sovereignty over their people and lands.

A treaty is a formal agreement between nations, concerning cessation of hostilities, trade, human rights etc (NZ Oxford Dictionary 1997). Therefore a contract between two independent nations was negotiated, but neither nation passed this treaty into their domestic law.

This allowed the British Crown and the successive provincial governments in New Zealand, to disregard the Treaty of Waitangi on the application of native rights. The institutions of government which promised to protect Maori interests ensured that Maori lacked Parliamentary representation until 1868. The process of disintegration began with cultural demoralisation, the collapse of customary laws exacerbated by lack of immunity to European diseases (King 1977).

Sharp (1990) comments that although the treaty was not law in statute; the treaty was still morally binding and the rights remain. Therefore the process of alienation is still current for Maori who have not embraced the notion of belonging to the state (Vasil 1990).

The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 established the Waitangi Tribunal, so that claims could be heard for Crown breaches of the Treaty. New Zealand domestic law now makes express reference to the Treaty; however Treaty rights are not affirmed in a constitution. However, this treaty which is not part of New Zealand law has come to be considered the founding national document of New Zealand (Burrows 2003).

This has led to demands for the treaty to be ratified into New Zealand domestic law or for a separate Maori Parliament with the power to pass legislation to be established.

Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

Palmer & Palmer (1997) quote the Waitangi Tribunal Report (1983) which describes the Treaty as “the foundation of a developing social contract”. The reconciling and balancing of interests between Maori and the Crown with its two differing Treaty texts has been given the framework of Treaty Principles. These principles are used to further interpret the intent and application of abstract concepts in promising to safeguard Maori interests and the general interests of the Crown. It is the Treaty Principles that are applied into legislative reference.

The Principles to the Treaty of Waitangi were conceived by Government and not Maori, irrespective of the fact that Maori will not consider the *Treaty of Waitangi* from a Pakeha or State department perspective (Vasil 1990). The enduring goal for Maori is an interpretation and understanding of the treaty by *iwi* for *iwi*.

It has been suggested that Maori aspirations became an impediment to the Labour Government 1989 and their economic goals, thus Geoffrey Palmer appropriated the decision making process on Maori policies (Vasil 1990).

The Labour Government of 1989 introduced five principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, to implement a framework for developing social, economic, political and cultural contact. The five principles attempt to apply Treaty articles to contemporary self-governing concepts for *iwi*, whilst interacting with

Government departments. They are the Principle of Government; the Principle of Self- Management; the Principle of Equality; the Principle of Reasonable Co-operation; and the Principle of Redress.

However it is with typical bureaucracy, that each individual Government department then attempts to interpret and design for Maori their (State) 'treaty principles' and their 'bicultural policy'

Three further principles of the Treaty of Waitangi are identified by the Courts and the Waitangi Tribunal. These are the principle of partnership – the duty to make informed decisions, the principle of active protection, and the principle of redress.

Waitangi Tribunal Treaty Principles.

<http://www.tpk.govt.nz/news/presentations/tehauparongo/treatypresentation/tsld001.htm>

The principle of partnership

- Derived from the principles of reciprocity and of mutual benefit.
- Includes the obligation on both parties to act reasonably, honourably and in good faith.
- Emphasises the need for recognition, respect, accountability, compromise, and a balancing of interests.

The duty to make informed decisions

- Emphasises the value and utility of consultation in upholding and strengthening the Treaty partnership
- Consultation required on matters that infringe on tino rangatiratanga.
- The degree and type of consultation required in a given instance may vary depending on what is needed for the Crown to make an informed decision.
- Consultation process should take into account Maori preferences.

The principle of active protection

- Located in the fundamental exchange recorded in the Treaty – the cession of sovereignty for the guarantee of tino rangatiratanga.
- Broad interpretation arising from the entire text of the Treaty
- a duty to protect Maori as a people and as individuals, in addition to their property
- Crown's duty to actively protect tino rangatiratanga and Maori capacity to retain tribal authority over tribal affairs and to live according to their cultural preference.
- Crown cannot avoid its duty by delegating its responsibility to local authorities or other bodies.

The principle of redress

- Redress needs to restore the honour of the Crown, and the mana and status of Maori (including, where necessary, their economic base)
- Different forms of redress acknowledge different forms of wrongdoing.
- Must balance Maori concerns with those of the wider community in considering appropriate remedy.
- Includes a Crown commitment to honour Treaty principles in the future.

These have evolved as the Tribunal decisions on Treaty claims have set precedents that are applied. The two core principles of 'partnership' and 'active protection' are directly applicable to the struggle to retain a Maori identity. However, these are not a manifestation of Maori thought.

Mathew Palmer (2001) argues that '*context is more important than text*', and that all references to the Treaty of Waitangi in legislation should have specific policy, which clearly outlines its application. Palmer further argues that the Treaty of Waitangi must be brought back from a legal vacuum into the arena of political consideration from all interested parties.

Maori must surely have the right to continue to live as Maori. . . So safeguarding language, culture, and traditional connections to the land of the tangata whenua are important (Palmer and Palmer 1997, 335).

Vasil (1990) challenges the principles of Treaty principles and argues that treaty principles safeguard Pakeha dominance because Maori interests are still subservient to the national good. The Treaty Principles allocate Maori a reasonable place in New Zealand society as devised by the Courts, the Waitangi Tribunal and the Crown.

The Partnership Principle itself does not include Maori Governance and control over its own destiny, nor is it a nationwide Maori consensus of requirements. The Principles of the Treaty are offered with the 'best of intentions', but may well be considered the Paternalistic Principles, where

Maori lack input into governance but are given the responsibility of its management.

Biculturalism

Biculturalism in libraries could be defined as a developing and ongoing social contract between Maori and the institutions of New Zealand, which is quite distinct from *Tino Rangatiratanga*, or “the advancement of Maori as Maori” (Durie 1997).

New Zealand society is defined by a culture of insistent invisibility that descends from Great Britain, a culture that rejects the notion of having an ethnicity (Spoonley 1988). Therefore this culture does not examine how its political power, practices and customs became the standard of the Government, the legal system, the institutions and the majority population. It is all other peoples who are peculiar. The power of public policy to eliminate the identity, culture and language of Maori was not considered unethical as Maori were regarded by Europeans as meaningless and their treatment by colonial rulers was thought benevolent for the times (Vasil 1990).

Maori tribes isolated from other peoples had no comprehension of race and culture, so were naïve when interacting with British peoples who had a racial hierarchy with the British directly under God (King 1977). The terms *Maori* and *Pakeha* were conceived from the early contacts between the Eastern Polynesian peoples of New Zealand to the eighteenth century British and European arrivals. Such confidence in the British racial and technological superiority empowered European authority over the indigenous people (King 1977).

The term *maori* which means ordinary, is a response to a different dynamic as *Maori* defined their political power, practices and customs as the norm.

Pakeha was a term given to the extra-ordinary and the unusual peoples, whilst there are contested translations, the *Pakepakeha* the fair skinned people, has a strong case.

While *Pakeha* ethnicity is unique in British colonist terms, it shares traits common to Pacific cultures. *Pakeha* culture has an English/Maori language dialect, a Pacific history, a shared history of interaction and adaptation with the indigenous culture and other Pacific Nations. *Pakeha* is an ethnic identification marker, similar to that of the term *Maori*; however Sharp (1990) cautions that it is problematic applying a Maori term to a non-Maori application. Sharp believes that it is *Pakeha* who must name and identify themselves.

The Treaty of Waitangi 1840 is applied by Maori to demand that government and institutions consider the bicultural requirements of Maori as unique and valid in mainstream New Zealand, irrespective of the constant debates on the treaty and its role as a constitutional document.

The two founding cultures of the nation of New Zealand are *Pakeha* and *Maori*, that both have distinctive identities, languages and heritages (Vasil and Yoon, 1995). The Hobson quote "One-people, one nation", placed Maori in the position of being a problem, the 'other' people who sought to retain tribal coherence to become a Maori nation, within the auspices of the British Empire. Maori were to become continually frustrated over loss of power and authority (Vasil 1990) as their right to self determination was deemed to have been extinguished by the Crown.

It is contended that members of each 'ethnie' can identify themselves as Maori or Pakeha, and can find some meaning in this identification (Sharp 1990). The distinct cultures of Maori and Pakeha exist only in New Zealand evolving (until recently) in response to each other in relative isolation from outside cultures and influences. Pakeha hold the dominant position in status and population, with control in government and the economy (Vasil 1990), while Maori demand recognition and equal sharing of their rights to this privilege.

Educational Models

Traditional Knowledge Systems

Two thousand years before the Europeans realized the world was round and could be sailed upon without falling off the edge, the Polynesian voyaging ancestors had discovered and settled the Pacific (Walker 1990).

Sailing down from island Southeast Asia, moving through Micronesia and Melanesia and evolving into the Lapita Culture, the Polynesian ancestors developed a maritime and navigational technology to transport their portable trade economy.

Unfortunately for the ancestors of the Maori most of their tropical cultigens, (coconut, breadfruit, and banana) could not survive in temperate Aotearoa. Other food sources, such as pig and chicken were not introduced, according to Davidson (1984) this suggests just one way voyaging to Aotearoa, with waka being unable to return to the homeland to replenish deficiencies.

Consequently, the foodstuffs, technology and knowledge that did survive were precious. Maori developed independently and uniquely. Life was challenging; back breaking labour wore down the body and shortened the life span. Their naiveté in an unknown ecology evolved painfully through experiences of deforestation, extinction of moa and extirpation of seals. (Davidson 1984). Conservation and care were enshrined within Karakia, Korero and Waiata teaching the essentials of tapu and noa.

Waiata

Both recited and sung *waiata* include relationships and connection to Hawaiiki, waka migrations, the ancestors, iwi and hapu. *Waiata* contain the social graces and polish that Elders taught to the young within their hapu. It is the older generation who are the first teachers of the young and the parents are the production units in traditional society. It was also a pragmatic solution for elders unable to provide manual labour for the hapu and freed adults with children from childcare.

According to Orbell (1975) there was no distinction between life and art.

These are true to life songs, structured to organize social interaction.

Construction of original compositions by individuals borrowed heavily from established songs. If the melody and words were particularly pleasing then the song would be adapted to suit another person's needs and thus would become their composition. This occurred because *Waiata* are "composed of formulas and formulaic expressions" (McLean 1996). The usage of passages from earlier songs endowed the new Waiata with mana. Examples of these in European fairytales would be "Once upon a time, in a land far far away".

Recited styles are public utterances, the rituals of encounter. They are indicators and displays of hapu consensus. These include warfare, challenge, displays of hate and revenge, confrontation, forms of protest and *whakapapa*. The musical structure of recited styles musical structures are melody less and are without line organisation. They are prose, i.e. like speaking but have rhythmic unison (Mclean1996). They include dancing, body movements and actions; recited styles are concentrated energy. Songs with just gestures such as *paatere* have long flowing sentences, whereas the Haka has abrupt harsh sentences and emphatic vocals and repetition of the sentences with partial variation (Mclean1996).

Ngata states that groups composed songs but just accorded one person the honour. (Mclean1996). As songs were requested by a person to answer personal circumstances in their life, that person would then be named in the *whakapapa* to the song.

Sung styles are communication between people, entertainment, and forms of complaint and revenge. They are personal and contemplative. The language is highly specialized; it is a concise condensed style of speech and almost incomprehensible due to its ambiguity. It has a deliberate ceremonial style, characterized by lyrical elocution and elaborate language. Sentences finish with a stylised sound (Mclean1996).

These are expressions of recurring images, ideas and similarities, that are composed of ready-made phrases available for general use. Sung types contain new words, puns, and double metaphors. Some early Ethnologists found it confusing that they identify the object of their song once only and thereafter use indirect references (Mclean1996).

For young children instructed in Waiata, lessons were of an informal nature. In the evenings, elders refreshed their repertoire of Waiata as entertainment and education in the *whare nui*. Children were immersed in an environment where they could learn easily through constant repetition. It also indoctrinated them daily in *hapu* and *iwi* identity.

Social interaction and communal memories are important components of *Waiata*. They invoke feelings of *hapu* unity, nostalgia, hope, anguish and triumph. Young people would gather in the evening to make connections, to fall in love and make friends. Usually the *Haka* was the preferred medium of entertainment. A significant part of the courtship ritual was the grace and skill shown during the performance. Competition for prospective mates encouraged expertise and further education in the arts (McLean 1996).

Waiata provides the *kinaki* to a speech '*the act of singing the Waiata is important*' (Tauroa, 1989). The act of supportive singing is also significant as a demonstration of support for the words of an orator and a display of unity. The delivery of a Waiata shows the quality of scholarship and education the orator had. Governor Grey commented on the ability of speakers who could recite appropriate Waiata into their *whaikorero*. Waiata were shown off, so that the speaker could cover himself and his *hapu* with *mana* to attract admiration and attention.

Waiata are a method of instruction and mnemonic aid that enabled the student to recall memories from the past and thus walk into the future facing the past. Waiata are the means to collapse time and space, to connect to the ancestors. They were also used to context lives, which contained warfare and

attack from hostile iwi. As well, they provided a pathway to acceptance of their great trials and tribulations.

Apirana Ngata states within *Nga Moteatea Part One* (1928) that *Waiata Moteatea* are classics, *Literature suitable as text books for students in the language*. Ngata had become apprehensive about the loss of *Te Reo* and *Waiata* and had collected and collated songs from all over New Zealand.

The revival of *Te Reo Maori* by *Kaumtua* from the Maori initiative group “Hui Whakatauiria” occurred after the 1972 Benton report. They believed *Te Reo Maori* would be extinct within 40 years as the fluent speakers were passing away and the next generation of Maori was non-Maori speakers. In 1982, the first Te Kohanga Reo for children 0-5 years was established in Wainuiomata, Wellington. In 1983 there were 107 Te Kohanga Reo, in 1992 there were 600, and there are now thousands. Te Kura Kaupapa Maori which is the primary school level continues the pedagogy of Te Kohanga Reo.

For Maori, children are the living link between the past and the future.

Reflected in Kohanga Reo is the relationship between young and old, as the last remaining fluent speakers of Maori are the older generation who are passing on the taonga of the tipuna. Ensuring their success are the non-Maori speaking parents who want a Maori culture for their children. The parents provide the muscle for cleaning, childcare and fundraising which enables the nannies to concentrate on teaching Te Reo.

Maori parents' support of their children in the *Kohanga Reo* setting has moved many to learn Te Reo and to venture back into the State education system that considers them failures.

Educational Models: Missionaries and Christianity

The direction of Maori education and literacy has been from the guidance of the dominant culture, therefore the literature on Maori education ignores traditional Maori practices (Hemara 2000).

With the C19th arrival of British Missionaries, arrived the “common sense” notions of Great Britain as the apex of hierarchical civilization and Maori as the inferior race of “Noble Savages”. British Missionaries believed in the inseparable *Civilize and Christianize* (Simon 1998). The Missionaries sought a familiar European Christian Society of schooling for the reading of the Bible and the redemption of sins. The traditional education sources of Maori were to be belittled and ignored, the Missionaries insinuated that *Matauranga Maori* was inferior and deficient (Jenkins 1993). The missionaries introduced literacy in the Maori Language to prepare the way for the gospel, the future colonisation and assimilation of Maori and the alienation of Maori land. In 1827 Williams of the Church Missionary Society completed the Maori translation of the Gospel, and imported printed religious material from Australia. In 1830 the Church Missionary Society had their own printing press within New Zealand and turned out thousand of items of religious material. (Simon1998).

Iwi acquired literacy easily within their *kainga*. The British Trader William Brown asserts that Maori learnt to read within a few weeks. Bishop Pompalier noted that Maori could read within three months, as they would persevere endlessly with slates in hand. Maori eagerly taught other Maori, thus spreading literacy and the Gospel. In the 1840s -1850s Maori became proficient letter writers to one another. Many wrote to Governor Grey expressing their concerns (Simon 1998).

Iwi came to trust Missionaries, literacy and the Bible, the power of the spoken word was transferred to that of the written word. The *Treaty of Waitangi* was translated by the missionary Henry Williams, and copies taken by other missionaries through out the country for signing by iwi, the treaty was given the status of a 'sacred covenant'.

In 1847, the Education Ordinance Act passed by Governor Grey provided subsidies to Missionary schools, provided they taught in English. The rest of the curriculum consisted of religion and industrial training. The schools were to be inspected annually by Government Inspectors, and they were to remove young Maori pupils from the influence of the Kainga. This was the beginning of the Maori Boarding Schools and the decline of Te Reo. Their agenda was to obliterate the Maori Language and lessen Maori resistance to their will; as well as to encourage the belief in British supremacy. Tribes acquired a cultural sense of indebtedness; they owed Missionaries for their education (Jenkins1993).

Slaves with literacy and able to conduct classes, attained more mana than chiefs and tohunga, which broke down the social order of tapu and noa. In the effort for literacy Maori neglected many traditional ways of learning and knowledge bases, many of which were never recovered (Simon 1998).

Maori wanted to become skilled and proficient at acquiring knowledge in the Pakeha manner so that their tribe could deal with Pakeha and their new technology (Barrington & Beaglehole 1974). Iwi had become conscious of the new unknown world around them and wanted the means to gain prosperity. Learning English became a priority and Maori were irate that Missionaries sought to control their access to knowledge.

The lack of access to secular literature had ominous political implications, as Maori assumed that literacy and the Bible were essential to access God and that religious ritual was the source of European power (Haami 2004). The establishment of British Law and its bureaucracy of jurisdiction, rules, regulations and documentation transferred the political control from Maori collectives to British courts. The Native Land Court required documentation of oral history, *whakapapa* and tribal histories to invest native title to individuals, which could be transferred easily. The written form was given precedence over the spoken word as documentation was considered binding and oral forms were not.

Early Ethnologists within New Zealand rushed to record the history of the Maori before they all died out. Contributors were either paid by the page or for a full manuscript for their word, these manuscripts were then rewritten and homogenised to suit European notions of a pan-tribal ancient history with a continuous time line.

This was to produce in Maori a disdain of Literacy, Law, European authors and European institutions that remains to this day.

Educational Models: Kaupapa Maori: Community action approach

Research is not an innocent or distant academic exercise, but an activity that has something at stake and that occurs in a set of political and social conditions. (Smith 1999, 5)

Smith, (1999) offers education models with Maori as both the researcher and the researched. Tribal Research is the generic form used for describing different indigenous organizations. The process is far more important than the outcomes. Processes must be respectful, enabling education that moves towards self-determination and the inclusion of *Kaumtua* mentorship from the researcher's own community is considered utmost. The issues of respect and reciprocity must be negotiated with truth and trust, enabling the connection back to self identity.

Maori have several ways of identifying an indigenous community. This can be by naming the tribal ancestor, mountain, river, tribe and family; thus locating oneself geographically and politically.

Smith asserts that it can be assumed that people know and reflect on their own lives; that it is from this perspective that the questions, priorities, skills and sensitivities which can help or hinder community based projects must arise.

Public Service Models

Mason Durie places the debate around the Treaty of Waitangi, as a legal argument that succeeding Governments constantly try to put into the political realm, and asserts that Government is ill prepared for Maori legal action.

This argument is the polar opposite of Mathew Palmer's argument that the Treaty of Waitangi principles must be politically debated. The consequence for Maori is the willingness of Government to pass legislation blocking their Treaty claims.

Durie uses three principles to guide *tinio rangatiratanga* in a modern society, Nga Matatini Maori (Maori diversity); Whakakotahi (Maori unity) and Mana Motuhake (Maori autonomy and control).

Rangatiratanga has four fundamental foundations, mana wairua (spiritual dimension), mana whenua (tribal authority and connections to landmarks), mana tangata (self reliance and civil rights) and mana ariki (tribal leadership). The aims are to safeguard Maori interests within the national and global political realities; Ensure Maori have the right to continue their language, culture and traditional connections to the land; and the recognition that the safeguarding of Maori interest is strongest when directly connected to the continuation of Maori identity.

Durie (1997) notes that Maori ignore the real issue of governance whilst preoccupied with input into decision making. The rules of Justice, which are not the rules of Law, are founded in distinction; and ethnic assimilation is successful because of apathy (Sharp 1990). Maori lack the population numbers in a democratic 'majority rules' to demand and protect their minority

status as *Tangata Whenua*. In order for Justice to occur, differences must be explicit because action is then demanded

Durie (1998) perceives a lack of uniformity and consensus within government institutions in defining biculturalism. Two broad themes have emerged; the recognition of culture and tradition for Maori and Pakeha; and the redistribution of resources to Maori. These biculturalism parameters range from the inclusion of Maori philosophy and principles in institutions, to the development of unique Maori institutions. However, Durie (1998) is cautious about institutional appropriation and the difficulty of equally merging the needs of the relevant profession and those of Maori.

Library Literature on Biculturalism

A review of the library collection management literature illustrates that the library profession had identified the need to contribute to literature and thus influence collection development policy for meeting the information requirements of Maori.

In 1979 Stephen Murphy trumpeted about "Maori Language Week" in *Maoritanga at Paraparaumu Public Library*. Maori are identified as a Special Needs Group that has failed to make it in the Pakeha world. Murphy describes how he arranged for the outside Maori community to pay for the resources used to give the library a bi-cultural ethos, because "...while it is desirable to meet the needs of groups of people in the community with special needs, it should not and need not, be at the expense of the majority of regular library users..."

McRae (1983) lamented the library institutions ignorance of Maori methods of documentation and the absence of programs for the preservation of traditional knowledge. McRae insisted on the need for indigenous perspectives in the acquisition and delivery of collection material, to ensure that Maori worldviews and opinions are valued and part of the public record.

Carroll (1984) suggested that library institutions develop appropriate collections that recognize and support other cultures with services relevant to the community. The role of libraries in preserving and disseminating cultural values is emphasized, and non-Maori within the library profession are calling for cultural sensitivity.

Hemara (1984) has suggested that public libraries in New Zealand should reframe themselves as alternative social places for Maori that strive for

positive literacy and information outcomes, where the importance and role of family, friends and workmates is included.

Irwin and Katene (1988) interviewed twelve Maori participants at two Maori language meetings, they concluded that many Maori do not trust libraries or the knowledge that is gathered and stored within these institutions. Most interviewees preferred their own oral enquiries of primary sources, that is, they would rather talk directly with their kaumatua. Many non-Maori authors of books on *iwi* and *Matauranga Maori* did not have *mana* or prestige, the materials were considered a farce of Maori tradition which were blatantly rewritten and adjusted and represented as authentic by European authors. McRae (1989) further suggests that even with the best intentions of libraries, Maori oral tradition and its use are ignored by libraries. The power of the printed word is the mainstay of western educational institutions, thus transforming Maori people, traditions and customs into a voiceless manuscript.

Parekowhai (1990) was annoyed that Maori issues do not become part of the Professional library agenda. Parekowhai ponders if this because Maori librarians are not voicing their concerns internally and to the wider professional world. Parekowhai invites librarians to *Meet my Koro*, through a print copy of her ancestor she borrowed from the Auckland Public library. It is her contention, that it is Maori who have lent Maori resources for libraries to borrow. The heart of her article regrets the lack of oral sources, the lost stories and history that are not included in the non-Maori custodianship of materials, the loss of connection to whakapapa and people.

Grace (McDonald 1993) defines biculturalism in libraries as *an organizational strategy based on the spirit and intent of the Treaty of Waitangi*. This strategy involves adapting Western institutions to Maori and the inclusion of Maori ideals and philosophy into the library management structure for power-sharing and the purging of mono-culturalism. There are four development stages in this bicultural strategy; Building a knowledge base of both *Maori* and *Pakeha* history and experiences; Assessing the present state of the library organization; Establishing the principles of a new organization that embraces biculturalism; and Maintaining and improving the new structure.

Grace (McDonald 1993) recommends studying the values and strategies that are already present within Maori communities. Those values that enhance the *mana* of the collective by focusing on people's aspirations, by accepting their weaknesses while building partnerships.

The literature asks how to recruit sufficient Maori librarians. Garraway and Szekely (1994) recommend making connections to Maori organisations.

Suggestions include the provision of training to provide pathways into general librarianship, or Maori librarianship internships at Maori education institutions.

Participants in Te Ara Tika ask for Central Government commitment for all tribal areas. Perhaps National Library Regional libraries that could be housed in the existing National library school services in places such as Auckland and Palmerston North. There has also been a call for the National Collection to be under the control of a Maori umbrella of Central Government, such as *Te Puni Kokiri*.

Iwaoka (1996) believes quite firmly that bicultural policy in libraries is nonexistent and that the defining of biculturalism has not been addressed. In

her opinion, bicultural practices recommended for library institutions are a response to pressure from Maori clients and staff. Iwaoka advances Sharp's description of bicultural distributivism; that Maori institutions are to share the authority defined by the Treaty or bicultural reformism with the adaptation of Western institutions to Maori.

It is Iwaoka's hypothesis that biculturalism in New Zealand is not applicable in an immigrant culture because of its limited acceptance by the majority of New Zealanders who are not Maori. Iwaoka called for the following; the definition of biculturalism, public knowledge, intellectual rights and privacy legislation which can be accepted by both Maori and non-Maori; and the implementation of bicultural policies for the custody of knowledge.

Cullen (1996) draws attention to the re-emergence of Maoridom in defining New Zealand, as well as itself within New Zealand politics and society as a parallel society with distinctive ideologies and identities. There is now a dawning consciousness of the impact of Maori people upon the politics, history and landscapes of Aotearoa / New Zealand, which have survived interaction with colonial New Zealand and its British foundations. This public consciousness arose from the constant contesting of the Treaty of Waitangi from Maori to successive governments and Maori demands for Bi-cultural sensitivity within government departments.

However there is a distinction between Maori interaction with the state and the public domain that contrasts sharply with Maori individuality and collectivism within the tribal domain. From the iwi / hapu spring the fundamental precepts of Maori information, the creation, ownership storage and dissemination of resources (Cullen 1996).

Wara (2003) however, states that '*Public libraries are evolving successful bicultural policies in consultation with the Maori and Pakeha community*'.

Wara places biculturalism in a future centred Dualism paradigm. In this framework no one culture would be dominant, local iwi would integrate into either cultural group while each ethnic group would remain distinct and equal. This bicultural policy development is a complex and diverse process which requires ongoing consultation and fluidity to meet the changing needs of each local community.

At the 2006 *Te Ropu Whakahau* Annual General Meeting, a debate on Biculturalism and Institutions put forward the viewpoint that biculturalism is just for Pakeha and Institutions. The assertion being that Maori already are bicultural and that it is just Pakeha and *other* cultures that need bicultural training. Maori it seems need to concentrate on being Maori, and the retaining of *Te Reo*, *Tikanga*, and *Matauranga Maori*.

Does biculturalism weaken rather than enhance? Perhaps Libraries, Maori reference collections and Maori users do not connect because *Matauranga Maori* within library biculturalism lacks definition? The ever present accusation of Maori bias and race based special assistance highlights the lack of valid theory for the foundation of Maori specific objectives, services and resources within New Zealand.

Maori Expectations of Public Libraries

Is there is a desire to combine modern Maori usage of traditional knowledge and information resources with innovative methods, to deepen engagement between iwi and the library and information profession?

The conclusions of Irwin and Katene (1988) showed that Maori do not respect libraries and the authenticity of their Maori Reference collections. Maori people preferred direct oral enquiries with their elders or family and friends. Participants in the MacDonald (1993) and Szekely and Mangan (1995) survey state that Maori would like to access information in groups, to discuss it at length and noisily. On *marae*, 'talk is the food of chiefs'. These practices are at odds within institutions. The ancestral connection in information is overlooked, some survey participants anguished over the lack of respect for Maori materials, such as stolen books and the poor treatment of cultural knowledge within libraries at large.

MacDonald (1993), Irwin & Watene (1988), Szekely (1997), all note requests from Maori wanting separate collections. Many asked for *marae* collections, boutique branches funded by local councils or for mobile bus services to visit *marae* with traveling reference collections. Many were unhappy with Maori collections being reference only, even if for reasons of theft or accessibility. Central libraries with Maori reference collections are difficult to access; they are in the central business districts, lack free parking and the resources are controlled by unrelated peoples. *Marae* reference collections, it is hoped, will have parking, be in the suburbs and have connections to *iwi* and ancestors through metaphors, e.g. the meeting houses.

Hemara (2000), does not support the idea of *marae* libraries and writes that non-literate low-income sections of the Maori community who do not visit *marae* are not catered for. Hemara sees their needs as being more pragmatic and whilst he thinks that an ideal of all Maori reading scholarly works in Maori language is highly desired, it is unlikely for most sections of any ethnicity.

People need different information at varying levels in various forms, from budgeting to car repairs, to finding a best bets. Hemara suggests going to where Maori go to, Betting Agencies, Bars and sports events.

Libraries in western institutions are adjusting from individual introspective study areas into negotiable public social spaces as they seek to meet Maori needs. Middle-class institutions, form fillings and non-Maori environments are said to deter potential patrons; however this barrier does not seem to exist in other social amenities, such as bars and betting agencies (Hemara).

Durie (1997) bases *tino rangatiratanga* as the goal of achieving aspirations for Maori that encompass national Maori support in a Maori centred society. The purpose is not biculturalism or majority tolerance of minorities, it is Maori identity and cultural practices that reverberate in the New Zealand psyche as standard practice.

There is an assumption that the gaps between Maori and non-Maori achievement are disturbing and problematic. Hemara (2000) asserts that the focus should instead be on the gaps between Maori aspirations and Maori achievement. Further more, he believes that aspirations that are guided by the use of traditional Maori educational practices and contemporary educational contexts will reinforce the *mana* of Maori communities.

Bicultural reformism is the adaptation of Western institutions to fit Maori? If so how? Pakeha cannot make institutions work for Maori; Maori cannot make institutions work for Maori.

Te Ara Tika: Perspectives

The New Zealand Library and Information Association (N.Z.L.I.A.) inaugurated the 1991 bicultural research project *Te Ara Tika. Maori and Libraries: A Research Report*. The foundation of *Te Ara Tika* is the 'partnership principle' of the Treaty of Waitangi which advocates ongoing negotiation and adjustment to changing social conditions.

"To promote the development of biculturalism in library services, and in the library and information profession" (McDonald 1993, 5).

The reasons for Maori customers using or not using Maori collections in public libraries were surveyed in seminars conducted by Tui MacDonald. The concerns raised by Maori communities in six localities were extensive. These were listed as Maori Consultation and Influence, Information Literacy, Maori Staffing, Separate Maori Collections, Maori libraries, Access and Information literacy and Maori expression of information dissemination.

Maori communities wish to become politically influential at central and local council. Marae-based committees supported by libraries, involved and consulted in library policy, such as the development of early literacy programs for Maori children are advocated.

Of major concern is the absence of Maori staff within public libraries and in outreach programs for their local Maori communities. It was suggested that a Maori librarian recruitment package be developed, and that specialist Maori

material collections be established. It would be helpful if private study rooms for group discussion and bilingual signage were available and if these areas had a visual connection to local *iwi*. Better still in Maori opinion would be a pan-tribal National Maori Collection Library that is funded by Central Government.

Maori patrons are wary of libraries, their technology and classification systems are silent gatekeepers. There are strong suspicions over the validity of written material about Maori by non-Maori and the guidelines applied to Maori heritage materials with regard to their access and storage. The repatriation of Maori resources to the contributing *hapu* or *iwi* is encouraged instead and it is urged that more Maori language resources in multi media be produced and bought for the Maori collection

Library Model: Local History collections

The Maori collections in both Auckland and Wellington public libraries are aligned with the local history reference collections. Their existence and performance is an initiative of their Library Management and Local Council's commitment to biculturalism.

These services emphasize the connections between Maori collection staff, the Maori collection and local *iwi* because the collection focus is local *iwi* and regional history. The collections' strengths are Treaty of Waitangi resources, Maori Land Court Minutes, Raupatu literature and local history databases. Both collections appear to cater adequately for the scholarly and middle-class section of Maori society that is familiar with institutions and information.

However, the collection's attempts to cater for contemporary Maori youth interests such as entertainment seekers are minimal.

This model assumes that there are all encompassing Maori ways of learning and transmission of knowledge which are applicable to all Maori. This model lacks the depth to include and adapt to evolving cultural engagement.

He Awe Maapara

Auckland City Libraries, *Te Kohinga Matua Maori* collection was established directly from the initiatives of the "N Strategy Bicultural Groups, New Zealand Libraries and Information Association and Te Ropu Whakahau". One of its imperatives is a strong Maori presence in public libraries (A.C.L & Worth 1995).

Makoare speaks of an 'assertive Maori presence in Auckland City Libraries' that acknowledges Mana Whenua. The Auckland City Library model of biculturalism includes basic pronunciation lessons, Treaty of Waitangi workshops and over night visits to local *marae*. Inclusion and education of Maori and non-Maori is essential for the acceptance of other Makoare initiatives, such as Senior Management positions to establish a Maori Services Team.

Te Ropu Ratonga Maori and its reference collection *Te Kohinga Matua* offer specialist services with staff fluent in *Te Reo* with connections to other Maori services, tribes and collections. The emphasis for the team and its collection is its theme of reciprocity with Auckland City Libraries and those who seek its services.

However *Te Ropu Ratonga Maori* staff and their reference collection *Te Kohinga Matua* are located behind a gate which requires an Auckland City library card to access or a daily fee of \$10.00. This policy directive from the Auckland City Council ignores the body of bicultural literature which supports the formation of Maori collections and their responsibility to the Maori community. This policy is directed towards other local body organizations and divides local iwi and the wider Maori community into artificial labels. *Te Ropu Ratonga Maori* use biculturalism as the basis for Maori collections, however, a supporting body of theory and literature from other disciplines may help to deter gate-keeping within public libraries. Public libraries struggle to stay relevant to all sections of their community, as the parent organization is a political entity and subject to the interests of incoming politicians. The focus for Maori Collection Teams in partnership with their Library institutions are as information links for Maori Communities, introducing information seekers to the Maori collections and education in all other Library resources.

The customer's voice II – another quest: a survey: improvement of services to Maori at Auckland City Libraries (Wilson 2003), does not mention the installment of gates in 1996. The survey comments favourably on the higher numbers of Maori using Auckland City libraries, but does not address the issues Maori patrons may have with bureaucracy and the barriers placed before information access. Customers have submitted negative comments on the gates.

Wellington City Libraries

The Wellington City Library is a very distinctive building that looks out to the Wellington Harbour, it commands a strong physical presence in the Wellington architectural landscape.

The Maori Collection team consists of one full time and one part time staff member. The collection is on the second floor with a small rectangular area shaped by shelving into the form of a whare and a *Waharoa* sculpture by Para Matchitt which gives the space a *marae* element. Within this space are grouped tables, customer access computers and a media jukebox. The area is popular with groups who use it for discussion. The second floor is an open area that holds heritage material, law resources, New Zealand serials and newspapers. The Maori collection holds unique materials such as the Maori Births Deaths and Marriage Index on C.D. Rom, the Tangata Maori Database and the Maori Topics index.

This is a worthy resource for Maori Information researchers and showcased in open access environment that is welcoming although crowded. The Maori reference collection is based on a commitment to the Treaty of Waitangi and biculturalism. This Maori reference collection shows creativity and commitment to making the most of its small staff base and resources. This small model has the potential to inspire the national model.

Tangata Maori Database

This is a database built from a collection of articles on Maori people covering the years 1930 to the present day and taken from the Dominion and Evening Post newspapers. Iwi mentioned include, *Te Ati Awa*, *Ngati Mutunga*, *Ngati Toa*, *Ngati Raukawa*, *Ngati Porou*, *Ngati Tuwharetoa*, and *Mataatua*.

The database can be used to search for information on a number of topics relating to Maori in the local Wellington Newspapers. However, it does not offer full text articles; it is an index, used to find references relating to a topic for further investigation. Keyword searches can be made on title, contributing author, subject, and the summary abstract of articles. The complete article can be viewed by either the listed Maori Vertical File subject file, or the microfilmed copy of the original newspaper.

Maori topics index to newspaper clippings

The NZ Reference workroom stores 3,500 newspaper 'Maori' clippings from 1930 upwards. These articles are organised into envelopes with various subject headings, Waitangi and Centennial Celebrations, Maori Electoral Roll and Biographies etc. The articles have not been indexed in any form, thus there is no added value with sitting in a box with tentative Maori subject headings.

The articles are original newspaper clippings from the 1930's and onwards, with information on Maori Leaders and People of interest from then. The database is of historic value and is seen as complementary to the Index New Zealand database from the National Library of New Zealand. The newspaper articles are an indicator of the Media of the period their attitudes toward Maori, a historical perspective that is on the record. Some articles reported the same event, but from a before and after perspective, it was decided to select both 'as it happened' and 'this will happen' articles for their historic summaries.

The articles are not monographs or unique ephemeral items of cultural art form, neither are they suitable for individual cataloguing on to the Library Management System. This is an assorted collection of previous staff's efforts

to provide information seekers within Wellington City Libraries with resources. It is thought that their use will be enhanced in an online electronic database with a small number of dedicated repeat users and one-off information requests.

Building a Model for Maori Collections

The purpose of this essay is to consider models of Library collection management that recognise the different paradigms, imperatives and values of Maori culture in its creation, ownership, management, storage and sharing of information.

Just as the use of land was loaned and shared (*tuku rangatira*) by iwi as a temporary resource to others, the ownership and intellectual property rights of *Matauranga Maori* stayed with the creating peoples. It was never intended that Maori resources be alienated or lost, indeed their value and *mana* increases with their return.

The obligations of the collective of Maori Library and Information workers (*Te Ropu Whakahau*) are to their respective institutions, to local iwi in the area they are based and to Maori as participants in bi-cultural Aotearoa / New Zealand. It is for the Crown as bi-cultural Treaty Partners to be responsible for multi-cultural interests. It is for Te Ropu Whakahau to seek a collective guideline on governance and management of information resources for Maori within library institutions.

Maori Information Professionals as *kaitiaki* of information resources have the uncomfortable position of explaining the role of libraries to Maori; and the lack of Maori users to Library Institutions. Therefore a model that is valid to both provider and user, that generates interest and relevancy, is unique, specific and achieves critical mass of Maori and institutional satisfaction is sought.

This essay examines Maori Reference units in libraries that can be compared and developed using certain criteria. These criteria include; national and local policies and principles incorporated into designing Maori collections; the

strengths of the collections and staff; and the validity of authority as claimed from the Treaty of Waitangi principles and Biculturalism. In reviewing the literature of Bicultural librarianship it is hoped to position Maori librarians as defining and conceptualizing the governance, the management of *Matauranga Maori*; the use of Maori resources to achieve Maori aspirations; and local iwi and local communities' relationship with information institutions.

The dawning of professional registration and the requisite post-graduate qualifications as debated between LIANZA, library qualification providers, library institutions and librarians, required *Te Ropu Whakahau* to affirm the political and cultural aims of their organisation. The original purpose of the organization was to support all Maori working within libraries such as library assistants, cleaners and security officers.

Te Ropu Whakahau has chosen not to engage with the LIANZA Professional registration scheme nor will the qualification *Bachelor of Maori Information Management* be included as a library specific qualification. The *BMIM* is an information management qualification for a Maori specialist based in libraries, archives and museums or tribal repositories.

However *Te Ara Tika: Guiding Voices* (1993) recommends

- That the New Zealand Library and Information Association Te Rau Herenga o Aotearoa and Te Ropu Whakahau Maori Library and Information Workers' Association develop a library career promotions plan which targets Maori recruits.

The right to self determination, to remain Maori; the aspirations of cultural, social and intellectual progress are only possible if Maori are represented among the power holders (Durie 1997). *Te Ropu Whakahau* does not seek a

shared input into Professional Registration governance but will support its implementation.

Registration is the defining yardstick for library information workers regarding governance, representation and self-determination. Engagement and representation at a national level for *Te Ropu Whakahau* has to be driven by the Maori Librarians constituency. Therefore, it is vital for the collective to know it self.

At the 2006 *Te Ropu Whakahau* annual meeting, it was clear that the Executive Committee lacked data and statistical information on its members. Little was known of the librarians, the range of librarian qualifications, the skills and experience represented among the collective. Nor was there a definitive minimum standard or set of skills required of a Maori Information worker. A chief recommendation from *Te Ara Tika: Guiding Voices (1993)* is

- That Te Ropu Whakahau Maori Library and Information Workers' Association compile and maintain an accurate membership and network database as a means of monitoring trends in the numbers of Maori Librarians.

Building a Concept for Maori Information Workers: A Model

Libraries are seen as sterile, dry and uninviting places, where Maori people intrude. Like all people, many Maori find it difficult to interact with institutions, to reveal their ignorance of how things work and are unable to browse or research in unfamiliar systems and surroundings.

Maori collections are underutilized, however books on Maori *whakapapa* and history disappear at alarming rates and are expensive to replace. Maori are culturally rich people, with a *korero* (story) and *whakatauki* (proverb) for most occasions, and books on Maori topics are highly sought after and regarded.

Who are the Maori Reference Collections and Maori-dedicated positions for? Contemporary Maori society is diverse and varied. The self-identification or negation as Maori as an ethnic marker is a personal choice, so too is the degree of acceptance or display of Maori cultural markers.

There are endless choices of lifestyles, careers, education and entertainment options available to Maori. The World Wide Web has altered communication as the telephone did before it. Library collections are used by all sections of society, even the illiterate. Contemporary Maori collections users are diverse and varied, however in this contemporary and global world, Maori reference collections are a small niche for a specialist audience.

Te Ropu Whakahau in accordance with Maori oral tradition needs a concept that incorporates its very own creation story. As Maori information specialists in libraries and archives, it is not beyond the cultural realm or abilities of *Te Ropu Whakahau* to connect the spiritual with the mundane.

It is suggested that Maori Information Workers duplicate the Maori Subjects Headings project example of utilizing the Maori worldview and library requirements. Traditional Maori information sources are incorporated into oral resources, through stories, chants and songs. Tribal and navigational histories have survived as stories into modern times, even if the information is no longer obvious to modern interpretation.

Ngā Ūpoko Tukutuku: Maori Subject Headings Project

<http://mshupoko.natlib.govt.nz/mshupoko/index.htm>

The purpose is to provide a structured path to subjects that Māori customers can relate to and use to find material in libraries. It will be used by the National Library of New Zealand to enhance its service to Māori library users. However it should not be seen as authoritative beyond its intended purpose for use in libraries and archives.

In the Māori worldview, people, the environment and the spiritual world are intrinsically connected and related to each other. This model recognises both the traditional and contemporary perspectives.

Te Ara Tika: Guiding Voices (1993) recommendations included

- That all publications of the New Zealand Library and Information Association Te Rau Herenga o Aotearoa be reviewed with a view to ensuring bicultural input in future editions
- That the New Zealand Library and Information Association Te Rau Herenga o Aotearoa promotional literature and merchandise be modified to promote a bicultural image in future editions
- That the New Zealand Library and Information Association Te Rau Herenga o Aotearoa endeavour to promote a bicultural image in its office and work environment, particularly in public areas.

A contemporary bicultural library culture for Maori to connect to within Aotearoa / New Zealand is envisioned. A culture and not an institution, that can be understood and honoured, that can be referred to in *mihi, whaikorero*

and *waiata* to connect to the national consciousness of Maoridom and the body of information labelled 'Maori Myths and Legends'. A story that allows Maori librarians to become visible to Maori people in traditional and contemporary ways, in modern terms, a rebranding package is sought for presenting libraries and Maori Information Workers.

This unique story would belong to Maori Information Workers, it could be used in *Te Ropu Whakahau* motifs and decorations, on advertising material and be a national symbol used to represent the role of indigenous information researchers.

Maori librarians have unrealised opportunities to use their creativity to conceive a bicultural library culture unique to Aotearoa / New Zealand that will bring into reality a consciousness that reflects the Maori worldview. The distinction between *tapu* and *noa* are values that can accommodate heritage and lending collections.

Marae with their meeting houses and dining rooms are representatives of ancestors, named as such and dressed with beautiful ornamentation and decoration, they hold the *mauri* (life force) *ihi*, *wehi*, and the *mana* of the local people. Such buildings are given respect and their presence is acknowledged in greetings and speeches. It is the obligation of visiting groups to find out the *kawa* (rules) of each individual *marae* visited, so they can act and respond accordingly. The authority and regulations of the host venue, its people and artefacts take precedence over the customs of visitors, exceptions to this are negotiated in the realm of personal prestige and the strength of whakapapa connections.

This distinction could be given to Maori reference collections, an acknowledgement of the link between form and function, of beauty and utility. That rather than blend into the library blandness, it is time for Maori reference collections to become markers of Maori distinctiveness and for Maori information workers to become the *manu tioriori*, singers for their Trees of knowledge.

Libraries and stories, libraries and histories are the norm. Maori tribal connection through *whakapapa* and physical landmarks are remembered through stories, the talk generated and remembered at *hui*. Therefore as guardians of the stories and histories of Maori, it should not be considered unreasonable that in order to connect Maori and libraries, stories need to be spoken; an example of one that I have created follows.

Te Manu Whai Rauemi

**Ko te manu e kai i te miro, nōna te ngahere
Ko te manu e kai i te mātauranga, nōna te ao**

**The bird that eats of the miro berry owns the forest
The bird that eats of the tree of knowledge owns the world.**

In the forest of *Tane Mahuta* lived *Te Manu Whai Rauemi*, the bird who seeks resources, a studious bird who lived in the Tree of Knowledge, the repository of all indigenous bird songs and knowledge. Her duties as required by *Tane Mahuta* included the preservation, remembering and teaching of the songs of *Tane's* feathered offspring, the birds of the forest.

Tane Mahuta had become concerned that his children were forgetting their own songs and ignoring the coded information contained within the 'Tree of

Knowledge'. The Tree of Knowledge was the sacred learning tree and from it hung the *kete* (baskets) of knowledge. Various expert *Manu Tohunga* on different levels taught different branches of knowledge. Mnemonic aids were employed into the teaching such as *Whakapapa Rakau* (genealogy staff) and *Whakairo* (carvings), detailing the various ancestors and their knowledge of sources of food. *Kapa Manu* festivals were held regularly with each family branch competing fiercely to show their expertise in song and dance.

But one day, an exotic bird, the White Dove of Peace had arrived in the forest, bewitching the indigenous birds with his pure shiny plume and chirpy new songs. The White Dove sung constantly of the seeds of fire he had brought, which he gave to the children of *Tane Mahuta* in exchange for many of their baskets of knowledge. The White Dove taught the natives, *peace songs* and the skill of scratching songs onto leaves. Then the White Dove invited his family flock to migrate to help teach the natives a higher calling. No longer did the native birds gather to practice their songs, now they sat alone scratching with twigs and chirping foreign bird songs to the God of Peace.

The Tree of Knowledge become surrounded by taller alien trees that sheltered migrant birds, and these were crowding out native trees, plants and birds.

Sadly, many native birds were unable to reach the higher branches of the introduced trees even though they sung songs of praise to these trees. Many of their native tribes could not fly, their traditional aids and the assistance of their feathered kin who could fly were not allowed, and only individual achievement was valued. In consequence many native birds became ashamed over the loss of their ability to fly. Their numbers also deteriorated

sharply from the loss of their traditional food territories and from exotic bird diseases that they lacked immunity for.

The White Dove sung them a *swan song* of farewell and promised to make their passing as gentle as possible

In their despair, the native birds returned to the 'Tree of Knowledge' to cry out to *Tane Mahuta* from their sacred tree. *Te Manu Whai Rauemi* called for the native birds to remember the nest they came from, to return to and feed from the 'Tree of Knowledge', the inheritance from *Tane Mahuta*. A *kohanga reo*, language nest was created by the surviving elderly birds for their young to relearn their native songs. *Manu reo*, song competitions were staged to encourage the lost art.

It was decided that *Te Manu Whai Rauemi* should visit the various home trees of other native birds, taking *kete* of knowledge and to sing the old songs. She would also open a *Pataka waiata* for the collection of stories and songs scratched onto leaves and invite the native birds to make use of the resources at the *Tree of knowledge*.

Te Manu Whai Rauemi reminded her feathered kin that they were unique and what other migrant birds saw as their lack was actually their gift from *Tane Mahuta*. It was an endless task because the indigenous birds had become ashamed to sing, to perform or remember their own ways. The *White Dove of Peace* had changed the very nature of native bird life.

Conclusions: Why are Libraries not successful in the Maori world?

Maori communities do not want to live in the past however they do wish to retain the knowledge and information of their ancestors. Libraries do not even have to be overwhelmingly Maori to be of relevance, they just need to be different from what they are now, and to be able to find an Aotearoa / New Zealand ethos that works well for different communities in public libraries.

Libraries and missionaries have a common theme, the absolute certainty of their divinity for society and the conviction that Maori are a problem seeking salvation from ignorance through conversion within their institutions. Much debate has arisen from these good intentions driven by cultural imperative to serve the masses, which ignored the value of the indigenous systems already in place. These good intentions of the library institutions then become the responsibility of the local Maori community where Maori achievement is often what others dictate what it should be.

Just as missionaries ignored Maori cosmology, so have libraries overlooked the foundation of Maori society, which are the land, the heavens, the oceans, and the people themselves. The power of oral history is that Maori history, tradition and religion is written into the landscape of *Papatuanuku* and *Ranginui*, it is told in the stories and songs, in the knowledge given from the Gods, the names given to landmarks, and the histories contained through *whakapapa* and people. The carved houses, the carved walking sticks and the carved landscapes are the mnemonic aids of iwi, the physical representations of the *mana whenua* or local

authority over land. The library of Maoridom is the people and their interaction with the natural world.

Library institutions may well consider that for Maori, libraries are not the store holders of Maori knowledge. Perhaps it is their reference collections that are mnemonic symbols, aide-de-memoirs used by Maori, according to their whakapapa, their ties to the land, or their needs and perspectives, to recall the words of their *tipuna*. Maori reference collections without the contributing culture are printed words that are never spoken, and the power of the spoken word still resonates within the Maori world.

A continuing source of regret to Maori is the institutional requirement to re-house ancestral information in sterile individual settings. Throughout the changing political landscapes, it is always the people and their shared contribution that are the *taonga* (treasure). Not only was knowledge taken, but the images and printed histories of ancestors recorded by non-Maori were so far removed from the traditional mnemonic symbols employed by Maori, that iwi could not comprehend the significance of European authorship over *Matauranga Maori*. Too often institutions focus solely on the negative and fail to recognize the diversity and worth of the Maori communities they are based in.

Bibliography

Auckland City Libraries in consultation with Heather Worth. 1995. *The customer's voice - a quest: a survey: improvement of services to Maori at Auckland City Libraries*.

Auckland: Auckland City Libraries.

Auckland City Libraries and Heather Wilson. 2003. *The customer's voice II - another quest: a survey: improvement of services to Maori at Auckland City Libraries*. Auckland: Auckland City Libraries.

Barrington J.M. and Beaglehole, T.H. 1974. *Maori schools in a changing society*. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Education Research.

Blake, Barbara et al. 1990. *Biculturalism and New Zealand libraries: a selective bibliography*. Wellington: Department of Librarianship, Victoria University of Wellington.

Burrows, J.F. 2003. *Statute Law in New Zealand*. Wellington: Lexis Nexis.

Cullen, Rowena. 1996. *Biculturalism and Librarianship in New Zealand: A more fundamental change than Information Technology*. International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions online: 62nd IFLA General Conference – Conference Proceedings-August 25-31. <http://www.ifla.org/IV/ifla62/62-culr.htm> (downloaded 18 May 2005).

Durie, E.T.J. 1994. *Libraries in the life of a nation: He waka eke noa: embarking together*. Wellington: LIANZA?

Durie, Mason. 1998. *Te mana te kawanatanga. The politics of Maori self-determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Durie, Mason. 1994. *Whaiora. Maori health development*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Fisher, David. 2006. "Brash at odds with judges on Maori", *New Zealand Herald (Auckland)*, September 24, sec A.

Freire, P. 1985. *The politics of education: culture, power and liberation*. South Hadley, Mass: Bergin and Garvin.

Garraway, John and Szekely, Chris. 1994. *Ka mahi tonu: biculturalism in New Zealand librarianship 1992-1994*. Wellington: The N Strategy Bicultural Actions Group in association with the New Zealand Library & Information Association Te Rau Herenga o Aotearoa.

Haami, Bradford. 2004. *Putea Whakairo: Maori and the Written Word*. Wellington: Huia.

Hemara, Wharehuia. 1985. Librarianship and the Maori community. *Paper delivered to the New Zealand Library Association conference, Dunedin*.

Iwaoka, Aileen Akiko. 1996. Biculturalism in New Zealand Libraries : implementations and problems. Unpublished MLIS minor thesis, Department of Library and Information Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.

Irwin, K.G. and Katene, W. 1993. *Maori people and the library: a bibliography of Ngati Kahungunu and Te Waka o Takitimu resources*. Wellington: He Parekereke, Dept of Education, Victoria University of Wellington.

King, M. 1977. *Te Puea: a biography*. Auckland: Hodder & Stoughton.

MacDonald, Tui. 1993. *Te Ara tika: Māori and libraries*. Wellington: New Zealand Library & Information Association, Te Rau Herenga o Aotearoa.

McRae, Jane. Maori manuscripts in public collections. *New Zealand libraries* 44 (1):8-11.

McRae, Jane. The Maori people and libraries. *New Zealand libraries* 46 (4):2 -6.

Mangan, Hinureina and Szekely, Chris. 1995. *He puna taunaki: Te reo Maori in libraries: a Maori language resource for librarians*. Wellington: Te Ropu Whakahau.

Murphy, Stephen. 1979. Maoritanga at Paraparaumu Public Library. *New Zealand Libraries* 42 (2):43-46.

New Zealand Library Association, Maori Library Service Committee. "Library service to Maori: report to the NZLA Council" *New Zealand libraries* vol 26, no 10, November 1963, pp 225 – 261.

Ngata, A.T. 1943. *The price of Citizenship: Ngarimu V.C.* Wellington: Whitcombe & Tombs.

Parekowhai, Cushla. 1990. "Meet my Koro. . .". *New Zealand libraries* 46 (4):12-17.

Sharp, Andrew. 1990. *Justice and the Maori. Maori claims in New Zealand political argument in the 1980s*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Simon, Judith, Ed. 1998. *The Native Schools system 1867-196: Nga kura Maori*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. 1999. *Decolonising Methodologies. Research and indigenous peoples*. Dunedin: University of Otago Press.

Sullivan, Robert. Ed. 2001. *International Indigenous Librarians' Forum: proceedings*.

Wellington: Te Ropu Whakahau.

Sullivan, Robert. 1995. Nga taonga tuku iho kei roto i nga whare matauranga o Aotearoa: Collection Management in the field of traditional Maori knowledge. *New Zealand Libraries* 48 (1):5-10.

Szekely, Chris. Ed. 1999. *Issues and initiatives in indigenous librarianship: Some international perspectives*. Auckland: Te Ropu Whakahau.

Szekely, Chris. 1997. *Te ara tika: Guiding voices. Maori opinion on libraries and information needs*. Wellington: New Zealand Library & Information Association, Te Rau Herenga o Aotearoa.

Szekely, Chris. 1993. *Te hikoī mārama: a directory of Māori information resources*. Wellington: Te Rōpū Whakahau & Bridget Williams Books.

Tauroa, Hiwi. 1989. *A guide to marae: Te kawa o te marae*. Wellington: Trade Union Education Authority.

Vasil, Raj. 1990. *What do the Maori want? New Maori political perspectives*. Auckland: Random Century.

Walker, Ranginui. 2001. *He Tipua. The life and times of Sir Apirana Ngata*. Auckland: Viking.

Wara, Raukawa Teao. 2001. Case studies of successful implementations of bicultural policies and practices in Aotearoa New Zealand public libraries. Unpublished MLIS minor thesis, School of Communications and Information Management, Victoria University of Wellington.

Williams, Lynn. 1991. Adopting a bicultural stance over reference services in New Zealand libraries. *New Zealand Libraries* 46 (11):21-25.