**USE OF MĀORI (PEOPLE, IMAGES AND PRACTICES) IN NEW ZEALAND'S
DIPLOMACY: AN EXAMINATION OF SYMBOLISM**

BY

NICOLA TE ARANI MARY NGAWATI

A thesis

submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington in
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Government

Victoria University of Wellington

2020

Dedication

To my mother Maureen Lois McLaughlin (1939- 1996) who taught me the value of education - but was unable to finish her Bachelor of Arts degree with the demands of raising my two brothers and I, her job teaching the new generation, and her untimely passing.

Moe mai toku mama, aroha nui ki a koe i nga wā katoa.

Acknowledgements

So many have helped me on my journey to finish this work. Nga mihi nui ki toku whaiāipo Jo Mika-Thomas raua ki nga tamaiti tāne William raua ko Patrick. Thank you for all your tautoko, patience and aroha over the length of this research. Words cannot describe how important you have all been. Nga mihi aroha.

May this work be an inspiration to you William and Patrick on your life's journey. Kia kaha korua. Here is my favourite whakatauki (proverb) for you both:

Whāia te iti kahurangi ki te tūohu koe me he maunga teitei

Seek the treasure you value most dearly: if you bow your head, let it be to a lofty mountain

Ki toku whanau o Te Pou Māori o te Manatū Aorere, Nga mihi, nga mihi mo ou koutou whakaro, me ou koutou tautoko. Tena koutou katoa. Ki nga tangata katoa o te Manatū Aorere tena koutou katoa mō tō tautoko i ētahi ara.

Ki nga rangatira o te Whare Wānanga o Whanganui-a-tara, na Dr Chris Eichbaum raua ko Dr Graham Hassall. Nga mihi nui ki a korua. Thank you for your support and endless encouragement. For your belief in me and this story.

Nga mihi nui ki a Dr Bob Gregory (for inspiring me to push beyond the work you supervised during the MPP programme and your belief in equality); Dr Amanda Wolf (for your inspirational encouragement and accepting me in the DGOV programme) and Dr Rowena Cullen (for your patience).

Nga mihi ki a koe Jill Trevelyan, no Ngāti Aorere. Jill – special thanks to you for your encouragement and assistance.

Contents

Dedication.....	2
Acknowledgements	3
Abstract	7
Glossary of Māori words or phrases used	8
Chapter 1: Introduction	16
Problem statement.....	16
Aim.....	23
Scope	23
Chapter 2: Background	27
Locating the topic and history	27
Motivation behind research	28
Methodological approach to interviews and case studies	35
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the imperatives of biculturalism	42
Locating the Ministry within the New Zealand public sector	42
What is the Ministry?	51
Looking back what has gone before?	55
Ministry values.....	59
Māori Engagement Strategy	61
Links with the Pacific region	64
The current narrative: diversity and inclusion.....	67
Issues of biculturalism within the Ministry	70
Recurring issues and themes	71
Chapter summary	72
Chapter 3: Literature	74
Current theory	74
Diplomatic symbolism	76
Symbolism of diplomats	77
Symbolic meanings	78
Image symbolism	82
Art as image-building diplomacy	83
Architectural diplomacy	84
Role of capitals	87
Māori and bicultural architecture	90
Marae imagery.....	94
Māoriland	97
Representation	98
Symbolic representation	99
Active and passive representation	100
Bureaucratic representation	101
EEO – diversity and inclusion.....	103
Diplomatic practice in a New Zealand context.....	106
<i>National identity</i>	106
<i>Challenge of definition</i>	110
Biculturalism and multiculturalism.....	112
Bicultural continuum	114
Bicultural symbolism	116
New Zealand identity.....	116
Public and cultural diplomacy	118
Silver fern and Tiaki promise	119
Main themes from the literature review.....	122
Gaps in the literature.....	125

Resulting questions.....	127
Chapter summary	129
Chapter 4: Use of cultural practice	130
Historic use of korowai taonga	131
Use of korowai for ceremony	135
Use of korowai as works of art	138
Use of pōwhiri.....	141
Historical use of pōwhiri	142
Chapter summary	145
Chapter 5: The process and findings.....	147
Research design	147
Qualitative approach – the interviews	147
Narrative analysis	148
Documents of interest	149
Case studies	150
<i>Main case studies: Rarotonga, Noumea, Canberra.....</i>	<i>150</i>
<i>Further modern examples: Sydney, Abu Dhabi</i>	<i>150</i>
<i>Illustration of use of taonga</i>	<i>151</i>
<i>Approach to case study in Rarotonga, Cook Islands</i>	<i>151</i>
<i>Approach to case study in Canberra.....</i>	<i>153</i>
Chapter summary	153
Chapter 6: Case study: Cook Islands	155
Background	155
Personal reaction.....	158
Process of choosing art.....	159
Chancery – New Zealand High Commission Rarotonga	160
Opening of chancery.....	161
Art in the chancery	166
Official residence	172
Memorial stone garden, Avana passage	182
World War One: Cook Islands contribution	183
Punanga Nui market	186
Chapter summary	189
Chapter 7: Case study: Noumea New Caledonia	191
Background	194
Journey to the new premises	195
Design process for new premises	196
Residence.....	210
Chapter summary	213
Chapter 8: Case study: Australia	214
Canberra	214
Sydney	226
Chapter 9: Further examples from posts	237
Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates (UAE).....	237
Specific use of taonga: Los Angeles, USA	245
Korea.....	247
Narrative of New Zealand.....	250
Use of a bicultural narrative	251
Use of whare and waharoa.....	256
Conclusion	263
Chapter 10: Interview findings.....	264
Expression of New Zealand’s bicultural identity by Ministry	264
General impressions of the Ministry	264

Value of Te Pou Māori and Whare Aorere	266
The demographic.....	267
Building cultural capability within the Ministry.....	268
Patterns of representation at post.....	269
Use of Te Reo Māori and cultural identity at post	270
Use of art and taonga	271
Use of cultural practice.....	275
Need for change	276
Interview observations	277
Chapter 11: Insights and conclusions	283
Looking back – the journey of the Ministry.....	283
Evolution of practice.....	285
Looking inwards – the people.....	290
Reactions to bicultural symbolism.....	294
The Māori demographic	295
Intervention patterns	296
Looking forward.....	297
Public sector environment	299
Conclusions.....	300
The future	309
List of works of art or taonga referred to in this thesis	312
List of figures	316
List of tables	331
Reference list.....	332
Proofreading Acknowledgement	356
Appendix A: Information sheet for participants	357

Abstract

The network of diplomatic posts operated by the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (the Ministry) represent New Zealand on the international stage. Staffed by a combination of diplomatic and locally engaged staff, these posts are New Zealand's face to the world. A small proportion of the diplomatic staff are Māori (indigenous). Māori art and imagery are used extensively throughout these posts. This research examines the use of Māori (people, images and practices) in New Zealand's diplomacy. In particular, how specific aspects of New Zealand's diplomatic practice draw on Māori cultural practices or imagery and what is intended or understood by the symbolism inherent in their use. In the context of the wider physical environment utilized by New Zealand's offshore presence, these issues are considered through the theoretical lenses of diplomatic symbolism, architectural diplomacy, representation and the use of works of art as image building diplomacy.

In addition to a series of semi-structured interviews with key Ministry staff and an analysis of relevant documents of interest, case studies are utilized. Two of these examine how New Zealand is physically represented in an overseas posting environment in two Pacific contexts. One, a long-standing diplomatic representation in Rarotonga in the Cook Islands (part of the Realm of New Zealand which is self-governing in free association with New Zealand – with close cultural ties with Māori in New Zealand), and the second in a newer relationship in Noumea, New Caledonia (an overseas territory of France). The final case study – Canberra- considers New Zealand's close relationship with Australia.

Key research findings illustrate the Ministry (and by extension New Zealand) uses various forms of bicultural symbolism (through the use or display of Māori taonga, objects and art forms) to represent New Zealand internationally. In addition, this use of bicultural symbolism does not adequately consider the disconnect between the outward face of the Ministry and the inward realities (specifically related to the position of Māori staff and the Ministry's policy function). The research contribution will add to knowledge about New Zealand's diplomatic thought and practice and address the gap in the literature of how New Zealand has used diplomatic symbolism in relation to Māori to express a collective identity as part of New Zealand's diplomacy.

Glossary of Māori words or phrases used

Te Reo Māori	English
Āhua	Appearance
Aka	Vine
Ako	Learn, instruction
Aoraki	The original and current name for a mountain formally re-named Mt Cook
Aorere	Notion of travelling the world to represent the New Zealand Government
Aotearoa	New Zealand
Ariki	High Chief
Atia te wahine i roto it te pā harakeke	Marry the woman found in the flax plantation
Haka	Ceremonial dance
Hapū	Sub-tribe
Harakeke	Flax
Hatupatu	Arawa ancestor who was killed by his elder brothers for eating their preserved pigeons. He was revived by Kurangaituku until he eventually escaped*
He Pakiaka	Root (of a tree, etc) *
Hei matau	Fishhook adornment
Hei tiki	Carved figure, image, a neck ornament*
Hinemihi	Meeting house of Tuhourangi iwi located in Clandon Park, Surrey, UK
Hinengakau	Hine – girl, daughter* Ngakau – seat of affections, heart, mind, soul*
Hui	Meeting
Huia	Native bird of New Zealand <i>Heteralocha acutirostris</i> - a glossy black bird, now extinct*
Iwi	Tribe
Ka hikitia te whānaungatanga a te Manatū Aorere me te iwi Māori	Māori have confidence in their partnerships with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (from Ministry Māori Engagement Strategy)
Kahu kuri	Dog skin cape
Kahu tieke	Saddleback cape

Te Reo Māori	English
Kaikōura	A town on the north-east coast of the South Island
Kaitiaki	Trustee, minder, guard, custodian, guardian*
Kanohi ki te kanohi	Face to face
Kapa haka	Performance group
Karakia	Prayer
karanga	Ceremonial call by Māori women
Kaupapa Māori	Māori approach, Māori topic, Māori customary practice*
Kawa	Marae protocol – customs of the marae and wharenuī*
Kawanga whare	Formal opening ceremony
Kaumātua	Elder
Kete	Woven basket
Kia ora	Hello! Cheers! Good luck! Best wishes! *
Kohanga reo	Māori language preschool
Kōrero	Talk
Korowai	Cloak. In past referred to a cloak ornamented with black twisted tags or thrums. In more modern times, sometimes used as a general term for cloaks made of muka (New Zealand flax fibre) *
Koru	Spiral motif (in kōwhaiwhai patterns and carving) *
Kotahitanga	Fellowship, togetherness
Kouma pounamu	Sternum, breastbone, breastplate* made of pounamu
Kōwhaiwhai	Painted scroll ornamentation commonly used on wharenuī rafters
Kuia	Elderly female
Kurangaituku	Birdwoman. See Hatupatu reference above.
Kuki Airani	Cook Islands
Kuri	Dog
Mamae	Ache, pain, injury, wound*
Mana	Prestige, authority, control, power, influence*
Manaaki	To support, take care of, give hospitality to, protect, look out for*
Manākitanga or Manaakitanga	Caring hospitality, kindness, generosity and support

Te Reo Māori	English
Manatū	Ministry
Manatū Aorere	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade
Manuhiri	Guest, visitor
Māori	Indigenous New Zealander, indigenous person of Aotearoa/New Zealand – a new use of the word resulting from Pākehā contact in order to distinguish people of Māori descent and the colonisers*
Marae	Courtyard, the open area in front of the wharenui where formal greetings and discussions take place. Often used to include the complex of buildings around the marae*
Marakihau	Described as a sea monster in Māori mythology
Matariki	Pleiades, Messier 45 an open cluster of many stars with at least nine visible to the naked eye*
Mataroa	Legendary Māori figure - who received his moko from Uetonga in the underworld and brought the art back to earth*
Mātauranga	Knowledge, wisdom, understanding, skill*
Māui	Well-known Polynesian character of narratives. He performed a number of amazing feats. Also known as Māui-tikitiki-o-Taranga*
Māui Tikitiki a Taranga	Well known Polynesian character of narratives. He performed a number of amazing feats*
Mauri	Life force, vital essence*
Mauri stone	Pounamu stone displayed by the Ministry to represent the embodiment of mauri in the stone
Mere	A cleaver, typically made from greenstone
Mere pounamu	Short flat weapon made of pounamu*
Mihi whakatau	Informal speech of welcome
Moko	Māori designs incised on the body
Muriwai	Backwater, lagoon (at the mouth of a river) *
Ngāti Aorere	Defined as the 'tribal' name for all staff in the Ministry. Established on an ad hoc basis in 1977
Nga Hoe Tuputupu Mai Tawhiti	The paddles that bring growth from afar (Māori name given to NZAID)
Ngati Rānana	London Māori Club
Ngāi Tahu	Tribal group of much of the South Island, sometimes called Kāi Tahu by the southern tribes*

Te Reo Māori	English
Ngāpuhi	Tribal group over much of Northland, New Zealand*
Ngāpuhi kōwhao rau	Metaphor for Ngāpuhi iwi of a 100 holes (referring to the strength of the Ngāpuhi tribe)
Ngongo	Tubular tongue
Niho Taniwha	Saw edged pattern of tukutuku panels and in the tāniko weaving of some cloaks*
Niwareka	Legendary female figure from Rarohenga (the underworld)
Ora	To be alive, well safe*
Paepae-kai-awa	Threshold beam
Paikea	Humpback whale, <i>Megaptera novaeangliae</i> - the most abundant large whale of Aotearoa/New Zealand. It is a baleen whale growing to 16 m long and has large knobby-edged flippers up to 4 m long*
Pākehā	Non-Māori person, New Zealander of European descent – probably originally applied to English speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand*
Papahou	Treasure box, carved box for holding feathers*
Papatūānuku	Earth, Earth mother and wife of Rangi-nui*
Pare	Door lintel
Paua	Pāua, Abalone, sea ear*
Pioriori	Description of preparatory sketches used in a work of art
Piupiu	Garment made of flax
Pou	Carving
Pouihi	Post
Pounamu	Greenstone. Sacred object
Poupou	Wall pillar, post, pole forming the walls of a house or a carved figure*
Poutama	Stairway to heaven
Pōwhiri	Ceremonial welcome
Pu	Conch shell
Pūkeko	Pūkeko, purple swamp hen*
Rā	Sun
Rakau whakapapa	Genealogical talking stick

Te Reo Māori	English
Rakiura	Stewart Island
Rangatahi	Youth
Ranginui	Atua (god) of the sky and husband of Papatūānuku
Rongomaraeroa	Marae at Te Papa Tongarewa
Rōpū	Group
Tā moko	Traditional tattoo
Taha Māori	Māori identity, character, side, heritage, ancestry*
Taiaha	A staff often used as a weapon
Tamaki	Short version of Tamaki Makaurau (Māori name for Auckland, New Zealand)
Tangi	To cry, mourn, weep, weep over*
Tangihanga	Weeping, crying, funeral rites for the dead*
Tāniko	To finger weave, embroider*
Taniwha	Water spirit, monster, dangerous water creature*
Tapu	Sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden*
Tai Rāwhiti	East Coast of New Zealand
Tangata Tiriti	Non-Māori descendants of those whose ancestors signed the Treaty of Waitangi
Tangata whenua	People of the land, indigenous
Tāniko	Ornamental border design usually on a korowai
Taonga	Sacred object with cultural meaning
Tautoko	Support
Te Aka Aorere	Phrase used to refer to the Foreign Service or the network of overseas posts
Te Ao Māori	The Māori world
Te Amokura	Red-tailed tropicbird, native to New Zealand. <i>Phaethon rubricauda</i> , rare tropical bird with white feathers, a red bill, black feet and long thin red streamers. Breeds in the Kermadec Islands and sometimes seen at sea in northern Aotearoa/New Zealand*
Te Arawa	People, iwi descended from the canoe of this canoe from Hawaiki who form a group of tribes in the Rotorua-Maketū area*
Te Arawhiti	Bridge

Te Reo Māori	English
Te Aute	Anglican boarding school for boys located in Pukehou, Central Hawkes Bay
Te Hono ki Waitangi	The joining of Waitangi (Hono = to join, connect*)
Te Ika a Māui	North Island
Te Moana Nui a Kiwa	Pacific Ocean or great ocean of Kiwa
Te Papa Tongarewa	National Museum of New Zealand
Te Pouihi	The Batten or Post*
Te Pou Māori	Ministry Māori staff whānau network
Te Reo o Amokura	Voice of Amokura – voice of Māori in Papua New Guinea
Te Reo Māori	Māori language
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	Treaty of Waitangi 1840
Te Waka a Māui	Māui's canoe
Te Whare o Ngāti Aorere	Aorere wharenui or meeting house located in the Ministry head office
Te Whare Runanga	Meeting House*
Tiaki	To guard
Tiaki promise	Principles for visitors to New Zealand
Tiki	Carved figure or image
Tikanga	Correct procedure, custom, habit*
Tino rangatiratanga	Self-determination, sovereignty, autonomy, self-government, domination, rule, control, power*
Tiriti	Treaty
Toi iho	A registered trademark of quality and authenticity of Māori art and artists. www.toiiho.co.nz
Toi moko	A preserved head
Toi Houkura	School of Māori visual arts in the East Coast of New Zealand
Toi whakairo	Wood carving
Tokotoko	A carved staff typically used by speakers during formal speech-making
Tomokanga	Gateway
Te Aka Aorere	New Zealand Embassy*
Te Manatū Aorere	Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade

Te Reo Māori	English
Te Reo Māori	Māori language
Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori	Māori Language Commission
Tukutuku	Specific form of Māori weaving Ornamental lattice work used particularly between carvings around the walls of a meeting house*
Tumaupoko	Ancestor figure from Whanganui
Tūpāpaku	Corpse, deceased, cadaver, deceased person's body*
Tūpuna	Ancestral figure
Waewae pūkeko	Pūkeko (native bird) footprints. Referred to in tukutuku design
Wahanoghi	Description of a weapon (used by Merrett, 1816)
Waharoa	Carved gateway
Waharua ko awa	Waharua = tukutuku pattern with small double diamond shapes representing commitment and courage* Awa= river*
Wahi tapu	Sacred Site
Waiata	Song
Wairua	Spirit, soul – spirit of a person which exists beyond death*
Waka	Canoe
Waka huia	Carved taonga receptacle, treasure box
Whaikōrero	Formal speech
Whakairo	Carving
Whakaiti	Make someone smaller
Whakapapa	Genealogy
Whakarewarewa	Location in Rotorua in New Zealand, of Te Arawa iwi
Whakatau	To welcome officially or formally* (usually more informal than a pōwhiri)
Whānau	Family
Whare	House
Wharenui	Meeting house
Whare Aorere	House of Aorere, Ministry of Foreign Affairs whare nui located in Wellington, New Zealand
Whakawhanuangatanga	Process of establishing relationships, relating well to others*

Te Reo Māori**English**

Whānaungatanga

To make family connections

Whare whakairo

Carved house

*meanings with an asterix sourced from www.Māoridictionary.co.nz. Retrieved on 5 April 2020

Chapter 1: Introduction

Problem statement

The people of New Zealand are represented on the global stage through the network of diplomatic posts operated by the New Zealand Government's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (the Ministry). The Ministry operates 60 diplomatic posts in 53 countries (MFAT, 2019h), three New Zealand based offices¹ and 115 accreditations to other countries (MFAT, 2019i). This network of posts and the people who work in them represent New Zealand's face to the world.

These posts are staffed by seconded (or diplomatic) staff from Wellington (who also include some politically appointed representatives²), together with staff employed at the post (drawn from the host country, who also include expatriate New Zealanders).³ As at June 2019, 9.3% of Ministry staff are estimated to be Māori (MFAT, 2019i), well below the national average of 15.5% Māori participation rates in the public sector workforce (SSC, 2019). Smaller numbers of Māori staff are in the foreign policy stream (as opposed to the administrative support staff) and occupy positions of seniority. Available statistical data is slim, difficult to access⁴ and varies in its accuracy. This is influenced by a lack of consistent data sources and factors that impact on data collection within the Ministry's employment processes.⁵

New Zealand's posts are extensively used not only by the New Zealand public (for example, when travelling and needing assistance⁶) but by New Zealand exporters, the business community, the wider group of New Zealand Government Ministers, government agencies and specific interest groups seeking to interact with other governments or societies.⁷ The Ministry uses Māori art and imagery extensively at these posts. Aspects of some posts design and architecture also feature Māori or bicultural design features.

¹ In the cities of Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch.

² Green (2012) notes most early Heads of Mission came from political careers since New Zealand had few overseas posts before the 1960s. While in later years diplomats were preferred, political appointments are still made, usually in large English-speaking posts such as Washington, Ottawa, London and New York and also in Niue and the Cook Islands.

³ For the 2018/2019 period there were 852 staff offshore with 248 from New Zealand and 604 staff employed at post (MFAT, 2019i).

⁴ Especially at senior levels. In May 2020, my own estimate indicates that none of the senior leadership team are Māori and of the 58 Heads of Mission, six identify as Māori.

⁵ Ministry staff must self-identify as Māori in order to be counted in statistics with identity data voluntary.

⁶ i.e.: over the 2018/2019 period the Ministry provided consular assistance to 26,551 New Zealanders (MFAT, 2019i).

⁷ i.e.: over the 2018/2019 period the Ministry increased New Zealand's engagement with other countries by facilitating 59 inward and 133 outward visits (MFAT, 2019i).

Significant financial investment⁸ is made by the New Zealand Government in maintaining and expanding this network as part of New Zealand's growing international footprint. In 2017/18 the Ministry added to New Zealand's offshore presence a refurbished embassy in Beijing (China) and a new embassy in Bogota (Colombia). In 2019 new posts were opened in Dublin (Ireland), Stockholm (Sweden), Beijing (China), Honiara (Solomon Islands) and Alofi (Niue). Work is underway to replace the chancery⁹ in Addis Ababa (Ethiopia), build a new chancery in Colombo (Sri Lanka), and planning has begun to replace chanceries in Suva (Fiji), London (United Kingdom) and Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) (MFAT, 2019i).

Most of these posts use and showcase Māori design or art works featuring Māori themes or by Māori artists. This is especially the case in the public reception and meeting areas where the public has access. Many posts also display Māori carvings or other taonga in their reception areas. Decisions and choices around the display of carvings and artworks as part of the physical environment of posts are made by Ministry staff. There is scant information available about what factors are considered on how key decisions are made and the intended meaning behind the use of such imagery.

These decisions and the resulting portrayal of New Zealand are important, as the Ministry offices in New Zealand and the network of posts offshore represent the country and people of New Zealand to the world. Ministry publications refer to "the Māori dimension as reflected in the way we present ourselves to the world" (MFAT, 2018i, p. 43) as part of progressing a wider organisational capacity goal of the Māori dimension being understood and reflected in the Ministry's work. In the physical post and office environment, the Ministry states that "Māori culture features strongly in our offshore narrative on identity and it is important that the end result is authentic, respectful and thoughtful" (MFAT, 2018i, p. 44).

Available literature on New Zealand's diplomatic practice focuses on the history of New Zealand's representation, the location of posts and the gradual expansion of New Zealand's presence offshore and personal memoirs from retired diplomats. There is a gap in the literature concerning how Māori diplomats and Māori images and practices are used to signify a key point of difference for New Zealand to other nations.

⁸ MFAT manages a portfolio of 330 owned and leased properties across 60 posts, with expenditure on property, plant and equipment in 2018/2019 of \$57.7 million (MFAT, 2019i).

⁹ The offices of an embassy.

This gap in knowledge is significant and impacts on being able to have a deep understanding and appreciation of the myriad of issues at play when considering New Zealand's representation offshore. If this gap in our current knowledge is not addressed, we will not fully understand the range of issues around how New Zealand's indigenous people (Māori) and culture are reflected in and contribute to New Zealand's diplomatic presence. This will allow the narrow view of Māori representation currently presented in the available literature to continue, which will perpetuate the status quo. This is despite the importance of this issue (to contribute to an accurate representation of New Zealand's identity), the growing Māori demographic¹⁰ and economic presence¹¹ (prominent in the post-Treaty of Waitangi claim settlement¹² era), and the continued use of Māori imagery by the Ministry.

This research is motivated by my interest in how New Zealand is portrayed internationally, particularly through New Zealand's network of diplomatic posts. My journey to the emergence of this research question reflects my own interest and involvement in these issues. My interest has been further enhanced over the years through my experiences and observations based on my career at the Ministry¹³. This journey began when I joined the Ministry in 1996 and joined Te Pou Māori (a whānau group of Māori staff within the Ministry). From those early days I have had an interest in the concerns of Māori staff around the recruitment and retention of Māori staff, issues around cultural competencies, skills and career progression. This is combined with my interest in art (especially artworks by New Zealand artists) and my observations on how art and images were used by the Ministry to project a certain image of New Zealand. These images featured strong Māori or bicultural references, through the use of artwork, carvings or design features.

I observed in New Zealand and overseas, how the Ministry's extensive collection of art was prominently displayed in meeting rooms or public reception areas. I became more involved with the Ministry practices around use of art (especially when I was serving at a post in the Cook Islands) and how each post had a separate selection of art works that rotated at various times in and out of New Zealand.

¹⁰ New Zealand's estimated Māori population was 744,900 at 31 December 2018 (Statistics New Zealand, 2018).

¹¹ Māori economy asset base estimated at \$42 billion in 2017 (MFAT, 2017f).

¹² Which follows on from the settlement of historical Treaty of Waitangi claims as between the Crown (New Zealand Government) and iwi or Māori groups or individuals.

¹³ This encompassed the years 1996 to 2019 and involved multiple multilateral and bilateral roles in Wellington, New Zealand, together with service offshore in Brussels, Belgium and Rarotonga, Cook Islands.

I have also had a long-term interest in how the Ministry is using various Māori cultural practices (for example, pōwhiri, use of korowai, Te Reo Māori and waiata) as part of the Ministry's work on and offshore. When serving in the Ministry I was involved in the many issues of concern that Māori staff had raised or sought to progress over the years. These issues affected and impacted staff both in head office and while serving overseas. They also encompassed the many job families, ranging from people working in policy to administrative support and information technologies.

A central issue over this time has been the small numbers of Māori staff in management roles and the correspondingly low numbers of Māori diplomats serving in senior roles offshore – noticeably as Heads of Mission.¹⁴ The low numbers of Māori staff in the higher levels of the Ministry has been a long-standing issue, which is mirrored across the New Zealand public service, where “Māori, Pacific and Asian ethnicities are still under-represented in the top three tiers of Public Service management” (SSC, 2017). Data reported on Māori in the public sector is part of ‘ethnic diversity’ data where ethnic differences at an occupational level are noted. European staff are overrepresented as managers and policy analysts, whereas Māori have high numbers as inspectors and regulatory officers, social, health and education workers but less so in other professions (including policy analysts and managers) (SSC, 2019).

As at November 2017 there were 57 Māori staff within the foreign policy job family (from a total pool of 432) and three Māori staff within a group of 152 in the development group¹⁵. These percentages of 13% and 2% respectively are below the national average of 15.5% Māori participation rates in the public sector workforce (SSC, 2019). Workforce data from the State Services Commission in 2019 indicates the Ministry reported statistics of 11.5% Māori staff¹⁶ (SSC, 2019). This compares with the Ministry's annual report in 2019 referring to 9.3% of Māori staff (up from 8.8% in 2018) (MFAT, 2019i).

During my early years at the Ministry I can recall Māori staff placement on posting being an issue. In the late 1990s, for example, there were concerns that Māori staff were mainly posted to Pacific posts and not to European posts. From the information available it appears

¹⁴ As the leaders of post teams either as High Commissioners, Ambassadors or Consul Generals.

¹⁵ Unpublished information from an email from the Ministry's Human Resource Group to Te Pou Māori in November 2017.

¹⁶ From a total headcount of 1060, comprised of 75.7% European, 5.1% Pacific, 8.1% Asian and 1.0% MELAA (SSC, 2019).

that no Māori staff have ever led any of New Zealand's large and prestigious posts, for example in New York, Washington, Canberra or Beijing¹⁷. One participant¹⁸ describing:

"Have we ever had a Māori Head of Mission in one of our big five, big six, as in New York, London, Washington, Canberra, Geneva, Tokyo, and Beijing – those big ones? I would very much doubt it" (P-8).

In contrast, I observed political appointments continuing to be made, including to these posts. In 2016 Foreign Affairs Minister Winston Peters made clear his disdain for former Members of Parliament moving into diplomatic roles, calling the appointment of former politicians the "white brocracy" (Peters, cited in Bracewell-Worrall, 2018). Kraleov (2018) notes "the best diplomacy carries out foreign policy professionally, yet most countries let amateurs practice it" (Kraleov, 2018). There have also been continual issues around the low numbers of Māori being recruited into the Ministry, together with challenges of staff retention and career progression. One participant characterised the Ministry as:

"being very slow at career progression. You can jump far higher outside the Ministry. I know people that I graduated university with, they're all senior managers. That doesn't happen in this Ministry...progression is far quicker outside the Ministry" (P-8).

This is against a backdrop of the majority of non-Māori employees not being able to easily operate in situations requiring cultural skills (for example being able to use Te Reo Māori, sing a waiata, or able to explain Māori concepts or engage confidently with Māori individuals or representatives). These cultural skills drawn from a Māori context are important to the work of the Ministry, as they help Ministry staff to represent the external face of the Ministry (and, as a consequence, New Zealand) to foreign or domestic audiences. They also contribute to a capacity to be able to operate with some degree of competence with Māori (both internally within the Ministry and to external audiences). There is a distinction between the Ministry staff in relation to those cultural skills held by Māori staff and those acquired by non-Māori staff. The Ministry's historic approach has been to focus on assisting non-Māori

¹⁷ I distinguish here from Māori political appointments. For example, former Governor General Sir Jerry Mateparae (Ngāti Tūwharetoa, Ngāti Kahungunu and Tūhoe) was appointed New Zealand's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom in 2016 (McCully, 2016).

¹⁸ See Chapter 5 for a description of the methodological approach and interviews with participants.

staff to acquire 'cultural competencies' with limited learning and development opportunities for Māori staff to expand their knowledge.

For Māori staff, each person's career journey and experience will differ depending on their own backgrounds, previous experience, skill set and academic qualifications. There is a suite of overlaying issues that can impact on Māori staff to a greater or lesser degree during their employment which do not impact on non-Māori staff in the same way. These include issues of cultural safety in the workplace and for those Māori staff who have Te Reo and/or tikanga Māori skills, non-Māori staff not appreciating or understanding these skills, and a lack of formal recognition by the Ministry.

In more recent years, issues around engaging with iwi Māori, and Māori in the private sector and the wider community have begun to feature. This followed criticism that the Ministry:

...needs to shift its paradigm in relation to its responsibility as a Treaty partner and determine not only how it engages with authenticity and integrity but also develop a shared understanding of its value proposition for and with Māori (SSC, 2017a).

This was a key driver behind the Ministry producing a Māori Engagement Strategy, "which aims to build relationships and partnerships with Māori based on trust and confidence" (MFAT, 2018i, p. 3).

This strategy is largely externally focused with brief attention to the inward facing issues affecting current or potential Māori staff. In 2018, while the Māori Engagement Strategy was at the beginning stages of implementation (MFAT, 2018i), its range of recommendations provide limited tools to progress any deep understanding or solutions to the many issues the Ministry needs to address in the bicultural space. The focus was largely on the development of a platform to demonstrate the Ministry was trying to better engage with Māori in the trade policy space through the establishment of 'Taumata Māori'.¹⁹

My concern is that New Zealand's current pattern of diplomatic representation does not reflect New Zealand's bicultural heritage in a principled and meaningful way. A disconnect exists between the outward face of the Ministry (specifically in the physical posting context)

¹⁹ Comprised of nine representatives, the Taumata Māori seeks to deepen engagement between the Ministry and Māori on trade policy and related issues, described as a way "to deepen and regularise discussions on strategic trade policy issues of mutual interest and pave the way for potential collaborations" (MFAT, 2019j).

and the inward realities (of the position of Māori staff and the way the Ministry carries out its core policy work). A principled reflection of New Zealand's bicultural reality would require a comprehensive examination and understanding of a range of key factors. This includes, for example, New Zealand's history in relation to the Crown-Māori relationship, how New Zealand has represented Māori through the Ministry in the past, and what is meant to be symbolised in the contemporary expression of New Zealand's identity by the Ministry. Such a principle-based approach would also consider a range of Māori views as a Treaty partner. It would also reflect a partnership-based dialogue where one partner (in this case, Tangata Tiriti) does not make such decisions on representation in isolation and largely alone. Spelman (2013) characterises the situation in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand, where Western worldview thinking operates strongly in the way people articulate Tangata Tiriti worldview perspectives in their beliefs and values and in the conduct of community affairs at all levels.

Meaningful reflection of New Zealand's biculturalism would consider these issues and seek to move beyond a pattern of representation that has been described in a range of forms. These descriptions range from the positive (use of Māori art is positive as it supports Māori artists and keeps Māori culture 'alive') to the negative (tokenistic expressions of Māori identity to cultural appropriation of forms of Māori cultural expression).

The reflection of New Zealand's bicultural history and contemporary reality must not only be meaningful to those people who engage with the Ministry (both in New Zealand and overseas), but to Māori ourselves. A meaningful reflection needs to resonate and have meaning for Māori who work for the Ministry and who interact with the Ministry staff and physical spaces in New Zealand and overseas through the Ministry's posts.

When I began this research, I was a Ministry diplomat and employee and so approached this research from the perspective of an "insider researcher" (Costley, Elliott & Gibbs, 2010, p.4) contributing my own experiences and observations of these issues. In the final few months of concluding this research I was no longer an insider researcher as I left the employment of the Ministry in November 2019 to take up a position on the senior leadership team of the Ministry for Women – a different agency within the New Zealand public service.

This research examines how New Zealand is represented offshore, in relation to New Zealand's identity as a bicultural nation, with an indigenous Māori population. It considers two aspects of how New Zealand is depicted: the physical portrayal of New Zealand (through

an examination of aspects of the physical environment used – including the use of art and design), and through the more human aspect of how Ministry staff (specifically Māori, including Māori diplomats) experience this portrayal. Case studies are included, including one focused on the design and refit of the Consulate General of New Zealand in Noumea, New Caledonia. A further case study illustrates how New Zealand’s diplomatic representation in Rarotonga, the Cook Islands uses Māori images and practices in New Zealand’s diplomatic relationship with the Cook Islands. Additional examples depict patterns of use of Māori-themed images and practices in New Zealand posts in Australia, United Arab Emirates, United States of America, China, Papua New Guinea, Japan and Korea. These case studies detail how the artwork used in the physical spaces owned and used by the Ministry and the design features incorporated demonstrate how Māori images and practices are used by the Ministry in a posting environment.

Aim

This research seeks to address and remedy the gap in the literature about how Māori people, images and practices are used as part of New Zealand’s diplomatic practice. The nature of the data will predominantly feature an insider researcher perspective, reflecting that during much of the period I was conducting this research I was employed by the Ministry as a diplomat. Ethnographic data collection observed over my previous, lengthy employment by the Ministry also features. As such, this is a piece of research where use of the first person is appropriate. This research examines how decisions on New Zealand’s representation are made and the intended or likely meanings behind these decisions. The goal is to enhance understanding of how New Zealand is represented internationally and how New Zealand’s Māori heritage and indigeneity is portrayed as part of that representation. A related aim is to present conclusions and suggested recommendations to inform future decision making in this area.

Scope

This thesis presents a multi-faceted exploration of how New Zealand’s diplomatic practice pertaining to Māori staff, imagery and cultural practices reflects a bicultural identity. Diplomatic symbolism, architectural diplomacy and representation will be the key theoretical anchors used. Available data that illustrates Ministry practices around the use of Māori objects and ceremony, and the training, development and career progression of Māori diplomats, will also be examined.

Faizullaev's (2013) work on diplomatic symbolism is a key theoretical lens considered through which to examine how the Ministry represents New Zealand through people and images. Faizullaev's work was crucial to consider the symbolism of the objects used (and practices employed) by the Ministry. Faizullaev's work was chosen as the specific aspects of diplomatic symbolism considered in this research have not been examined in the context of New Zealand's diplomacy.

As part of the process of forming the key research question, I went through a process of clarifying which issues were in scope and which were not. Focusing on how Māori people, images and practices are used in New Zealand's diplomacy meant considering some other theoretical lenses or academic concepts that could have been referred to or explored and deciding which ones were not. It also meant I went through a process of deciding which cultural practices and types of images the research would focus on. Within the Ministry's diplomatic work, for example, there are a range of practices used in New Zealand and overseas that relate to aspects of Māori culture. These vary according to the location, context and availability or interest of Ministry staff - especially Māori staff - to use these practices. For example, some posts routinely use waiata, (to support significant events for example as shown in Figure 1) pōwhiri (as part of a celebration pōwhiri or ceremony as shown in Figure 2), whakatau (for example when celebrating a special event as shown in Figure 3) or welcoming foreign visitors (as shown in Figure 72) or karakia. Others use some forms of Te Reo Māori as part of their work (for example as a greeting when people telephone or email an Embassy) or incorporate use of korowai or pounamu as part of their work.

Figure 1: Photo of Ngāti Rānana performing in support of the New Zealand Embassy in Belgium at a celebration of 50 years of diplomatic relations between New Zealand and Romania (NZ Embassy Belgium, 2020).

Figure 2: Photo by Tom Honan from the *Irish Times* of the pōwhiri for the opening of the New Zealand Embassy in Dublin, Ireland (Edwards, 2018).

This research focused on some examples of expression of cultural practice (notably use of cultural taonga within the Ministry's work environment, including whare whakairo, pounamu mauri stones, pou or carvings and karanga and pōwhiri) in order to best illustrate the overarching focus of the research on the symbolism of how Māori are represented within the Ministry's work in connection with the use of images and practice. The practices chosen helped illustrate the art and design aspect of the research, whereas detailing examples of every practice used in different contexts and locations would dilute the focus away from the main research question.

Literature on cultural or public diplomacy, together with nation branding was also considered but not chosen to illustrate the core research question, which relates to diplomatic symbolism. Early on I also decided to limit the research to the context of New Zealand rather than undertake a detailed comparison with every jurisdiction or country with an indigenous culture that is represented in part within that country's diplomatic practice. The research is not intended to be a full historical account of the Ministry's history or to detail the history of each Māori diplomat who has worked in the Ministry. Those large topics remain for others to take forward. For the purposes of this research it became clear that the period during which the Ministry has had Māori staff and has used Māori images has been relatively short. As such, the scope of the research was influenced by where the gap in the literature was apparent. It was also influenced by some of the material from interviews and the written materials available.

Figure 3: Photo of former Māori diplomats Hekia Parata and Witi Ihimaera presenting a greenstone gift Te Wai Pounamu to the Metropolitan Museum, New York, June 1986 (MFAT, 1986).

Chapter 2: Background

Locating the topic and history

In this chapter I locate the research within the context of New Zealand's diplomatic practices and some of the personal drivers based on my career at the Ministry. I set the scene by outlining the Ministry's role and its position within the wider landscape of the New Zealand public service.

To further locate the research question, I examine the Ministry's history, origins and literature on Māori (people and culture) and the New Zealand Foreign Service. My interest is twofold: whether there is literature on the background to Māori joining the Ministry as employees or on whether there was any purposeful examination of the need to include Māori in New Zealand's Foreign Service at all; and whether literature exists on the extent to which aspects of Te Ao Māori have been part of the New Zealand Foreign Service or the Ministry's practices. This could include, for example, use of Māori-themed art or taonga in buildings owned by the Ministry, use of cultural practices such as waiata, pōwhiri, karanga and mihi, or use of Te Reo Māori.

While written accounts are sparse, I detail what is known of the beginnings of Māori people and practice being part of the Ministry. This includes accounts of how Māori cultural practices, art and design have formed part of this history. In 2018 the Ministry celebrated its 75th anniversary²⁰ and held a conference to mark this occasion. Some reflections on that event and observations from presenters assist in setting the scene.

My research interest is how New Zealand's bicultural heritage is represented internationally and the implications of current practices in relation to Māori (people, images and practices). I examine how these practices are used as part of New Zealand's diplomacy and what is intended or understood by the symbolism inherent in their use. Biculturalism, or giving equal value to two cultures, has been described as being New Zealand 'state policy', with New Zealand standing apart from other postcolonial countries by being the only settler nation to introduce a bicultural framework that values indigenous Māori culture and (predominantly European) immigrant cultures equally (Schubert-McArthur, 2019).

²⁰ 'An Eye, an Ear and a Voice: New Zealand's changing place in the world', MFAT at 75 Conference, 18 October 2018, Wellington.

As part of positioning these bicultural aspects I outline some of the key points of intersection with wider developments or considerations within the New Zealand public service and context. This includes touching on the relevance of the Treaty of Waitangi and the interplay between bicultural issues and the current focus within the public sector on 'diversity and inclusion'. The latter is described as a "recognition that New Zealand's state services need to value, reflect and understand the communities we serve" and that in order to do this "we are growing our leaders and our talent to produce a more diverse and inclusive workforce and workplaces" (SSC, 2019a).

Motivation behind research

Over the years I worked at the Ministry I observed a range of issues that helped drive this research. I observed that there appeared to be a dominant use of Māori art and taonga within the Ministry's offices. I noticed the extent to which work by Māori artists or art works that incorporate Māori themes or imagery are featured in the head office in Wellington. When I began to travel overseas as part of my work and visited New Zealand diplomatic posts, I observed the use of similar themed art works at these posts. I noticed the use of works of art by New Zealand artists, including a high number of Māori artists. These artworks were displayed in areas accessible to the public as reception areas and meeting rooms. To a lesser extent such artworks are displayed in the offices of diplomatic staff – specifically the office of the High Commissioner or Ambassador. I also noted that a number of posts display Māori carvings in various forms in these reception areas or meeting rooms.

These taonga range from small pou (example: Figure 112 Noumea) to large and dominant pou (example: Figure 160 Abu Dhabi; Figure 36 London). There is a range of Māori carving forms displayed, including more traditional forms (examples include: Figure 184; Figure 144; Figure 97) and modern interpretation (examples include: Figure 100; Figure 174). My early introduction to the use of Māori carving by the Ministry was the first wharehau created in the early 1980s, which was then head office in Stafford House on The Terrace in Wellington. This carved meeting room, referred to as Te Whare o Ngāti Aorere was formally opened in 1985 once the carvings and tukutuku panels were completed and installed (MFAT, 1999). Following a move to larger premises in 2002 to the current head office of the Ministry on Lambton Quay, Wellington, New Zealand, the carved meeting room was named 'Aorere' (Figure 4). This pare was carved by Rangi Hetet, Wellington. It is described as illustrating a central figure,

holding on to the aka (vine) that spread to the four corners of the world, representing the Ministry's home base and personnel (MFAT, 1999). This name was drawn from the previous Māori name adopted in the past for the Ministry (Manatū Aorere) and Ministry staff (Ngāti Aorere). Translated from Māori to English, the phrase “embodies the notion of travelling the

world to represent the Government”, and is used for meetings, training sessions, seminars, cultural events and for welcoming both domestic and foreign delegations to the Ministry, (MFAT, 1999). Within Aorere, carved pou are displayed, together with woven tukutuku panels that tell many stories linked to the work of the Ministry. I have been part of many hui and kōrero within Whare Aorere during my service at the Ministry Māori and non-Māori staff.

Figure 4: Photo of Pare (door lintel) of Aorere, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Wellington, New Zealand

Through my involvement in Te Pou Māori, I quickly realised that there were very few Māori staff within the Ministry but that this rūpū was important to them for many reasons: the opportunity of whakawhanaungatanga, advocacy on issues affecting Māori staff, a place to practise and develop tikanga Māori, and opportunities to kōrero Te Reo Māori together and discuss issues of concern.

As a member of Te Pou Māori and regularly visiting Whare Aorere, I also observed and experienced the close spiritual connection between the Māori staff and the taonga that make Whare Aorere. These connections were noticeably reinforced for those staff with a whakapapa connection to the pou and tukutuku.

“The Whare (Aorere) is such an important...cultural touchstone for us (Te Pou Māori).... where we all get together, and such a huge source of inspiration” (P-9).

During various visits to New Zealand posts overseas, I have had many interactions with diplomatic colleagues working in these posts (in addition to my offshore postings in Belgium and the Cook Islands). These included observing attempts by some non-Māori staff to explain Māori art works or taonga to other staff or visitors and observing how non-Māori staff interacted with the art and taonga. I often noticed staff were not able to explain the significance of art or taonga or locate them within a Māori framework. This contrasted with how I have witnessed the close connections Māori staff have with taonga within the Whare Aorere and at posts they have served at or visited. At times I have also been concerned that non-Māori staff at posts do not have the benefit of knowing the cultural value and significance of taonga, or the skills to be able to look after the taonga within their post.

I also watched over the years the incorporation or use of different forms of Māori cultural practice by the Ministry, particularly, use of pōwhiri, waiata, karakia and some use of Te Reo Māori in signage and naming. Previous Ministry branding, for example, incorporated 'Manatū Aorere', on building signage, stationery and staff business cards. At one point the New Zealand aid programme's official name - New Zealand Agency for International Development – was translated as *Nga Hoe Tuputupu-mai-tawhiti* (the paddles that bring growth from afar). These practices have evolved and changed over time and have been used in different formats and contexts. Pōwhiri, for example are organised for some groups of visitors to the Ministry as is the use of Whare Aorere for significant events, such as signing agreements (Figure 5). What has remained constant is the involvement of some Māori staff with the expression of these practices. A further theme has been occasional tensions or differences of opinion between Māori staff and parts of the Ministry on how and whether certain practices should be used by the Ministry.

At times I have observed the difficulties that can arise when there is a conflicting interface between an expression of cultural practice by Māori staff and a Ministry business imperative. This arises frequently for example when non-Māori staff wish to hold a pōwhiri to welcome a group of their visitors and seek assistance from Māori staff without sufficient notice. I have also observed this tension during a staff-led training initiative by and for Māori women staff to learn or improve their karanga. Hibbs (2006) defines karanga as “on a purely physical level the karanga is usually a very high-pitched penetrating call which is always delivered by a wahine” (p. 3). A conflict arose when the Ministry wanted to expand this training to non-

Māori staff. While this issue was resolved, it illustrates a lack of cultural understanding and the potential for conflict, which can negatively impact on Māori staff and their wellbeing. This opposition by Māori women staff to karanga being taught to non-Māori staff can be located in a wider context as illustrated by Ellis (2016) who notes that:

through colonization, we as Māori have been left very little. Most of our land, language and culture has been taken, and what remains is small enough to fit inside a small kete. So what is inside is *ours*, and only *ours*. This includes karanga and moko for instance. THIS IS ONLY FOR MĀORI. (p. 455)

Figure 5: Photo of Rob Taylor (Divisional Manager, Europe Division of the Ministry) and Ms Paola Pampaloni (Deputy Managing Director of the Asia and Pacific Department of the European External Action Service) signing a Partnership Agreement on Relations and Cooperation between the European Union and New Zealand in Whare, 2 March 2018 (MFAT, 2018p).

Ferris describes further historical context surrounding the karanga, which was “traditionally, delivered by women past childbearing age; kuia whose age and life experience had earned them respect and endowed them with the wisdom and mātauranga necessary for such a role” (Ferris as cited in Hibbs, 2006).

The availability and willingness of Māori staff to be involved in pōwhiri is also influenced by geography. With lower numbers of Māori diplomatic staff serving offshore there are limited opportunities for pōwhiri to be performed correctly by Māori staff overseas. The Ministry solution to this issue can include flying in Māori staff to conduct the pōwhiri and to engage

Māori cultural performers to support the pōwhiri who are either based overseas or flown from New Zealand. One participant referred to their experience on posting and the use of local kapa haka groups, noting that:

“Whilst it was easy when in Wellington for us to represent ourselves as Māori it was not so easy at post. So, we kind of outsourced” (P-6).

A further striking example of the incorporation of an aspect of Māori culture into Ministry practice is the use of korowai. The central aspect of the korowai policy I am interested in is the wearing of korowai by New Zealand Heads of Mission during the presentation of their credentials to their host government. This is when a New Zealand Ambassador or High Commissioner presents their letter of introduction from the New Zealand Governor General²¹ noting that they have been appointed as New Zealand’s diplomatic representative. This is usually done during a ceremony that reflects aspects of the culture of the host country.

My interest centres on firstly the symbolism connected to using korowai in this way by the Ministry, the relationship between this use and the cultural significance of korowai to Māori. Secondly, I have been struck by the symbolism of korowai being worn by New Zealand diplomats in senior roles, when the vast majority of these New Zealand diplomats are non-Māori. I am interested in the symbolism of such use of korowai in two contexts – the image this portrays of New Zealand overseas and the reaction by Ministry Māori staff. I have also observed how korowai are frequently used in posts or diplomatic residences. Usually framed and encased in glass, my interest is in the symbolism around the use of korowai in this way and the appropriateness of having a taonga presented in this form (example: Figure 70 in Noumea).

As my interest in these issues grew, and my experience within the Ministry broadened, I began to consider this disconnect between the Ministry’s external and Māori dominated image of New Zealand and the realities experienced by Māori staff. My interest in this disconnect relates to the low numbers of Māori staff (notably at senior levels) and my view of the degree of responsiveness demonstrated by the Ministry in the bicultural and Treaty space. This disconnect has been heightened through my involvement in and observations of

²¹ Pursuant to s 4 of the Foreign Affairs Act 1988, the Governor-General has authority to appoint or reappoint any person as Head of Mission or head of post.

the development of the Ministry's organisational landscape. This includes the release of Ministry 'values', and strategies for diversity and inclusion and Māori engagement.

Throughout my career in the New Zealand public service I have been interested in and observed the interface between the Crown-Māori relationship and Māori. My specific interest has been in the expression and interpretation of this relationship by New Zealand government departments as representatives of the Crown. Coupled with this is an interest in the impact of the Crown on Māori as consumers of public services but more importantly as employees of Crown agencies. In the context of the Ministry my focus is on the obligations and responsibilities of the Ministry to Māori staff on the one hand, and to Māori outside the Ministry on the other. This internal and external duality is complex and raises a myriad of issues and questions that in my observation are not always understood or answered by the Ministry. This duality extends to Māori staff within the Ministry who not only are employees of the Ministry but are in themselves members of the wider Māori community through their links to their whānau, hapū and iwi. I have observed the conflict that can materialise in the Ministry work environment when this duality is not fully understood or explored. This interest led originally to my earlier research on the (problematic) relationship between Māori being defined at that time as an equal employment opportunity group (EEO), and a wider bicultural public sector focus (Ngawati, 1996).

My earlier research was partly motivated by an interest in how the New Zealand public sector uses and relies on concepts largely sourced from the United States and how these impact on Māori employees. These concepts include the ideologies of affirmative action,²² EEO²³ and 'diversity and inclusion.'²⁴ These concepts approach equality in the workplace by defining minority sectors of the community including women, people with disabilities and ethnic communities. Equal weighting and priority are given to each group through the medium of various targeted initiatives. I am interested in the issues that arise for Māori as a Treaty of

²² Described as proactive provisions aimed at improving the overall position of disadvantaged groups of workers within the labour force (Briar, 1994).

²³ Within the context of the New Zealand public service, the definition of EEO is described in s 58 (3) State Sector Act 1988 as "a programme that is aimed at the identification and elimination of all aspects of policies, procedures and other institutional barriers that cause or perpetuate, or tend to cause or perpetuate, inequality in respect to the employment of any persons or group of persons".

²⁴ Within the context of the New Zealand public service workforce diversity is described as the "collective vision of public service chief executives that the state services reflect, understand and value the communities they serve" (SSC, 2018).

Waitangi²⁵ partner when Māori employed by the public sector are usually categorised in the same group as ethnic minorities. Māori employed by the Ministry for example are regarded within a recruitment context as a targeted group within a diversity and inclusion narrative, but in other contexts are seen as an asset to assist the Ministry to engage with Māori within a Māori engagement narrative. I characterise this duality of obligation faced by the Ministry and the wider New Zealand public sector as a combination of internal and external responsibilities and obligations to Māori employees and the Māori community.

Tremaine (1994) notes that the most serious disadvantage of EEO for Māori is that managers who have only a vague idea of what Treaty responsibilities require, but are familiar with EEO, may think that their EEO Māori policy is sufficient to deal with the whole area of the organisation's obligations to Māori and ignore Article Two²⁶ of the Treaty. While the passage of time has ameliorated this concern somewhat, with departments having less focus on EEO Māori targets (preferring diversity and inclusion narratives) and there being more discussion of Treaty responsibilities, the incompatibility between viewing Māori as an EEO target group and biculturalism remain (Ngawati, 1996). Waaka (1990, p. 2) has further summarised this discordant pairing saying:

...EEO has nothing to do with a bicultural imperative, the unique tangata whenua status of Māori people or the endeavours of the government to redress the socio-economic imbalance that exists for Māori. EEO is exactly what it says: equal employment opportunities for all people with a particular emphasis on those people who are currently under-represented in government organisations; that includes Māori people.

I have also seen and heard various accounts of the Ministry's history through my career. These include stories of previous diplomats, accounts of the Ministry's origins and influential leaders and staff. I observed that many written accounts of earlier staff were not about the

²⁵ The Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi was signed in 1840 at Waitangi, New Zealand between representatives of the British Crown and 544 Maori rangatira (leaders or chiefs). Both parties had different understandings of the Treaty due to varying translations and interpretations of concepts (Schubert-McArthur, 2019). In Article 1 of the Treaty, the Māori version refers to 'kawanatanga' (governorship) as a translation for 'sovereignty'. In Māori eyes this meant something less than the transfer of indivisible sovereignty to the Crown – the more so when taken alongside Article Two's guarantee of 'full authority'/te tino rangatiratanga over land and other taonga/treasures to the Māori signatories, which was seen to imply "more than mere possession" (Hill, 2009, p. 222) of tangible resources .

²⁶ Which guarantees the preservation of tino rangatiratanga, full chiefly authority over all taonga or prized possessions of the Māori (Tremaine, 1994).

stories of Māori staff. I saw the championing of early non-Māori diplomats by the Ministry, for example, through the naming of meeting rooms in Wellington and at posts in memory of past diplomats. I noticed these did not include Māori diplomats.

As I had the opportunity to visit some of New Zealand's posts and find out more about the use of specific taonga by the Ministry, I observed that there appeared to be scant knowledge or understanding by Ministry staff of their significance, cultural context or appropriate use and care. This was most apparent in relation to the use of korowai, pou, tukutuku and pounamu.

Methodological approach to interviews and case studies

The methods I applied to the interviews and case studies were essentially qualitative, using a form of a qualitative methodology to approach my fieldwork. Denzin (2007, pp. 3-4) describes qualitative research as:

...multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter, meaning qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret these things in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical materials—case study, personal experience, introspection, life story, interview, and observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in an individual's life.

In order to fully explore the data collected, and reflecting the appropriateness of a first-person narrative, the methodology followed an ethnographic approach to the gathering of qualitative data and observations. Stahler and Cohen (2000, pp. 1-2) refer to ethnography as:

...essentially the methodological framework utilized to characterize all qualitative research, from unstructured and semi-structured interviewing, to extensive observation to obtain an insider's understanding of the social context. Ethnographic methodology in its broadest sense can refer to any qualitative method that involves participant observation, nonparticipant observation, or qualitative interviewing.

This choice of method allowed me to explore with participants broad range of questions to elaborate on the research questions. Interviews were designed to follow an iterative process

to allow for the possibility that other questions may arise during the interview process. For Ministry Māori staff interviewed, it was important to allow each person to have the opportunity to tell the story of their journey within the Ministry. Approaching the interviews and the case studies using this ethnographic framework allowed me to combine my perspective as an insider researcher with the descriptive interpretations provided by participants, as part of “beginning to theorize on the basis of an insight gotten from an interviewee’s words” (Glaser & Straus, 1999, pp. 252-253).

The methodological approach to this research is based around interviews, in particular those of Māori participants. I used an essentially mixed methods approach as an insider researcher. Aspects of my interview practice also reflected some indicators which can be described in terms of Kaupapa Māori methods. Including interviews that were *kanohi ki te kanohi*, my use of *whanaungatanga*, networks, incorporation and validation of Māori participants’ expression of their cultural identity, *Te Reo* and *mihi*. In that sense, I was proceeding on the basis of Kaupapa Māori research providing a base assumption that was connected to Māori philosophy and principles and took for granted the validity and legitimacy of Māori (participants) and the importance of Māori language and culture (Smith G., as cited in Smith, 2012).

In her exploration of Kaupapa Māori research, Smith (2012) characterises research of Māori as marked by a history that has impacted on the attitudes and feelings of Māori towards research. Reflecting this background, links are drawn between research and the “production of Western knowledge, in the nature of academic work, in the production of theories that have dehumanized Māori and in practices that have continued to privilege Western ways of knowing, while denying the validity for Māori of Māori knowledge, language and culture” (pp. 297).

Kaupapa Māori research has been described as recognising Māori values, customs and protocols as a core aspect of the research process (Walker S, Eketone A, Gibbs A as cited in McGruer, 2019). The three main assumptions underpinning Kaupapa Māori research methodologies described by Durie (1988) are relevant in terms of Māori participants views being at the centre of this research, the acknowledgement that Māori have a distinctive world view and manner by which to organise knowledge in accordance with the distinctive

nature of Māori knowledge; and the relationship between Kaupapa Māori and other bodies and forms of knowledge (Durie as cited in McGruer, 2019).

Smith (2012) highlights that one of the challenges for Māori researchers working in this context has been to “retrieve some space” (pp. 297) in a range of areas. My interest in this concept of reclaiming space, was to “develop approaches and ways of carrying out research that take into account, without being limited by, the legacies of previous research”. I was greatly assisted by the existing relationships I had with participants, their willingness to be involved in this research which did not appear to be influenced by negative experiences of previous research. Reflecting that no previous research had been carried out by an insider researcher and member of the Māori staff providing an opportunity for participants to take part. As part of my interview practice, my aim was to frame all my contact with participants in a way that would respect this position and provide an environment that was “culturally safe” for participants, in a similar way to Irwin’s characterisation of Kaupapa Māori research (Irwin as cited in Smith, 2012).

My approach also incorporated a form of “mentorship of elders” Irwin (as cited in Smith, 2012) refers to, in the sense that during this research journey I have benefitted from and been deeply grateful for the mentorship, tautoko and aroha from my wider Te Pou Māori whanau in particular, together with members of Ngati Aorere. In this sense, this whanau support and involvement in this research can be described as a “research whanau of interest” as characterised by Bishop (Bishop as cited in Smith, 2012), which existed alongside my “whanau of supervisors” referred to by Irwin (Irwin as cited in Smith, 2012).

Through reference to the themes in the research questions, this provided an opportunity for participants to share their thoughts and observations on New Zealand’s current diplomatic practice and use of Māori people (including diplomats), images and practices. This included the symbolism of these practices to participants (if they wished to comment) and the Ministry. Other themes included:

- the current state of New Zealand’s diplomatic practice, whether this reflects (or otherwise) New Zealand’s bicultural identity, including the participant’s own experience and observations

- how New Zealand is represented through staff (in particular, Māori diplomats) and through the symbolic use of objects (either the physical environment or architecture of the various diplomatic spaces used and through the works of art collection operated by the Ministry
- how decisions on representation (actual and perceived) are made and by whom
- how well the current expression of New Zealand's diplomatic practice (both through people/staff and through physical objects) reflects New Zealand's bicultural identity
- the limitations and the flow-on impacts for New Zealand's diplomatic practice and perceptions by others
- what could be altered to improve the status quo and what tools would be useful to give effect to such a future state.

Participants also had the opportunity to make additional observations, including, for some, personal recollections from diplomatic postings of the use of Māori art, taonga or Māori cultural practices at the post where they were based. Following the completion of the interviews I analysed the transcripts produced using an informal coding framework. Firstly, I summarised the key themes raised by each participant in response to the research questions. Then, I grouped these themes (and sub themes) in more detail across all the interview data. I was then able to identify the main observations and key quotes I wanted to use to emphasise the points made. The framework in Figure 6 was based on collecting this data for each theme in order to relate these to the main research questions.

Themes Sub themes	Observations	Participant Details	Any Key Quotes	Comments
-------------------	--------------	---------------------	----------------	----------

Figure 6: Example of informal coding framework used for interview data

I considered using a software package to review the qualitative data; however, decided that with the relatively small data set and my personal interaction and response to the case study materials (either through examining visual imagery or written material, or visiting locations personally) that a more informal coding framework would allow me to analyse the data more intuitively – reflecting my status as an insider researcher. The propositions outlined above were also considered through a range of case studies of New Zealand posts. Methods included personal observation and experience at posts I have worked at (Cook Islands) and

visited (Canberra, Australia) or posts where I interviewed key staff involved in a new design process (Noumea, New Caledonia) and reviewed available photographic and design material (Sydney, Australia; Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates). For other posts I focused on one key aspect of the post's use of taonga, as shown in Figure 7.

The case studies also illuminate the use of other forms of cultural taonga by the Ministry as part of the display of artworks and cultural artefacts, as shown in Figure 8.

Taonga	Post	Image of taonga in traditional context
Tokotoko (carved talking stick)	Los Angeles, USA Seoul, Korea	<p>27</p>
Te Aka Aorere pou (carving)	Wellington, New Zealand Santiago, Chile Mexico City, Mexico Noumea, New Caledonia Buenos Aires, Argentina Canberra, Australia	<p>28</p>

²⁷ Taonga Māori Collection (1918).

²⁸ Taonga Māori Collection (1500).

Taonga	Post	Image of taonga in traditional context
Waharoa (carved gateway)	Washington, USA Tokyo, Japan	<p>29</p>
Wharenuī (meeting house or aspects of)	Wellington, New Zealand Port Moresby, Papua New Guinea Beijing, China	<p>30</p>

Figure 7: Examples of taonga used by the Ministry and referred to in this research

²⁹ Taonga Māori Collection (1921).

³⁰ Photo of Photo of Waihopai marae, Ngāi Tahu (Ngāi Tahu, 2020).

Taonga displayed as part of artworks	Post	Image of taonga in historic context
Framed korowai	<p>Canberra, Australia</p> <p>Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates,</p> <p>Noumea, New Caledonia</p> <p>Dublin, Ireland</p> <p>Washington, USA</p>	<p>31</p>
Framed kete	<p>Rarotonga, Cook Islands</p> <p>Noumea, New Caledonia</p> <p>Seoul, Korea</p> <p>Abu Dhabi, UAE</p>	<p>32</p>
Framed piupiu	<p>Noumea, New Caledonia</p> <p>Dublin, Ireland</p>	<p>33</p>

³¹ Korowai (Cloak) unknown weaver, Taonga Māori Collection (1800 1900).

³² Kete whakairo (patterned bag), Taonga Māori collection (1905).

³³ Piupiu, circa 1930, Taonga Māori collection (1930).

Taonga displayed as part of artworks	Post	Image of taonga in historic context
Tukutuku panels	Wellington, New Zealand Rarotonga, Cook Islands Noumea, New Caledonia Abu Dhabi, UAE	<p>34</p>
Pounamu mauri stone	Wellington, New Zealand Dublin, Ireland Sydney, Australia	<p>35</p>

Figure 8: Examples of other taonga used by the Ministry and referred to in this research

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the imperatives of biculturalism

This chapter now proceeds to identify and critique aspects of the Ministry's policy and practice. I begin by describing the Ministry within the context of the New Zealand public sector and then describe the Ministry itself. This is followed by a critique of the Ministry in relation to biculturalism.

Locating the Ministry within the New Zealand public sector

The Ministry is one of a number of departments within the New Zealand public service,³⁶ which Peter Hughes (State Services Commissioner) described in 2018 as having two important roles in New Zealand society:

³⁴ Photograph of Māori carving showing tukutuku panels between carvings (Taonga Māori Collection,

³⁵ Kohatu Pounamu (nephrite boulder), unknown carver (Taonga Māori Collection, 2020).

³⁶ Described in Schedule 1 of the State Sector Act 1988.

...First, New Zealanders depend on hard working public servants to deliver vital services every day. Second, the Government relies on public servants for advice and to implement its priorities and policies, which are designed to achieve real outcomes for New Zealanders (SSC, 2018).

New Zealand has a relatively small number of diplomatic representatives globally³⁷ making the composition of each High Commission or Embassy critical. In 2019, the Ministry operated 60 posts in 53 countries as shown in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Ministry at a glance diagram showing the post network and staff details (MFAT, 2019i).

³⁷ In comparison with Australia for example which operates 117 posts worldwide (DFAT, 2018)

In addition, 115 accreditations to other countries are managed, together with 73 Honorary Consuls. In 2019 there were 1673 staff 821 in New Zealand and 852 overseas, including 248 seconded staff from New Zealand and 604 staff employed at post (MFAT, 2019i).

But what does the Ministry actually do as part of the New Zealand public service? To achieve the Ministry's stated goal of "acting in the world to make New Zealanders safer and more prosperous" (MFAT, 2018i, pp. 6-7), the Ministry carries out a range of functions, from providing consular services to New Zealanders needing assistance overseas; trade functions (negotiating trade agreements and defending access to overseas markets for New Zealand exporters); being part of multilateral international solutions for issues such as climate change and security matters; administering New Zealand development assistance; and, in partnership with other agencies,³⁸ leading any New Zealand disaster response in times of humanitarian crisis (specifically in the Pacific).

The Ministry has struggled in the past with perceptions by some of being an elitist organisation, dominated by affluent and largely Pākehā (non-Māori) staff. A Ministerial Review Report in 2001 (focused on delivery of the New Zealand aid programme) described the Ministry as "arrogant and elitist", having an "extremely repressive and unproductive culture that does not encourage innovation or reward excellence" (Grossman & Lees 2001). As part of the Ministry's review of its current state of Diversity and Inclusiveness in June 2017, the executive summary referred to considerable criticism by some participants in the review of the Ministry's "elitism, a hierarchical culture, risk aversion, silos and repeated reference to still being a white man's club" (Diversitas, 2017a, p. 4). Participants also referred to:

"The perception of (the Ministry) as an elitist organisation. That you had to be really smart to get in" (P-8).

"A lot of (Māori) people don't see the Ministry as an option because they do have this perception that it's really Pākehā or elitist" (P-4)

Within the Ministry demographic there remain small numbers of Māori staff. Reliable and accurate data on the exact numbers is scarce, with estimated numbers ranging from 6% to 12%. A number of factors influence this situation, including varied rates of data capture on

³⁸ Such as the New Zealand Defence Force and NGOs (Red Cross)

staff identity by the Ministry, some Māori staff not identifying as Māori within a work context, and data collection on ethnicity by the Ministry being limited and voluntary. While there is some data available on the general numbers of Māori staff, including those figures the Ministry is required to submit annually to the State Services Commission, there is sparse data available on numbers of Māori staff within Ministry job level.³⁹ In 2017 the Ministry's staff composition was recorded as: 77% European, 12.4% Māori, 4.3% Pacific and 6.4% Asian (SSC, 2017). Internal figures indicate much lower figures of Māori staff representing 6 % of Ministry staff⁴⁰.

Numbers are small within the foreign policy job grouping, which is the predominant group from which managers in Tier 4 and above are sourced, together with senior diplomatic roles offshore (High Commissioners, Ambassadors, Consul Generals). Informal data from November 2017 details 27 Māori staff within a group of 432 foreign policy staff, or 6%⁴¹. As these numbers are relatively small and as the majority of Māori staff are known to each other (informally or within the Te Pou Māori staff rūpū) it is not difficult to estimate the numbers of Māori staff within the job levels. These informal figures reflect the wider situation in the public service of Māori under-representation in the top three tiers of the New Zealand public service (SSC2017). Numbers of Māori staff in senior, management level jobs are very small. In May 2020 there were approximately six Māori Heads of Missions serving overseas. With a total of 58 positions heading posts offshore, this is roughly 10% of the total figure.

While the Ministry's span of interests and responsibilities covers a wide range of topics, unless directly involved in issues (such as climate change lobbyist, New Zealand official) or accessing specific advice (for example, as an exporter accessing information on an export opportunity or trade negotiation) the majority of the New Zealand public would have minimal points of intersection with the Ministry. The most common encounters for those not directly involved or following in core Ministry work are likely to be sourcing information or assistance either in New Zealand or at a New Zealand post overseas while travelling or following an emergency situation or disaster response. The Ministry also operates the 'safetravel'⁴²

³⁹ The Ministry has a number of job levels and job 'families', ranging from administrative/corporate services roles to development and policy officers. Management tiers start from tier 4 Unit managers, tier 3 Divisional managers and tier 2 members of the senior leadership team.

⁴⁰ Unpublished email from Ministry Human Resources Group to Te Pou Māori in June 2018 indicating 57 Maori staff within a total of 988 all ethnicities.

⁴¹ Unpublished email from Ministry's Human Resource Group to Te Pou Māori in November 2017.

⁴² <https://safetravel.govt.nz>.

website to provide “official advice for New Zealanders living and travelling overseas” as part of its consular function (MFAT, 2018j) as described in Figure 10.

- Describes what embassies overseas can and can't assist with
- Provides a registration service so New Zealanders can be sent information or contacted in an emergency
- Gives travel advisory updates on countries
- Provides information 'when things go wrong' (i.e.: arrest, lost passport)

Figure 10: Details of Ministry's Safetravel website

The Ministry also has responsibilities in the property and asset management area, maintaining 60 posts and the management of 330 properties (see Figure 9). Several other New Zealand agencies or departments are represented offshore within this post network⁴³ especially in larger posts such as Brussels, Canberra, London and Beijing. This assists with providing a joined-up model of the New Zealand government to those people or governments wishing to interact with New Zealand officials or diplomats in that location. All agencies are based within the one Embassy or High Commission and are therefore represented by the broader design and artwork used and chosen by the Ministry. Smaller posts in the New Zealand network do not have co-located agencies from New Zealand but do receive regular visits from New Zealand agencies that are working with that post and host government (while I was posted in the Cook Islands, a range of New Zealand agencies visited regularly including New Zealand Police, New Zealand Customs and New Zealand Defence Force).

A range of services (including assisting with staff transfers, accommodation management and diplomatic facilitation) are provided each year by New Zealand posts to other New Zealand departments. In 2018 - 19 for example, such services were provided to nine departments.⁴⁴

⁴³ i.e: Ministry of Primary Industries, Immigration, Police, and Customs.

⁴⁴ Including the Department of Internal Affairs, Ministry for Primary Industries, Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment, New Zealand Customs Service, New Zealand Police, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, Tourism New Zealand and the Treasury (MFAT, 2019i).

Having workplaces that meet the needs of multiple agencies is described as “part of presenting a coherent New Zealand face to the world and to facilitate collaboration amongst agencies” ⁴⁵ (MFAT, 2018i, p. 39). The Ministry’s relationship with these wider New Zealand agencies is also described as “a central partnership with other public servants who share responsibility for our country’s and citizens’ future prosperity and security” (Duncan, 2018, p. 411).

As part of its management of its property portfolio the Ministry owns an art collection and a range of taonga that are displayed throughout its offices in New Zealand and its international post network. The key guidance for Ministry staff responsible for managing this public asset is the Ministry’s Works of Art Policy and guidelines, which provide guidance on the purpose of the collection, acquisition of artworks, display of artworks and de-accession or disposal of artworks (MFAT, 2013a). Additional and more historic guidance refer to a need by the Ministry to “project biculturalism as an important part of our corporate identity, both onshore and offshore, the Ministry continues to incorporate taonga Māori (images, words and protocols) within its corporate environment” (MFAT, 1998).

In 1998, Māori cultural heritage was described as a “most important aspect of our national identity is without question” (Waaka, cited in MFAT, 1998, p.2). The Ministry was cautioned to “assure the organisation’s capacity in the area of knowledge of tikanga (protocols), and integrity in the presentation of such taonga” (Waaka, cited in MFAT, 1998, p.2). In 2003, the growing number of works of art purchased by the Ministry by Māori artists was noted as part of a trend to “give profile to works of art by young and emerging artists representative of New Zealand” (MFAT, 2003). A need to be more deliberate and consistent about the choice of taonga for office fit outs was described, together with an aim “eventually to have Māori carvings or other representational Māori works of art, in all posts reflecting the Ministry’s commitment to articulating Māori art and culture in promoting New Zealand overseas” (Kennedy, cited in MFAT, 2003, pp. 2-3).

My interest is the stated purpose of the art holdings, to “give a focus, using the medium of art, to New Zealand’s Māori and Pacific Island dimension, and to other multicultural linkages, such as with Asia” (MFAT, 2013a, p. 3). There is also a focus on enhancing New Zealand’s

⁴⁵ i.e.: Within the refurbished New Zealand Embassy in Beijing there are workplaces for the 80 staff from eight agencies with a presence in China (MFAT, 2018i, p. 39).

image as a “dynamic, innovative, sophisticated and high achieving nation” (MFAT, 2013a, p.3). There is also a preference for art with clear Māori themes or by Māori artists, which is apolitical and noncontroversial, as illustrated in Figure 11 (showing use of tukutuku in the Beijing reception). This is contrasted to more politically motivated work in Figure 12 which was part of the ‘Mana Tiriti: The Art of Protest and Partnership’ exhibition in 1990 at the City Gallery Wellington. I have not observed any such politically influenced work of art as part of the Ministry’s works of art collection.

Diplomats and diplomatic missions⁴⁶ are routinely used by their governments to promote their interests offshore. This is particularly the case in the trade space with trade and diplomacy historically being closely related (Ruël, Lee & Visser, 2013). New Zealand is no exception, with New Zealand representation in the right places described as critical to the successful achievement of New Zealand’s foreign policy, trade and development objectives by New Zealand’s Minister of Foreign Affairs (MFAT, 2015).

Figure 11: Photo of reception area, New Zealand Embassy Beijing, showing use of tukutuku panels (left) and architectural sculpture (suspended from ceiling) together with New Zealand flag (MFAT, 2020).

⁴⁶ High Commissions, Embassies, Consul Generals

But how is New Zealand represented offshore? What impressions of New Zealand do visitors receive when they visit posts and engage with Ministry staff? What is the significance of the frequent use of Māori art, symbols and design features throughout New Zealand's network of diplomatic posts? These questions are at the heart of this research as they raise concepts of New Zealand's identity and how New Zealand (through the work of the Ministry) is portrayed as a nation to the world.

Figure 12: Photo of 'Te Hono ki Waitangi: Tent Embassy 1990' by Diane Prince with the words "Racism Reigns in Aotearoa" (City Gallery, 1990).

Such questions of identity are important, as despite increasing use of technology, face to-face contacts and personal relationships remain essential tools as part of a country's diplomatic presence. Bilateral diplomacy, conducted through Ministries of Foreign Affairs and their embassies and consulates, remains the best tool to advance a country's interests (Rozental & Buenrostro, 2013). This is especially true for small countries such as New Zealand

when respective governments continue to pursue an active foreign policy and trade agenda and New Zealanders continue to live, work and travel in large numbers offshore.

As part of her work on diversity and diplomacy, Tyler (2016) describes diplomats as “the face of their country abroad” (p. 695). As part of her assessment of efforts made by the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade to increase diversity, Tyler (2016) concludes that Australia is stronger in its diplomacy the more it represents the diversity of Australian society, including incorporating Australia’s indigenous heritage. In her opinion, the aim should be for diplomacy to be able to call upon the nation’s most talented individuals – in all their diversity – to pursue Australia’s national interests in international affairs (p.707).

Diplomats are intrinsically representatives of their country and when posted offshore seek to position and advance their country’s interests within the context of being based within a ‘host government’ or the country they are located in for a period of time. A range of core skills are required to fulfil the tasks expected to be performed ranging from constituency building, negotiation, reporting and analysis. These skills require supplementation with a sound understanding of the country one is representing. This is not only to ensure authenticity but also to enable diplomats to be able to answer the myriad of questions asked on posting about their home country. This point will be further discussed in later chapters in relation to the inconsistent training given to New Zealand diplomats on New Zealand’s bicultural identity and in relation to the works of art and taonga used at post.

In 2009, reflecting on his 40 years in the diplomatic service, John Wood (2009) wrote, “there is something about the concept of diplomacy that makes New Zealanders feel queasy, to them, ‘diplomacy’ sounds Old World, not New World, with diplomats being regarded askance as members of the world’s second oldest profession” (p.11). Wood went on to suggest that New Zealanders needed to put this ‘squeamishness’ aside and also the worry that elitism may become an element of our national life in favour of ensuring that the best brains we have are engaging on our behalf with the rest of the world. Diplomats’ key roles and functions are providing the “primary link provided by ambassadors is between decision makers in their own and host country” (Wood, 2009, p. 12) to advocate and argue for the policies and views of their government, to negotiate for their country (including trade access), manage

cooperation or development programmes, develop useful relationships and provide reporting and analysis.

In her later description of the evolving role of the New Zealand diplomat, career diplomat Lucy Duncan (2018) refers to New Zealand diplomats being “first and foremost” (Duncan, 2018, p. 411) public servants employed by the Ministry. The main function of diplomats is noted as “revolving around the representation and protection of the interests and nationals of the sending state to one or more other states or international organisations” (Duncan, 2018, p. 412). Duncan reflects on her experience within the Ministry’s senior leadership team on the key attributes the Ministry looks for in a New Zealand diplomat. Her list includes integrity and identity; creating relationships of trust; effective negotiators and collaborators; and a sense of adventure (Duncan, 2018). Of particular interest are Duncan’s views on the need for New Zealand diplomats to have “cultural and linguistic understanding” and “being grounded in who we are as New Zealanders” (Duncan, 2018, p. 412). Duncan does not frame this statement with any Māori lens but rather, a more generic reference to a need for the Ministry to do more, to be more deliberate in “drawing from New Zealand’s diverse cultural base” (Duncan, 2018, p. 416). Reflecting on 75 years of the Ministry in 2018, Foreign Minister Peters (2019a) described the potential for:

...living in the midst of insecurity, literally in the eye of a storm, in choking pollution or without the liberties and ease we take for granted in New Zealand – when the terrorists strike, or the cyclone hits or the coup takes place, this is when the professional demands on a diplomat are the greatest (Peters, 2019a, p. 12).

What is the Ministry?

In 2015 the Ministry described its purpose as “creating the international conditions and connections for New Zealand and New Zealanders to thrive as part of the advancement of the Government’s international priorities” (MFAT, 2015). This purpose was further distilled in 2018 to “the Ministry acts in the world to make New Zealanders safer and more prosperous” (MFAT, 2018i, p. 2).

The Ministry is governed by statute⁴⁷, aiming to “make better provision for the conduct of relations between New Zealand and foreign states generally” (Foreign Affairs Act, 1988, p. 1). This statute also notes the Ministry’s Māori name, ‘Manatū Aorere,’⁴⁸ literally meaning the people who flew the world (Templeton, 1993). This name came into effect on 1 July 1993, with the further phrase ‘Te Aka Aorere’ being used to refer to the Foreign Service or the network of overseas posts.

All these phrases and words are used on different occasions and within different contexts. ‘Te Aka Aorere’ is used on the branding of overseas posts. Prior to the now predominant use of the black and white fern logo by the Ministry (Figure 13) and other New Zealand government departments, this Māori phrase was used as one of the key descriptors for posts. It is now used either interchangeably with the black and white fern or has been replaced by the fern as part of the Ministry branding. The silver fern logo is described by the Ministry as “promoting New Zealand’s identity in a global context, embodying excellence and trustworthiness and is considered a badge of honour by the people, products and services that carry it” (MFAT, 2018f, p. 24). The phrase ‘Manatū Aorere’ is less commonly heard within the Ministry, with its most common usage within mihi or whaikōrero being delivered by Māori staff to describe the Ministry, or by non-Māori staff in speeches written with assistance from Māori staff.

Figure 13: Image of Silver Fern used by the Ministry and other government departments. Illustrating image from Ministry website homepage (MFAT, 2020b).

My interest is in the evolution of the use of these phrases and terms in Te Reo Māori. It seems that, since their creation in 1993 (through a lengthy and involved process involving significant

⁴⁷ Foreign Affairs Act 1988.

⁴⁸ s 2A Foreign Affairs Act 1988.

consultations with Te Taura Whiri i Te Reo Māori,⁴⁹ Māori staff, the then Minister of Foreign Affairs Rt Hon Don McKinnon and a key Te Arawa hapū Ngāti Rangiteaorere⁵⁰ (Templeton, 1993, p. 217)), the use of these special phrases has diminished. This was clear in the Visual Identity and branding exercise carried out by the Ministry in September 2015 when the fern replaced ‘Te Aka Aorere’ and the green koru previously used, and Manatū Aorere was used instead as a translation of New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade on visual branding⁵¹ (MFAT, 2015d). Part of the Ministry’s visual identity at that time included “pattern that references the cultural dimensions of our work, particularly where we represent New Zealand offshore. Many of the following patterns are derived from the tukutuku panels featured in Te Whare Aorere in Wellington” (MFAT, 2015d p. 15).

Figure 14: Photo of two patterns used by the Ministry as part of its visual identity. The top one is the ‘waewae pūkeko’ pattern and the bottom one is ‘niho taniwha pattern’ (MFAT, 2015d).

⁴⁹ The New Zealand Māori Language Commission, an autonomous Crown entity established under the Māori Language Act 1987 and continued under Te Ture Reo Māori 2016/Māori Language Act 2016 to promote the use of Māori as a living language and as an ordinary means of communication. www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz

⁵⁰ Who were consulted through discussions with Ngāti Aorere and Māori staff representatives as Manatū Aorere/Te Aka Aorere closely resembled their tūpuna ancestor, Rangiteaorere (as described by Māori staff in Templeton, 1993).

⁵¹ For example on staff business cards.

These patterns shown in Figure 14 are now used more broadly in the Ministry’s built landscape, including in meeting rooms as part of frosted glass effects on windows and walls and within new or renovated Embassy or High Commission buildings. Figure 15 illustrates the use of such patterned glass within the New Zealand Embassy in Beijing, which are “to represent woven tukutuku panels found in traditional meeting houses (MFAT, 2020). Figures 15 and 16 show the use of the *poutama* or ‘stairway to heaven’ tukutuku pattern, which “signifies human growth, striving ever upwards, and is often associated with the quest for learning and achievement” (MFAT, 2020).

Figure 15: Photo of exterior section of New Zealand Embassy Beijing illustrating the use of tukutuku inspired patterned glass – shown in the windows of the right of this image (MFAT, 2020).

Figure 16: Poutama (Steps) pattern from Ministry’s Visual Identity Guidelines illustrating the similarity in pattern used in Figure 15.

Twenty-five years after Manatū Aorere was created, this phrase is mostly used on ceremonial occasions (for example, in former CEO Brook Barrington’s opening speech to the MFAT at the 75 Conference, he referenced Manatū Aorere in his opening lines⁵²) with usage rare in everyday conversation. This commemoration would have been an ideal opportunity to reinforce the importance of these phrases for the Ministry by referencing their origins and place as part of the Ministry history. This could have also been reinforced by including training on these concepts as part of the induction training offered to new staff or as part of the Foundations training provided to new policy recruits. This would then ensure that at least new staff have some appreciation of what these words mean and where they originated from. I am not aware that current training includes such information on the origins of Te Aka Aorere and Manatū Aorere.

Current written or visual material includes ‘Manatū Aorere’ selectively. The phrase is included in the Ministry logo on the Ministry webpage (under “New Zealand Foreign Affairs and Trade” and adjacent to the black and white fern). It is included in some but not all position descriptions for Ministry vacancies (for example, it was included in the position description for the Aorere intern vacancies, targeting Māori students, but not in all job vacancy material).⁵³ With a significant proportion of Ministry staff now having only a few years’ service following restructuring interventions in recent years, this transmission of knowledge and cultural understanding is even more important. Former Ministry Chief Executive Brook Barrington noted in a 2018 speech that 35% of Ministry staff had worked for fewer than five years in the Ministry (Barrington as cited in Smith, 2019).

Looking back what has gone before?

Now that we understand what the Ministry is and does, I turn to what literature exists that describes or comments on the history of the Ministry or the New Zealand Foreign Service. Historical accounts of New Zealand representation offshore are uncontroversial and focus primarily on how New Zealand separated out from the United Kingdom in the 1940s. The forerunner to the Ministry (the Department of External Affairs) was formally established by the first Labour government on 11 June 1943 (via an Act of Parliament), reflecting an

⁵² Saying, “Ko te Manatū Aorere te wahi mahi” (which I would translate as to Manatū Aorere the place of work) as shown in a video of Brook Barrington’s opening remarks retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/mfat75/videosmfat-at-75/>

⁵³ When a review of available jobs and their descriptions examined on 3 December 2018, which included archived material on the Aorere internship opportunities sourced on the Ministry website www.mfat.govt.nz

acceptance by the New Zealand Government of the need to establish a foreign office of the kind found in most independent countries to conduct their external relations (Templeton, 1993, p. 37). This followed the service of diplomat Carl Berendsen (located in the Prime Minister's Department from 1926 to 1943) described as "essentially our one-person foreign service" (Appleton, 2018). A standalone department signalled a shift from the previous practice of New Zealand asking the United Kingdom to convey its views on international issues (Templeton, 1993, p. 37).

Material on the development of New Zealand's international diplomatic footprint (or presence) is scarce and is mainly found in memoirs of former New Zealand diplomats or historical records (Berendsen, 2009; Hensley, 2006; Templeton, 1993). There is some literature on the development of New Zealand's national identity, framed through New Zealand's Gallipoli campaign in World War One, including reference to former Prime Minister Rt Hon Helen Clark referring to Gallipoli during her visit in 2000 as the place where "New Zealanders began to develop their own unique identity" (as cited in McGibbon, 2018, p. 39). O'Brien (2018) refers to New Zealand's sense of identity being shaped by its values and New Zealand's distinctiveness residing in the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840. Reference is also made to the "dilution of long-established levels of professional expertise (at the Ministry) after recent reforms" (O'Brien, 2018, p. 61)⁵⁴ and the time that will be required to mitigate these effects (to increase capability within the Ministry posts). In 2018, Ross (2018) commented at the time of the Ministry celebrating 75 years that "our foreign service warrants new scholarship" (Ross, 2018, p. 2).

A review of this literature indicates scant attention to the shape of New Zealand's representation, whether New Zealand's presence offshore represents the New Zealand populace, or the representation of Māori (as people or through objects or practices used). In the chapter on 'Taha Māori' within the Ministry publication commemorating 50 years in New Zealand's external relations (Templeton, 1993)⁵⁵ the style and composition of New Zealand's representation overseas is described as a "statement about who we are and what we are like. For the last 150 years we have been a bicultural society; Māori and Pākehā, Tangata

⁵⁴ These reforms were part of a Ministry restructure in 2012, described as causing 'irreparable damage' by Opposition Members of Parliament, which resulted in 79 jobs being lost from the Ministry (Chapman and Watkins, 2012).

⁵⁵ Templeton (1993) notes that this chapter was contributed by "Kaupapa Maori in the Ministry, which has consulted former and present Māori officers in its preparation" (Templeton, 1993, p. 203).

Whenua and Tangata Tiriti, Polynesian and European” (Templeton, 1993, p. 203). Reference is made to New Zealand’s professional Foreign Service, the need to present an appropriate international profile, leading to a number of moves to represent Māori people and Māori culture within the diplomatic service and its posts. With efforts having “intensified in recent decades, as public appreciation of this country’s Māori heritage has grown and the Treaty of Waitangi has achieved wider recognition as the nation’s foundation document (Templeton, 1993, p. 203).

The available literature is mostly silent on considering any need to include Māori as part of the Foreign Service. In considering how to categorise New Zealand (as either an Asian or European power), former Secretary of External Affairs McIntosh referred to New Zealand's people, cultural traditions and political institutions as all coming from Britain and through Britain from Western Europe. Whilst there was some acknowledged ambiguity around New Zealand’s regional identity, in a 1965 speech McIntosh focused on the known, “at least we know now that we are New Zealanders. We have at least identified ourselves with the country we share with our Māori fellow citizens as one people” (McIntosh, as cited in Templeton, 1993, p. 24). In this description, Māori are referred to as existing counterparts in New Zealand, in the sense of there being two peoples in New Zealand (Māori and non-Māori), but are not referred to in the sense of needing to be represented in New Zealand’s foreign service.

A distinction is made between Māori political appointees to diplomatic roles (with Sir Charles Bennett (Figure 17) being appointed as New Zealand’s first diplomatic representative in Malaya in 1959 (Templeton, 1993) and the recruitment of the first known Māori career diplomat in the late 1950s through the appointment of Peter Gordon. This was followed by other Māori university graduates being appointed in the early 1970s – including Tia Barrett (with whom I served in the Cook Islands – Figure 18), who was the first Māori career diplomat to be appointed to a Head of Mission role following his appointment as High Commissioner to the Solomon Islands in 1992 (Templeton, 1993). Former diplomat Deborah Panckhurst (Figure 19) was the first Māori woman career diplomat to be appointed to a Head of Mission role. Deborah Panckhurst was appointed to the position of High Commissioner to the Solomon Islands in August 2006 (Peters, 2006).

Figure 17: Photo of Charles Moihi Bennett and Elizabeth May Bennett, 2 August 1957. Photographer unidentified.⁵⁶ (Bennett, 1957).

During the Ministry's 75th Anniversary Conference entitled 'An ear, and eye and a voice: New Zealand's changing place in the world'⁵⁷ there was one brief panel session entitled 'Reflections on Māori in Diplomacy'. One of the speakers, former diplomat Rauru Kirikiri⁵⁸ described joining the Ministry in the 1970s when he was just one of two Māori diplomats (as cited in Templeton, 1993, p. 206). When he travelled to the United States, people did not believe him when he said he was from New Zealand. He observed, "Until MFAT is truly reflective of our bicultural and multicultural society, people will be mystified as to what New Zealand is" (as cited in Appleton, 2018).

Figure 18: Photo of former High Commissioner Tia Barrett (Ngāti Maniapoto), the first Māori career diplomat to be appointed to a Head of Mission role following his appointment as High Commissioner to the Solomon Island in 1992 (Adams and Meredith, 2005).

⁵⁶ The caption on the back of the photograph reads: "New Zealand's New High Commissioner in Malaya, Charles Bennett, pictured with Mrs. Bennett, is the first Maori to hold such a post. A son of the first Maori bishop, Rt Rev. F. A. Bennett, he has been doing a post-graduate course in anthropology at Oxford."

⁵⁷ The MFAT 75th Anniversary Conference was held on 18 October 2018 at Pipitea Marae, Wellington, New Zealand.

⁵⁸ Rauru Kirikiri (Te Whanau-a-Apanui) served at the Ministry from 1973-1988.

Figure 19: Photo of Deborah Panckhurst (Ngāti Porou) former High Commissioner of New Zealand to the Solomon Islands, taken at an Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons Conference at The Hague, 4 December 2014 (New Zealand Embassy The Hague, 2014).

This observation echoes my experience when posted to the New Zealand Embassy in Brussels, Belgium (from 2000 to 2003) when diplomats I was working with would at first question where I was from and where my name was “really from”. This reflected their experience of only having met non-Māori diplomats from New Zealand with European sounding names and appearances. I would be asked if my surname was from Greece or Spain and that I “can’t be from New Zealand as only diplomats with blond hair worked there”. My response necessarily required some clarification that indeed I was from New Zealand and an explanation of the place of Māori within New Zealand culture and society.

Ministry values

In addition to the release of the Ministry’s Diversity and Inclusion Strategy in 2018, two other organisational change developments of note also happened that year. The Ministry announced four new values (Figure 20) “to guide how we interact with each other and people outside the Ministry” (MFAT, 2019h). A Māori Engagement Strategy was also released as part of Ministry efforts to refocus its relationship with Māori (largely from an external perspective). This is described as:

...setting out (the Ministry’s) enduring commitment to, and aspirations for, our relationship with Māori. In implementing the strategy, we aim to improve the way we engage, partner and consult with Māori in order to ensure Māori are able to influence the development and implementation of MFAT-led issues and activities which affect them (MFAT, 2019h).

Figure 20: Our Values (MFAT, 2019h)

These measures are linked to wider organisational improvement steps in response to the 2017 Performance Improvement Framework (PIF) carried out by the SSC described as making “real progress in building a happy, healthy and high-performing Ministry for all” (MFAT, 2018i, p. 3). Reference is also made to the Ministry rolling out “new Ministry values of impact, kotahitanga, courage and manaakitanga; launched a far-reaching Diversity and Inclusion strategy” (MFAT, 2018i, p. 3). As illustrated in Figure 21, the Ministry’s values are presented as emerging from the 2017 PIF review and are shown as a combination of Values, Diversity and Inclusion and the Māori Engagement Strategy. On a practical level, this ‘values journey’ began with a ‘values refresh project’ initiated by the Senior Leadership Team. This was then carried forward through a project team, offshore reference group and steering committee. Staff had input through activities held during ‘values week’ where they had the opportunity to contribute their ideas on “what behaviours are needed to have a healthy, happy and high-performing community” (Schwalger, 2018). One of the challenges that emerged as part of this value journey was summarised by a Senior Leadership Team member (Schwalger, 2018) as:

...what we are seeing is that for those who have an obvious point of difference, and even for those who have a less obvious one, the Ministry can be a lonely place. Many of you tell us that you feel like second class citizens, by virtue of the role you play or your job family (p. 1).

Figure 21: Ministry Values diagram (MFAT, 2019i)

Māori Engagement Strategy

In 2017 the Ministry received the results of the Performance Improvement Framework⁵⁹ (PIF) Review, which recommended in relation to Māori engagement that the Ministry “needs to shift its paradigm in relation to its responsibility as a Treaty partner and determine not only how it engages with authenticity and integrity but also develop a shared understanding of its value proposition for and with Māori” (SSC, 2017a).

In four years’ time, the PIF reviewers described what success in this area would look like: “Māori will value the Ministry as a partner that seeks and values its culture and the relationships it holds” (SSC, 2017a). All the Ministry’s strategies and plans note the need to develop better engagement with Māori. For an organisation that is a leading face of New Zealand overseas, its responsibilities as a Treaty partner are not universally well understood or articulated, nor are they consistently applied. The Ministry urgently needs to develop a shared understanding of what its value proposition is for and with Māori. The relationship

⁵⁹ The PIF tool is operated by SSC and aims to help senior leaders drive performance improvement across the State Services. It consists of a comprehensive model for performance and capability improvement; and a cycle of formal performance assessments which identify priority areas for action, and a process to ensure these are addressed (SSC, 2010).

“cannot be defined simply by ceremony for visitors or reliance on specialist advisers but embraced as a core part of how the Ministry does its business, including at offshore posts” (SSC, 2017a).

In response to the findings that the Ministry’s approach to engaging with Māori needed improvement, a Steering Group was formed to take forward the creation of a Māori Engagement Strategy. I was part of this group, representing Te Pou Māori. With an original focus on the Ministry’s external engagement with Māori groups – (specifically iwi), I was also able to have included a corresponding internal focus on the Ministry improving its engagement with and interaction with Māori staff. As a result, in December 2017 the Ministry adopted a Māori Engagement Strategy, with a vision of “*Ka hikitia te whānaungatanga a te Manatū Aorere me te Iwi Māori*: Māori have confidence in their partnerships with the Ministry”.

The Strategy has a dual focus on the Ministry’s internal and external relationships with Māori with a range of action points and recommendations. The Ministry describes their vision for the Strategy is “to give impetus and direction to our ongoing commitment to engage with Māori,⁶⁰ to ensure that our engagement has integrity and develops a strong understanding of what Māori stakeholders want, to build our mātauranga Māori capability through developing Māori leadership within the Ministry and tell the story better of Māori economic development” (MFAT, 2017h). In the external arena, actions in the strategy relate to how the Ministry carries out engagement with Māori with a focus on ensuring “our engagement with Māori has integrity, is delivering value for both partners, and enhancing our relationships with external agencies” (MFAT, 2018g, p. 4). Looking inward to the Ministry staff cohort, the focus is “building our mātauranga Māori capability through developing Māori leadership within the Ministry and tell the story better of Māori economic development” (MFAT, 2017h).

In my observation the initial focus in relation to the development of mātauranga Māori has been largely focused on development a basic awareness of mātauranga Māori within non-Māori staff. Opportunities to learn Te Reo Māori for example are targeted at those staff with beginners needs rather than those staff who have some understanding and competency in

⁶⁰ For example, the Ministry collaborates with the Federation of Māori Authorities (FOMA), a peak Māori industry body in the primary sector made up of 150 Māori Authorities with a combined asset base of more than \$11 billion (MFAT, 2017h).

Te Reo Māori already. Other forms of mātauranga Māori being focused on include aspects of the ‘cultural passport’ programme, such as basic training on the Treaty of Waitangi and learning a waiata to perform within a pōwhiri.

No specific learning and development strategies exist that target Māori staff to pursue their own development. In my view this is a missed opportunity, given the numbers of Māori staff are few, leading to an assumption that having targeted and individual learning and development plans that actively seek to develop Māori staff and mātauranga Māori would not be that difficult to implement or costly to fund.

The Ministry’s intention in this current implementation phase is best described by former CEO Brook Barrington in 2018, where he noted that:

...the Ministry developed and started implementing a comprehensive Māori Engagement Strategy, which aims to build relationships and partnerships with Māori based on trust and confidence (MFAT, 2018i, p. 3).

The Ministry’s Strategic Intentions publication for 2019 – 2023 refers to the “*Te Tiriti o Waitangi* is New Zealand’s founding document that established and governs the relationship between Māori and the Crown. The Ministry recognises its importance by applying in our work the principles of the Treaty, including partnership, good faith and active protection” (MFAT, 2019h, p. 9).

This description of the Ministry’s views on the Treaty partnership reflects the Ministry’s aspiration to shift its relationship with Māori from one based on engaging with Māori as part of a broader range of stakeholders, to recognising Māori as a Treaty partner. Within this later construct, the Ministry would need to consistently engage and develop links with a spectrum of Māori individuals and groupings to give expression to a more partnership-based approach. With developments at the early stage of changing this shift in focus, it is also apparent that a further challenge for Ministry leaders is how they will reconcile this focus on developing external relationships with Māori, on the one hand without simultaneously developing the internal links and support for Māori staff. Part of the challenge with the latter requires the Ministry to recognise that Māori staff are also involved in the external focus for the Ministry, given their links (personal, hapū, iwi or through other group membership). This duality of

interest Māori staff have, together with the range of skills they to successfully operate in the two worlds (within the Ministry and within hold enabling staff Māori networks) needs further attention. With a target of completing implementation of the Māori engagement strategy by 2021 (MFAT, 2019h) there are a range of issues to be developed and explored over the remaining time period in order to achieve meaningful implementation.

Links with the Pacific region

The Ministry's efforts to re-position New Zealand as having a Pacific identity, reflects wider moves by the New Zealand Government to a 'Pacific Reset' of New Zealand's relationship with the Pacific guided by a set of core principles (Figure 22). Reflecting the coalition⁶¹ government's focus on the Pacific region, the Pacific Reset was announced in 2018 by Minister of Foreign Affairs who described it as "a new, reenergised Pacific strategy. A re-energised approach based on New Zealand values and increased technical and financial support to the Pacific" (Peters, 2018b, p. 1). Reference was made to the close links between New Zealand and the Pacific and how "one in five New Zealanders – approximately one million people – now have Māori or Pasifika heritage, and this demographic trend is growing" (Peters, 2018b, p. 1).

Pacific Reset: core principles
<p>New Zealand's engagement with the Pacific is characterised by five principles:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (i) Understanding: New Zealand will demonstrate a depth of understanding of the Pacific shaped by academic, community, civil society and private sector expertise that exists in NZ. (ii) Friendship: New Zealand will exhibit friendship, including honesty, empathy, trust and respect. This means staying in frequent touch at a political level and having frank and open conversations when necessary. (iii) Mutual benefit: New Zealand will strive to develop solutions of mutual benefit when formulating domestic and foreign policy for example on pension portability, criminal deportations, climate change, labour mobility and health and education policy. (iv) Collective ambition: New Zealand will seek to achieve collective ambition with Pacific partners and external actors, so that we have a shared understanding of what we are trying to achieve together. (v) Sustainability: New Zealand will seek sustainability by focusing on the region's long-term goals, to play our part in promoting greater autonomy and resilience among our Pacific friends through their improved economic and social achievement.

Figure 22: Principles of the Pacific Reset, (MFAT, 2018b)

⁶¹ Comprised of the Labour, Greens, New Zealand First political parties.

The Ministry describes the Reset as a “re-energised New Zealand approach in response to the vast scale of the challenges faced by the region” (MFAT, 2018b). From my experience working on Pacific issues within the Ministry for over a decade, the Pacific Reset is a recasting of what has already been happening in New Zealand for a lengthy period. New Zealand does have historic relationships with the Pacific and the coalition government has sought to reposition its commitment to the Pacific through the vehicle of the Pacific Reset and related funding commitments. This included a further announcement by Minister Winston Peters (2018c) in December 2018 of 14 new diplomatic and development positions⁶² being created offshore as part of delivering the Pacific Reset policy and demonstrating New Zealand’s commitment to the Pacific. The challenge faced by the Ministry will be the translation of the Pacific Reset into impacts that are valued by the Pacific countries and results that have practical and positive results.

Commentators have noted the scale of the challenges going forward, pointing out that while:

...New Zealand’s Pacific policy is indeed in need of a reset, and the commitment to expanding aid and beefing up MFAT’s diplomatic capacity offers a good start, but there await plenty of thorny issues that the new government may find as difficult to navigate as its predecessor (Fraenkel, 2018).

Linked to the announcement of the Pacific Reset was the May 2018 announcement of \$150m of additional funding for the Ministry and the development programme, allowing the Ministry to employ an additional fifty diplomats (Peters, 2018c).

Simon Mark (2018) suggests that two important changes are needed in order to shift New Zealand’s engagement with the Pacific region, including the Ministry:

...changing the way it engages with the Pacific. Too few New Zealand diplomats have served in the region. Of the 11 members of the MFAT leadership team, for instance, only one seems to have actually served there, according to their website profiles. All New Zealand diplomats should serve in the region at least once. A three-year stint

⁶² Including 10 new positions across NZ posts in Samoa, Tonga, Fiji, Vanuatu, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Kiribati and Honolulu and four new positions in posts in Tokyo, Beijing, Brussels, and New York to “coordinate development policy and partnerships for the Pacific region” (Peters, 2018c).

living in the Pacific is a powerful way to make friends and influence people (Mark, 2018).

Secondly, the reset needs to be far broader and New Zealand needs to recognise that ‘the Pacific’ doesn’t just mean Polynesia, and face up to its responsibilities in Tokelau. New Zealand ministers need to carry through on the promise made in the reset that there will be ‘frequent ministerial travel into the region’ and a ‘high degree of political access’ for Pacific leaders who visit New Zealand (Mark, 2018).

Ihimaera (a former Māori diplomat – see Figure 3) describes efforts in the 1990s to redevelop New Zealand’s Pacific identity:

...through vigorous identification with Pacific nations and Pacific issues; and domestically, by acknowledgment of our own Polynesian roots and revalidation of the iwi Māori as tangata whenua, had an important place in our market-driven imperatives. We wanted to advertise our specialness (Ihimaera, 1991, p. 135).

Efforts by New Zealand’s leaders in the very earliest days of colonisation, which envisaged a wider Pacific role for New Zealand, are described by Templeton (1993). In 1848 for example, some eight years after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, Governor Grey⁶³ advocated a policy of imperial expansion in the South Pacific with a Pacific federation under the aegis of New Zealand (Templeton, 1993).

Some of the themes espoused in the Pacific Reset are not new. Henderson (1990) describes the report produced by the South Pacific Policy Review Group in 1990, which recommended that as part of New Zealanders needing to understand the Pacific and the cultural change happening in New Zealand they must accept that New Zealand is a Pacific Island nation and look at the world from this perspective. New Zealand needs to take on the language of the Pacific and develop respect and sensitivity for the practices of the region (Henderson, 1990).

In relation to Māori in the Ministry, the South Pacific Policy Review Group report also recommended the establishment of a Māori secretariat in the then Ministry of External Relations and Trade (Henderson, 1990, p. 129), and asserted that “greater Māori involvement is today a prerequisite for good New Zealand foreign policy in the Pacific” (Henderson, 1990,

⁶³ George Grey was appointed Lieutenant Governor of New Zealand in 1845 (McIntyre, 2012).

p. 128). Two reasons were provided: the Treaty of Waitangi had not dissolved Māori interests in foreign affairs; and a Māori dimension in such policy would best reflect the role that New Zealand needed to play (Henderson, 1990, p. 128). In 1990 the Ministry established the position of Director Kaupapa Māori⁶⁴ to “coordinate the Ministry’s responsibilities under the Treaty of Waitangi” (Templeton, 1993, p. 216). In 2020 the Ministry has a Māori Policy Unit comprised of a Director and three staff.

The current narrative: diversity and inclusion

In recent years the Ministry has recognised (through a mix of internal and external drivers) that the New Zealand Foreign Service needs to be more representative of the New Zealand communities it represents and acts for. From the Ministry’s inception 75 years ago, New Zealand has shifted demographically and diplomatically, from being a far less European country, and a far more Asia-Pacific one. The 1945 census recorded just 4% of New Zealanders as being born outside either New Zealand or the United Kingdom; the equivalent number in the 2013 census was 20%. Our Asian communities, which collectively made up less than half of 1% of the New Zealand population in 1945, now comprise almost 15% of New Zealanders. Appleton (2018) refers to the Ministry as not always keeping pace with these demographic changes with Ministry diplomats being, on average, more European and less Asian, Māori and Pasifika than the general population.

This is one way of looking at the Ministry demographic compared to the growth in the Asian population of New Zealand. My interest centres on the low numbers of Māori staff, which have persisted from the beginning of the Ministry to the present day and the wider organisational issues of how New Zealand is represented. This lens views the Ministry demographic from the viewpoint of Māori as tangata whenua and the wider Crown Māori angles this raises.

The drivers behind an external consultant being tasked by the Ministry in 2017 to review the current state of diversity and inclusion “as part of developing a more strategic approach to this issue” stemmed from a realisation that there was a need for the Ministry to do something in this space to address the lack of representation of a broad range of population groups from New Zealand’s wider society. This was also in line with the State Services Commission’s drive

⁶⁴ The first Director Kaupapa Maori was Tia Barrett (Ngāti Maniapoto) who I served with in the Cook Islands in 2009.

for diversity and inclusion focus across the public sector. The resulting recommendations, including a “strong intent from Ministry leadership to grow diversity and inclusion capability across the organisation” (Diversitas, 2017a, p. 3) led to the creation of the Ministry’s first diversity and inclusion strategy in 2018.

Reflecting my personal experience and the research underpinning this dissertation, my strong assessment is that the drivers to produce a diversity and inclusion strategy reflected these factors, not a desire to address the issues affecting Māori staff or representation. There are fundamental issues of difference in trying to include Māori issues or interests within a diversity mandate. The key issue was that within an EEO framework, Māori are treated or described as an ethnic group (together with other ethnic populations not of the dominant European culture) rather than as a Treaty partner or tangata whenua unique to New Zealand (Ngawati, 1996).

Feedback was given as part of the review process that issues around engagement with Māori, the Treaty relationship and how the Ministry incorporates Te Reo, tikanga and the value of Te Ao Māori, should not be subsumed into a diversity strategy, but addressed separately (Diversitas, 2017a, p. 4). A key review finding was incorporated into the resulting Diversity and Inclusion Strategy for 2018 -2028, was the “desire to see specific and separate focus on bi-culturalism” (MFAT, 2018h, p. 5), together with a Treaty related principle to “acknowledge Te Tiriti o Waitangi as New Zealand’s founding document, recognise the continuing partnership it established between the Crown and Māori and do our part to deliver on the Crown’s commitments to Māori under Te Tiriti” (MFAT, 2018h, p. 3).

During 2018 - 2019 the Diversity and Inclusion strategy had its first year of implementation in the Ministry. The strategy has 40 goals and targets⁶⁵ to achieve by 2028, together with measures of success (MFAT, 2019i). As part of increasing the Ministry’s workforce diversity (to be more representative of New Zealand) staffing targets have been set over the Strategy’s 10-year span. Māori are grouped with Pasifika, Asian and other ethnic minorities (in a similar way that Māori have been grouped with these ethnic groups in previous EEO strategies and

⁶⁵ In the 2018/2019 Annual report the Ministry noted that of these 40 goals and targets, one goal was completed 23 goals have associated work programmes in progress and are on track, three goals have been delayed due to external factors and 13 goals will have their associated work programmes commence in 2021 (MFAT, 2019i).

targets). Ambitious targets have been set for the Ministry to achieve by 2023⁶⁶ and 2028,⁶⁷ which will require significant additional recruitment of Māori staff. A far more challenging target will be to align, by 2025, the percentage of Māori staff in ‘above the line’ positions with New Zealand workforce percentages (MFAT, 2018h). Reference to ‘above the line’ positions, while not defined in the strategy, usually refers within the Ministry to positions in the management tiers of job families, such as lead adviser, unit manager, divisional manager, principal adviser, special adviser and deputy secretary.

How the New Zealand workforce is to be defined is also not stated, but presumably this is limited to the public sector workforce, rather than the entire New Zealand workforce, which includes the private sector. At the time of writing, the number of Māori staff in these ‘above the line’ positions is low, with accurate data hard to locate. Despite requests I made to the Ministry⁶⁸, I was unable to source data from the Ministry on the number of Māori staff in different job levels, with the reason given that as the numbers were small, identification of numbers could lead to identification of staff and raise privacy concerns. My own calculation in 2019, based on my knowledge of Te Pou Māori members, estimates there are fewer than 10 Māori staff in these above the line positions across the Ministry.

As described earlier, the numbers of Māori staff in the top tiers of management roles across the public service are already low. Without significant shifts across the wider public sector to change or improve this reality, the comparison used by the Ministry is not ambitious if overall the position of Māori has not altered by 2025. It interests me that this comparator was chosen, when elsewhere in the strategy the targets for recruitment and retention are linked to the Ministry’s Treaty of Waitangi obligations (MFAT, 2018h).

Current New Zealand Ambassador to Chile, H.E. Linda Te Puni (2015) characterises the cultural ‘value add’ Māori bring to senior Head of Mission roles, with Māori described as:

...bringing authenticity to representative roles with the Ministry – we are New Zealand walking the talk about its cultural identity, egalitarian ideals and maturity as a nation. We are a great example for countries with more marginalised indigenous

⁶⁶ By 2023 percentage of Māori (and ‘other ethnic minorities’) among staff employed in New Zealand is within +/- 6% of national percentages.

⁶⁷ By 2028 percentage of Māori (and ‘other ethnic minorities’) among staff employed in New Zealand is within +/- 3% of national percentages.

⁶⁸ To the Human Resources Group (by email in approximately 2019), who hold the relevant data.

populations of the place that indigenous people should rightly take in representing their homelands (Te Puni, cited in Rewi, 2015, p.38).

A further benefit of having Māori diplomats representing New Zealand in senior positions is described by Jacqui Caine (former New Zealand Ambassador to Chile) as “a tangible demonstration of the Treaty partnership and the unique New Zealand identity” (Caine cited in Rewi, 2015, p. 36). Participants also reflected the added value Māori staff bring to being on posting:

“having a Māori dimension or Māori heritage when you are on posting is a huge asset...it helped unlock relationship doors, gave me access to people that I may never have had the opportunity to talk toI had no end of high powered mentors wanting to help me with my work” (P-9)

“As Māori diplomats we have an added string to our bow, but very often it’s not recognised...in all of these posts I used it all the time...when they saw my full name it means something to them...it sort of conveyed history...all of my posts, whenever I speak at any function I always start with a mihi, and the reason I do is to convey to them that in New Zealand, there is a Māori culture, indigenous culture, and it’s part of who I am” (P-8).

Issues of biculturalism within the Ministry

I have approached this research on the basis that New Zealand’s diplomatic representation needs to be considered within the context of New Zealand’s constitutional history. I note the wider context of New Zealand’s history and bicultural identity being framed by New Zealand being the home of at least two distinct peoples Māori and Pākehā since the time of colonisation (Boston, Martin, Pallot & Walsh, 1996). The Treaty of Waitangi (‘the Treaty’) is part of this context, describing the basis of the Crown (or Government) and Māori relationship in New Zealand.

Treaty issues have been described as issues of identity. The Treaty has been referred to as the most powerful symbol of biculturalism (in New Zealand) and as the most important event in New Zealand history (Orange, 2004). These issues of identity deal with the sovereign right of iwi Māori to partnership in New Zealand. They acknowledge a stake in the conduct and

governing of New Zealand (Ihimaera, 1991). This research will consider how these issues of partnership are reflected in the shape of New Zealand's diplomatic service.

In this context, the Ministry's Māori staff and the use of symbols with cultural meanings can be viewed as visible expressions of the Crown-Māori relationship. This research explores how the Ministry takes decisions on these questions of representation and the consequent impact these decisions have on how New Zealand is portrayed to the rest of the world. This research will contribute to the literature in this field by providing a critical examination of how Māori diplomats, images and practices are used as part of New Zealand's diplomatic service. This will include how New Zealand is represented through Māori staff and how Māori imagery is used within New Zealand's diplomatic practice to establish a collective New Zealand identity. By considering these issues, a fuller picture of how Māori feature in New Zealand's diplomacy will be possible.

This research has been motivated by my own journey and experiences within the Ministry.⁶⁹ Over my years of service in Wellington, New Zealand,⁷⁰ and offshore I have visited many countries and embassies or High Commissions. I have also been part of delegations of New Zealand officials or represented New Zealand as the sole representative at an event or meeting. I have been consistently fascinated by how New Zealand is represented offshore and the views other diplomats or members of the public have about New Zealand – and New Zealand's Māori heritage. As a Māori diplomat⁷¹ I was regularly asked questions about my own heritage or issues affecting New Zealand. During service at posts offshore I have been interested to know what reactions visitors have to New Zealand's diplomatic spaces when they visit posts or engage with Ministry staff and the range of issues that can sometimes surface when considering the significance of the use of Māori art, symbols and practices throughout New Zealand's network of diplomatic posts.

Recurring issues and themes

This under-representation in senior levels has a number of flow-on effects. It means that the pool from within which senior overseas roles are appointed, has few Māori staff included in any selection mix. Consequently, the pool of likely appointees is predominately non-Māori,

⁶⁹ During my service at the Ministry I held a variety of positions on and offshore (including postings at the New Zealand Embassy in Brussels and in the New Zealand High Commission in Rarotonga, Cook Islands).

⁷⁰ Head office of New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.

⁷¹ With iwi (tribal) affiliations to Ngāpuhi/Ngāti Hine.

which is one of a range of factors influencing the largely non-Māori appointments to senior roles representing New Zealand offshore⁷². Further effects include the consequent lack of role models and mentors for more junior Māori staff; a negative impact on parallel efforts by the Ministry to increase the numbers of Māori staff at junior levels (for example potential applicants assess the small numbers of Māori staff in senior levels within the Ministry and question the career progression opportunities available to them should they decide to apply to join the Ministry); and a disconnect between the actual numbers of Māori staff and the Ministry's more recent ambitions to improve these statistics.

Chapter summary

This chapter positioned the Ministry within the wider public service in New Zealand. Describing the Ministry's key functions representing the face and interests of the New Zealand government and people domestically and internationally. The shape, demographic and geographic footprint of the Ministry was established, together with an overview of some of the challenges faced by the Ministry (perceptions of elitism, lack of representation of the broader New Zealand society and communities together with the impact of a lack of Māori staff in senior roles with the consequent flow on impacts this has both within the Ministry and externally). My motivation to carry out this research is presented, as is my perspective as an insider researcher for most of the time I was carrying out this research, together with an overview of the wider public service context within which the Ministry is situated. The later including challenges and opportunities posed by an evolving Crown-Māori relationship, the role of public servants, the issues inherent for the Ministry as a representative of the Crown within a Treaty of Waitangi context and the narratives of EEO and diversity and inclusion with their influence across the public service.

This chapter also illustrated aspects of the Ministry's own internal landscape as part of the organisation context for this research. Including the development of Ministry values, strategies relating to Diversity and Inclusion, together with Māori Engagement and the importance of Te Pou Māori for Māori staff. Specific and targeted use of aspects of Māori design are described (especially through aspects of the Ministry's visual identity guidelines which frame design choices loosely around tukutuku imagery). The range of Māori taonga

⁷² While decisions on appointments to Heads of Mission or heads of post are ultimately made by the Governor General pursuant to section 4 of the Foreign Affairs Act, 1988 (Foreign Affairs Act, 1988), this follows a sequence of other steps, including approval and a recommendation from the Minister of Foreign Affairs and a recommended candidate from the Ministry's CEO.

used by the Ministry is presented to introduce the type of patterns illustrated by later case studies of posts and through interview data analysis. This is illustrated through the use of wharenuī, waharoa, Te Aka Aorere pou, tokotoko together with korowai, mauri stones, piupiu, kete and tukutuku. The guidance available on the Ministry's works of art collection is positioned in advance of the two key case studies in the Cook Islands (Chapter 6) and New Caledonia (Chapter 7). The methodological approach to the interviews and case studies is described in advance of later Chapters on these topics, together with an overview of some of the literature on the role of diplomats. This chapter underscores the myriad range of issues that impact and influence on the Ministry and the wider New Zealand public service when considering this research question. To illustrate how the Ministry uses aspects of cultural practice, Chapter 4 focuses on the use of korowai and pōwhiri by the Ministry as specific examples.

Chapter 3: Literature

Current theory

New Zealand's biculturalism and collective identity is central to how New Zealand is portrayed overseas. This chapter outlines the different theoretical approaches to this topic. Relevant scholarship has been reviewed to ascertain the main themes in the literature and whether there has been any prior consideration of the research question of the use of Māori (people, images and practices) in New Zealand's diplomacy through an examination of symbolism. The key themes from the available literature are then synthesised as part of building the platforms of enquiry for my empirical study.

During my review of the literature, no equivalent study on the research question was found. The literature reviewed did surface relevant themes from a number of fields of study. These key themes are summarised in the literature map shown in Figure 23 below.

Figure 23: Literature map on themes relevant to research

The chapter is in three broad sections that relate to the three themes in the literature. The literature in the first section centres on diplomatic symbolism in relation to an expression of a state or country through symbols. Definitions of diplomatic practice in a global sense are noted, as are definitions of diplomacy to locate this research within the work of the New Zealand context. Literature on architectural diplomacy, national identity and the role of capitals is explored as part of existing work on the functionality of national symbols and meanings attributable to a state's-built expressions of identity. New Zealand-focused

literature on the historic emergence of Māori or bicultural architecture is noted as part of the empirical study of built expressions of Māori architectural or design features as part of the New Zealand diplomatic built landscape. This section concludes with a consideration of cultural or indigenous diplomacy.

The core focus of the second section is literature on active, passive and symbolic representation. This includes the concept of symbols having the power to evoke feelings or an emotional response by observers, together with the emotional manipulation of cultural objects. The literature on bureaucratic representation and representative democracy is also reviewed. In the context of the New Zealand public sector, issues concerning the representation of Māori in the public service are explored through literature on EEO, bicultural representation and diversity and inclusion. Diversity in an Australian context is considered together with descriptive representation in the sense of ‘politics of presence’ and acting for others.

The third section explores literature on what is meant by diplomatic practice, both in an international sense and in the New Zealand context. Historical accounts of the origins of the Ministry are explored, together with the place of the Ministry in the broader New Zealand state sector. This profiles the Ministry’s human landscape and the profile of Māori staff together with the consequent issues that exist. Literature on the different academic understandings of the concept of biculturalism is also considered, including literature on biculturalism in the New Zealand context and, more specifically, the constitutional context framed by the Treaty of Waitangi 1840. Literature exploring what is a New Zealand identity is included referencing the complexities around New Zealand, Māori (and Pākehā) identity. Linking these identity issues with the New Zealand diplomatic service is a further theme in writing on some views on the constructed identities of the ‘New Zealand diplomat’.

The intersections between diplomatic practice and public and cultural diplomacy are referenced, together with literature on New Zealand’s colonial culture of display of Māori art and taonga. This section concludes with an overview of the written policies and guidelines that frame the discourse of diplomatic symbolism through a bicultural lens in New Zealand’s diplomatic representation. Examples of some forms of diplomatic practice currently used by the Ministry are described in relation to literature on use of karanga, korowai, pōwhiri, use and care of taonga and the place of Māori women. These are located within a description of

current Ministry practice and policies on diversity and inclusion, Māori Engagement, Values and recruitment of Māori.

Diplomatic symbolism

Literature on diplomacy and symbolism is key to considering how New Zealand's diplomatic practice uses symbols. In Faizullaev's (2013) exploration of the links between diplomacy and symbolism, the main observation is that diplomacy makes extensive use of symbols, rituals and ceremonies. His work forms part of the theoretical basis for considering what symbols New Zealand uses and the reaction people have to these images and symbols. My interest is in how such symbolism is used to project Māori images or depictions of New Zealand biculturalism. Faizullaev's (2013) approach is not about tokenism, but rather the many forms of symbolism at play in diplomatic practice (ranging from linguistic, imagery and ritualistic or ceremonial formats). States and their intentions are described as being able to be objectified through symbols, symbolic actions and interactions. Such symbolism in diplomacy helps people to capture the meaning of international affairs and socially and individually to experience states and inter-state relations. States are referred to as the principal actors in diplomacy, with conceptual models of a state (used in theoretical analysis and by scholars) not making much sense for the majority of people who have to deal with states in their everyday lives.

Use of symbols in diplomacy, which are easily recognisable to the citizens of that country or visitors to that country's embassy, can provide more accessible ways for individual citizens or visitors to engage with a state in a diplomatic context. Such use of symbols can also enable people to engage with or perceive such symbols as part of giving meaning to the idea or expression of a state. The taonga and art used by the Ministry can provide recognisable visual, emotional or spiritual points of reference of New Zealand for people visiting or working in these spaces. In this sense, objectification of the state through symbols (in New Zealand's case, for example through the use of works of art and taonga to portray New Zealand offshore by being displayed at diplomatic posts or residences), symbolic actions or interactions act as 'sense makers' so that individuals interacting with a state or government can relate to the state or try and make sense of it.

Wendt (1999) notes that no one can 'see' the state or international system and that "international politics does not present itself directly to the senses and theories of

international politics often are contested on the basis of ontology and epistemology” (Wendt, 1999, p. 5). Faizullaev (2013) suggests that symbolism is a tool for meaningful objectification of the state – to make the state “sensible” (p. 92). Walzer (1967) points out that the state “must be personified before it can be seen, symbolised before it can be loved, imagined before it can be conceived” (p. 194). People are described as tending to personify states to attribute human qualities to them (Wendt, 2004).

Symbolism of diplomats

In Faizullaev’s (2013) view, diplomatic agents symbolically represent the state. In itself, this is an uncontroversial view, as individual diplomats are employed by their government to represent their countries at home and overseas.⁷³ The use of symbolism by states is seen as enriching “the state and its affairs with meaning. Symbols and symbolic actions support seeing the state as a unitary and purposeful actor with a distinctive identity, intentions, values and interests” (Faizullaev, 2013, p. 93). From my observations, the Ministry uses multiple forms of symbolism to deepen or enhance the conduct and expression of New Zealand’s diplomatic practice. A number of these forms of symbolism centre on the use of bicultural imagery or themes. This use of symbolism as part of building a distinctive identity is explored in later case studies.

Faizullaev (2013) describes diplomats as living in a highly symbolised world where any word or action can be seen as symbolic, or as something that contains a wrapped meaning, including for example how national flags, monuments, historic events, food and language can be used or perceived as official or unofficial symbols of the state. It also illustrates how the choice of symbols of the state uses in a diplomat’s physical space (for example, their Embassy) can also have such wrapped meanings. This concept of diplomats and symbols as having ‘wrapped meaning’ refers to the many layers of meaning that can be behind objects or the actions of diplomats in this instance. It is relevant to considering what meaning the Ministry intends Māori diplomats to have and the bicultural symbols used in the Ministry’s physical spaces.

⁷³ In New Zealand’s case, diplomats can be assigned to service overseas or in New Zealand by the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Trade (the Chief Executive Officer) pursuant to the provisions of the Foreign Affairs Act 1988.

Symbolic meanings

The possibility of symbols having different meanings for different people is also part of Faizullaev's (2013) work, together with the need for diplomats to be sensitive to the range of potential meanings of different objects that might not correspond with their own. Actors in the diplomatic space are described as extensively using symbols, symbolic actions and interactions by encoding and decoding some meanings. This theme of coding is useful when analysing the case studies and interviews through a cultural lens of any encoded or decoded meanings that can be attributable to the Ministry's use of Māori people, images and practices.

Ambassadorial diplomacy is described as "often requiring specific symbolism. For example, in many countries the number of rounds fired in a gun salute during the welcome of an official foreign guest depends on the visitor's rank" (Faizullaev, 2013, p. 99). I have also observed include Ambassadorial residences being presented as a symbol of prestige (for example, through the use of large buildings, as in Figures 27 and 33), security features and signage, flags of the Ambassador's country displayed on their cars (Figure 32), and ornate stationary (for example business cards, Ambassadorial invitations or letterheads (see Figures 24 - 26). I have also been part of numerous examples of what Morgan (2012) refers to as 'diplomatic gastronomy', or meals, functions or events where a "diplomatic meal can have the ceremonial splendour and protocol of a state dinner or the quiet power of a working lunch – but the symbolism embedded in both has potential to impact geopolitical issues" (Morgan, 2012, p. 146).

Figure 24: Example of a Presidential invitation from former US President and Mrs Obama showing the seal of the United States of America (Obama Food, 2012).

Figure 25: Example of New Zealand Head of Mission business card template (MFAT, 2019e).

Figure 26: Example of standard A6 invitation from Ministry's Secretary of Foreign Affairs (MFAT, 2019e).

Figure 27: Photo of New Zealand Embassy Beijing, as an example of a large diplomatic building designed to symbolise aspects of New Zealand as described in the text (MFAT, 2020).

Faizullaev does not consider the use of cultural or indigenous symbols as part of Ambassadorial diplomacy. In the New Zealand context, a specific example is the wearing of korowai by Ambassadors, High Commissioners or Consul Generals as part of the formal credential ceremony process. Wearing of korowai in this sense is limited to Ministry staff who have been appointed Heads of Mission. Symbolism around the choice of the korowai is linked with the prestige placed on these korowai in Māori culture which has been adopted as a cultural belief or practice by the Ministry. A further specific New Zealand example of Ambassadorial diplomacy is the frequent use of Māori-themed taonga⁷⁴ as gifts either by Ambassadors directly or by Ministers as part of gift exchanges when visiting different countries (Figures 28 - 31 provide some examples of gifts I have seen used regularly). Participants noted the frequent use of gifts by Ambassadors:

“When the Ambassador called on the foreign minister, they’d take a little something and always with a Māori flavour. A silk scarf for the woman and something for the man” (P-11).

A further issue that arises in the New Zealand context is when indigenous or cultural symbols are used as part of Ambassadorial diplomacy by diplomats who are not indigenous or do not have a full understanding of the cultural meaning of wearing or using such symbols.

Figure 28: Example of a Māori-themed gift. This photo shows an image of a pounamu mere by Al Brown (Kura Gallery, 2020).

⁷⁴ Examples I have observed include carved waka, or other Māori-themed carvings, pounamu objects or jewellery.

Figure 29: Example of a Māori-themed gift. This photo shows an image of a glass waka by Cre8ive Glass (Kura Gallery, 2020).

Figure 30: Example of a Māori-themed gift. This photo shows an image of paua cufflinks (ArikiNZ, 2020).

Figure 31: Example of a Māori-themed gift. This photo shows an image of an 'Aotearoa Māori tie' (Zazzle, 2020).

Figure 32: Example of diplomatic flag on official car (in this photo EU flag) (Flagpoles, 2020).

Figure 33: Photo of Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister to the United States, and his wife Lotty, at the front door of their home in Washington DC, with a Cadillac car in the driveway (Nash, 1942)

Image symbolism

Image symbolism in the diplomatic context is alluded to as part of the creation of a positive image for a country. Public diplomacy and its sub-field of cultural diplomacy are characterised as hugely preoccupied with issues about image (Faizullaev, 2013). Leonard et al (as cited in Anholt, 2002) explain public diplomacy as being based on the premise that the image and reputation of a country are public goods that can create either an enabling or disabling environment for individual transactions. Work on specific issues will feed off the general image of the country and reflect back on to it – in both positive and negative directions.⁷⁵ Faizullaev (2013) has also considered the use of design, furniture, paintings and photographs by embassies as part of image-building diplomacy (with foreign ministries using relevant paintings, photographs and films to present some meaningful ideas and to create a favourable image of their country). The Ministry describes its works of art collection and its use at posts as used to display New Zealand creativity and ingenuity with recent acquisitions including photographs, prints, paintings, kete, carvings and glass art (MFAT, 2008). Faizullaev's (2013) work on diplomatic symbolism provides a solid platform to begin to

⁷⁵ For example, Leonard et al (as cited in Anholt, 2002) describe how Britain's reputation for tradition will help sell heritage brands such as Asprey's and their advertising campaigns will also reinforce Britain's reputation as a heritage nation.

address the gap in the literature on how diplomatic symbolism can be used in the context of trying to promote New Zealand biculturalism.

Henrikson's (2013) work on diplomatic representation, refers to Faizullaev's framing of representation through symbolic action or 'flying the flag' as a form of expressiveness, allowing representation that is purposeful, to be carried out intentionally. In considering post-Cold War diplomacy, Sharp (1997) concludes that diplomats and the diplomatic system continue to derive their authority from the claim that they represent sovereign states in their relations with one another, and not from some wider notion of international community, of which states are but one expression.

Attempts to define diplomatic representation have encountered problems throughout the history of the modern diplomatic system (from medieval times, when an Ambassador was seen as representing his sovereign state in the sense that he embodied the state). Sharp (1997) suggests that five elements vie for attention when considering what diplomatic representation entails (ceremony, symbolism, interests, power and ideas) and cautions diplomats that, despite developments in modern diplomacy, they are first and foremost the representatives of sovereign states and that, while this may require an adjustment in their professional orientation it should not involve a transformation. Sharp's (1997) and Henrikson's (2013) work on diplomatic representation reinforces the key role individual diplomats play in representing the state. This research extends these concepts to how individual diplomats (notably, Māori diplomats) can be perceived or used to represent New Zealand's cultural identity.

Art as image-building diplomacy

The use of art as part of image-building diplomacy has also been considered by Johnson et al. (2011) who reviewed Britain's use of their UK Government Art Collection (GAC) to promote British art and artists. Such artwork is used in Ministers' offices and in the public representational areas of embassies and residences in nearly every capital city of the world. Former Minister of Culture David Lammy is quoted as describing the GAC as "an opportunity to showcase that (UK) art because the world's opinion formers every day of the week come into ministerial offices, come into our embassies and we are making a really bold statement about what we can do" (Lammy as cited in Johnson et al., 2011, p.15). Such art is referred to as "introducing visual stimulation and additional points of interest which in turn contribute

to the promotion of Britain and the creative talent it nurtures – thanks to the capacity of art to transcend barriers, engage, amuse, entertain and inform” (Johnson et al., 2011, p. 40). Use of art in this context is focused primarily on promoting individual artists and showcasing the UK’s breadth of available artwork. This research considers how a government selects artwork to promote certain images of a nation in a New Zealand context, images of Māori and collective identity.

Architectural diplomacy

Loeffler (1998) researched the extensive embassy building programme carried out by the United States during the Cold War to scrutinise how governments’ diplomatic physical structures (such as embassies) use symbolism. Reflecting on the interplay of architectural diplomacy, power and politics, Loeffler illustrates how various design elements incorporate national symbols. The Great Seal and the American flag, for example, are national symbols used by architects to identify US embassy buildings. On occasion these are paired with the American eagle (part of the seal – as shown in Figure 34) to add emphasis and a visual accent to the highly symbolic and often physically dominant buildings. Figure 35 illustrates a striking example of an Australian expression within its diplomatic space in Bangkok, Thailand through an architecturally designed embassy building that seeks to “explore the narrative potential of architecture through a visceral juxtaposition of Australian and Thai precedents” (Heneghan, 2018), achieved through the allusion of references to Uluru and Thai water gardens (Heneghan, 2018).

Glendinning (2004) considers what role the architecture of modernist embassy complexes (focusing on New Zealand House in London and the British Embassy in Rome) played in helping accelerate or cushion the process of dismantling the British Empire. Two tensions were identified in the context of the post-1945 decline in British power; firstly, that between the assertion of one’s own country and deference towards the host country, and, secondly, the tension between architecturally or ideologically ‘closed’ and ‘open’ ways of designing buildings.

Figure 34: Photo of US Embassy London, UK (Saarinen and Korab, 1955-60)

Figure 35: Photo of Australian Embassy Bangkok, Thailand (Gollings, 2018).

Gournay's and Loeffler's (2002) earlier comparison of the context and design of two major North American embassy chancery projects (the Canadian Embassy in Washington and the US Embassy in Ottawa – with the latter being examples of rising US power in the 1980s and 1990s) was contrasted by Glendinning (2004) against the development of New Zealand House in London and the British Embassy in Rome. In the example of the two custom-designed chanceries in Ottawa and Washington, their chosen location, in “high-profile downtown sites add immeasurably to the prestige and influence associated with this building type” (Gournay and Loeffler, 2002, p. 481).

The 1960s design of New Zealand House “became one of the symbolic standard bearers of its accelerated modernisation and emancipation” (Glendinning, 2004, p. 89). Glendinning (2004) describes the efforts made to root the building in the New Zealand context by selecting specific materials in the finishing and fitting out stage. Completed in 1963, the Ministry refers to media coverage at the time which points out the building's significance, and the “incalculable value of prestige. The tall elegance of this fine new building writes the name of New Zealand indelibly on the London skyline” (New Zealand Herald article cited in MFAT, 2019I).

These comparisons of diplomatic buildings did not delve into the symbolism of the Māori imagery used in New Zealand House or the installation of Te Pouihi⁷⁶, a 15.5m tall carving by Inia Te Wiata⁷⁷ (as shown in Figure 36). Completed in 1972, this carving is described as dominating the reception area of New Zealand House, welcoming visitors through various carved images and their stories (MFAT, 2015c). Kleiner (2009) describes the architecture of embassy buildings as often disappointing, “plain, simple and uninspired office buildings”, with those “countries that can afford it sometimes trying to create something special, buildings that stand out and transport a message”. The positioning and inclusion of Te Pouihi in the case of New Zealand House in London makes this building the opposite of plain and simple. Te Pouihi was formally unveiled on 1 June 1972 and is firmly located within the Ministry's history of using aspects of Māori imagery or taonga to symbolise New Zealand's bicultural origins in a foreign landscape (in the case of Te Pouihi – in the United Kingdom).

⁷⁶ Translated as inspired pillar.

⁷⁷ Inia Morehu Tauhia Watene Iarahi Waihurihia Te Wiata MBE was a New Zealand Māori bass-baritone opera singer, film actor, carver and artist.

The Ministry has referred to the Pouihi as “the first physical presentation of Taha Māori in the Ministry’s overseas missions” (Templeton, 1993, p. 207).

Figure 36: Photo of Pouihi carved by Inia Te Wiata in the foyer of New Zealand House London, United Kingdom (New Zealand Places, 2019).

This research explores how the Ministry (on behalf of the New Zealand Government) makes similar decisions on the use of images and symbols as part of the New Zealand diplomatic footprint. This includes how this footprint is experienced by Māori staff operating in these diplomatic spaces and non-diplomatic actors. It also aims to expand on this concept of architectural diplomacy, by considering how design features of new embassies, for example, are also used to promote aspects of national identity.

Role of capitals

Other literature explores the relationship between architectural symbolism and expressions of national identity, largely in the context of examining the symbolic role of modern city capitals. Capital cities usually serve as the seat of government and the focus of a nation’s

symbolic presence. Countries with diplomatic representation in a country also usually locate their embassy, high commission, or consulate in capital cities. Not only does this facilitate access to key officials and government representatives, but it also means a country is more easily identified in the capital.

Vale (2008) describes capitals as playing a role in focusing efforts to promote a sense of national identity. The use of objects and events, monuments and ceremonies are seen as contributing meaningful symbols to the production and consolidation of the 'we'. Flags, architectural acts and urban design, images on coins and stamps depicting indigenous flora and fauna are provided as examples of visible symbols of national identity. This view encompasses a more traditional view of symbols of national identity with references to symbols that are commonly used by countries to express their national identity. Images or symbols on flags and coins for example have been used for centuries to identify countries. The stars on the New Zealand Flag (as shown in Figure 37) for example "represent the Southern Cross constellation, emphasising New Zealand's location in the South Pacific Ocean. The Union Jack in the top left-hand corner, recognises New Zealand's historical foundations as a former British colony and dominion" (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2019). Vale does not explore the more recent commercialisation by some countries of their coin production, in which images not connected to their indigenous flora or fauna or country are used. Niue for example uses images from Disney and the movie *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (Figure 38).

This literature on capitals does not consider the role and use of what I term 'bicultural symbolism' by governments in capitals to express national identity. The focus has been more on the diplomatic symbolism and the architectural diplomacy perspective of different aspects of states' choices on how they choose to represent their country in their capitals. This research demonstrates the specific and targeted use of bicultural symbolism by New Zealand throughout its diplomatic presence in capitals.

I also considered whether there was any specific literature on architectural diplomacy in relation to New Zealand. I was especially interested to see whether there was any literature on the use of bicultural symbols in the international context, my specific interest being on the use of bicultural symbolism through the use or display of Māori taonga, objects or art forms.

Figure 37: Photo of New Zealand flag (Whitfield, 2020).

Figure 38: Image of Niuean coin (2016) depicting imagery from *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (Amazon, 2019).

Māori and bicultural architecture

While I did not find any specific literature on these points in relation to New Zealand, in this section I describe some literature on the concept of Māori architecture. There is some limited literature referring to architectural features within a bicultural policy focus.

Within Māori architecture the focus is on the role architecture plays to create a new and culturally respectful social system in New Zealand, with biculturalism described as a design driver from 1990. Brown (2009) details the development and influencers of Māori architecture, the interplay between Māori and non-Māori practitioners and their use of a bicultural design theory to large scale projects. Museums, tertiary campuses and healthcare clinics are offered as examples of ‘shop front windows’ and social engine rooms for biculturalism. Earlier work by Austin (2003) suggests that Māori architecture has been influenced from first contact (with Europeans) and continues to be shaped and responsive to social change. Māori meeting houses (wharehenui) are described as a singular architectural response to the crisis of European colonisation, serving to accommodate, unite and make statements about the past, as well as hope for the future. McKay (2004) points to years of inadequate Pākehā scholarship at explaining Māori architecture and art, with the meeting house having become “stereotyped as the sole form of Māori architectural expression by Pākehā museums, histories and architectural references. This view does not recognise the comparative youth and diversity of the meeting house” (McKay, 2004, p. 6).

Bicultural architecture is seen as one response to the condition of living in a colonised country (such as New Zealand) (Brown, 2009). Bicultural institutional architecture is characterised not as an aesthetic, or even a philosophy, but a process of meeting on equal terms that requires the setting aside of preconceptions about architecture and culture, the Crown–Māori relationship, institutions and the public, class and race. Drawing on her experience teaching design and history at the University of Auckland⁷⁸ Brown (2019) notes that:

...architectural students and practitioners sometimes speak of Māori culture as something that has been buried underneath the city (Auckland, New Zealand) and propose projects that excavate it, like an archaeological dig.... we are surrounded in

⁷⁸ Professor Dr Deidre Brown (Ngapuhi, Ngati Kāhu), PhD, MArch (Distn) University of Auckland. Head of School, Architecture and Planning, Faculty of Creative Arts and Industries.

Tāmaki⁷⁹ by 50 volcanic cones, some of which were fortified Māori pā that dwarf almost all of the city's buildings and are still very much visible. Māori construction is everywhere, our culture and our ancestors surround us like korowai and all we need to do is open our eyes and our minds to see them and include them in a new chapter in our city's ever-evolving story.

Brown's work is focused on the New Zealand domestic context, providing a useful narrative on how bicultural themes in private homes and public institutions have evolved. It does not extend to considering bicultural architecture further in an international context in relation to how New Zealand's international diplomacy uses bicultural references.

There are some examples of architectural design in New Zealand by Māori architects, which illustrate the incorporation of some Māori points of reference within an architectural design. In Karori, Wellington, John Scott⁸⁰ was the architect of the Futuna Chapel. Opened in March 1961, the Chapel commemorates the martyrdom of St Peter Chanel on Futuna in 1841. References to Scott's Māori heritage are described by the Chapel having:

...its antecedents on the marae and in Māori meeting houses, with its large centre pole, its sharply sloping eaves, and its modest, almost deferential entrance. Its use as a place of contemplation, and the manner in which an appropriate atmosphere is achieved, further reflect a spiritual dimension influenced by the marae (Futuna Trust, 2019).

Figures 39 and 40 illustrate the exterior and interior design features of this modernist Chapel.

John Scott also designed the visitor centre for the Waitangi National Trust and the entrance to the trusts 500-hectare estate, which includes the Hobson Memorial, Treaty House and Te Whare Rūnanga. Martin (2007) describes Scott's appointment as appropriate, given Scott's Māori heritage as "Waitangi is thought of in New Zealand as the birthplace of the nation." Scott's use of large round poles (as illustrated in Figure 41) to support the roof and the ridge angles and veranda at the front are described as "reminiscent of the meetinghouse (wharenui)."

⁷⁹ Tāmaki is the short form of Tamaki Makaurau, the Māori name for Auckland, New Zealand.

⁸⁰ Of Māori heritage (Wellington City Council, 2019).

Figure 39: Photo of interior of Futuna Chapel, Wellington, New Zealand designed by John Scott (Futuna Trust, 2019).

Figure 40: Photo of Futuna Chapel in 1961 (exterior) designed by John Scott (Futuna Trust, 2019).

Figure 41: Photo of the visitor centre for the Waitangi National Trust designed by John Scott (Martin, 2007).

Te Papa Tongarewa, the Museum of New Zealand, located in Wellington, New Zealand, is a further example of the use of architectural features to progress bicultural policy (Figure 42). In her work detailing biculturalism at Te Papa, Schubert-McArthur (2019) describes how visitors experience Te Papa and how they:

...stumble on bicultural elements when walking through exhibitions, as they are greeted with ‘kia ora’ by Te Papa hosts, pass a waharoa (gateway) near the entrance and encounter bicultural signage and exhibition labels in English and Māori” (p. 49).

Her findings suggest that:

...little steps like the use of Māori names, and big steps, like building biculturalism into the architectural features of Te Papa and adopting a bicultural policy framework, were vital to cement the notion of biculturalism into the new Museum” (Schubert-McArthur, 2019, p. 52).

Figure 42: Photo of external view of Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand showing entrance way (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2017).

From my own frequent visits to Te Papa and experience of the architectural features and their references to biculturalism within New Zealand, some of these features include the ‘Treaty of Waitangi: Signs of a Nation’ exhibition (Figure 43), which features the Māori and English versions of the Treaty and Rongomaraeroa Te Marae, described as “Te Papa’s response to the challenge of creating an authentic yet inclusive marae for the 21st century” (Te Papa Tongarewa, 2019).

Figure 43: Photo of the exhibition 'Treaty of Waitangi: Signs of a Nation', displayed on Level 4 of Te Papa Tongarewa (Photo: Great Journeys of New Zealand, 2019).

Marae imagery

Literature on the history and imagery of marae in New Zealand, largely told through personal reflections and supplemented with photographic records, includes Muru, Robin and Sam Walters' report (2014) on visits to 300 marae in New Zealand, which focuses on the significance of marae to Māori, and their purpose and development over time. They refer, for example, to wharehenui (as in Figure 44) as "nineteenth century responses to the superior houses of the colonists, and part of a revival where Māori, acknowledging their diminished status during a period of rapid colonisation and land loss, asserted their culture" (Walters, Walters, & Walters, 2014, p. 14). This detailed account illustrates the symbolism of some aspects of marae design, in relation to Māori mythology and aspects of Māori tikanga. Wharehenui are described as:

...built as if the whole of creation sprang out of a wonderland of darkness. The ceiling of the meeting house is the realm of Ranginui, sky father, a spiritual source from the skies and beyond. The floor of the meeting house is the realm of Papatuanuku, mother earth, a natural human source from the land. Between these are the poupou, decorated standing wall pillars of karakia (worship), kotahitanga (fellowship), ako (instruction)" (Walters, Walters, & Walters (2014), p. 12).

Figure 44: Photo of Ōtiria marae, one of the marae visited by Muru, Robin and Sam Walters (2014), (Ōtiria Marae Memorials, 2020).

Linzey (2004) emphasises the living presence of Māori architecture in communities and the:

...fundamental understanding that the meeting house is a living presence is richer than any mere simile; it is beyond the idea of a metaphor or a representation in the European sense. A universal source of emotion, life force, mauri, pervades the physical world of the Māori, and architecture is included in this warm embrace at a number of levels from structure through ancestral denotation”.

Literature on marae outside of New Zealand, focuses on specific marae, such as Hinemihi (Figure 45) in Clandon Park, Surrey, United Kingdom (Gallop, 1998) or the conservation of and caring for such marae (Sully, 2007). The issues that arise in caring for such “expatriate meeting houses” (Sully, 2007, p. 22), such as Ruatēpupuke II,⁸¹ a complete 19th century meeting house located in the Field Museum of Chicago (Figure 46) are canvassed. There is a realisation that:

⁸¹ Originally from Tokomaru Bay, New Zealand and built in 1881.

...there is a now growing conviction throughout the world that museums need direct and effective ways of teaming up with their contemporary descendants in caring for – to borrow a word from the Māori – humankind’s taonga. This goes beyond the need to acknowledge the original makers and owners of the objects in their collections (Terrell, Wisse, & Philipp, 2007, p. 99).

Figure 45: Photo of Hinemihi wharenui at Clandon Park, Surrey, UK (Photo by J. Martinez, Ancient Origins, 2020).

Figure 46: Photo of Ruatēpupuke II, Field Museum of Chicago (Pacific Anthropology, 2020).

This literature on expatriate marae does not include observations on the use of marae or marae imagery overseas (in the form used by the Ministry for example, within Whare Aorere (Figure 4); tomokanga in Japan (Figure 188); wharenui imagery in Papua New Guinea (Figure 187); Beijing (Figure 189) or waharoa in Washington (Figure 184).

This research comments on the Ministry's practice of using parts of wharenui within the built structures of New Zealand posts, through a lens of bicultural symbolism developed in this thesis.

Māoriland

Blackley (2018) explores the concept of 'Māoriland' culture in early New Zealand, originally created by Pākehā but with Māori having an interest in this process of romanticisation – where colonial art and museology essentialised 'traditional' Māori culture and used it to help forge a distinctive Pākehā identity. My interest in this literature is its focus on the origins of how Māori objects and images were displayed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and potential links with the Ministry's current practices relating to the display of Māori art and taonga. Blackley's *Galleries of Māoriland Artists, Collectors and the Māori World, 1880-1910* (2018) illustrates the inextricable links between Māori objects and Māori images (such as historical paintings or photographs of Māori as shown in Figures 47 - 49) with the collecting and exhibiting practices in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Blackley (2018) advocates that any consideration of a colonial art history must factor in the realities of colonisation – subjugation, exploitation, uneven interests and competing cultural capital into its historical frame.

Figure 47 (left): Poster from 1940 "showing carved human figures" Māori Art, New Zealand (King, 1940).

Figure 48 (centre): Poster for New Zealand Government Tourist Department shows older Māori person in traditional dress (Bridgman, 1947).

Figure 49: (right) "Bella. A Māori guide sitting at edge of Rotorua geysers" (Jackson, 1895).

Representation

Literature on representation was considered as part of reflecting the aspect of this research relating to how New Zealand is symbolically represented, both through objects (artworks or cultural objects the Ministry uses as a form of visual representation throughout New Zealand's network of posts overseas) and people (Māori staff specifically).

Pitkin (1967) defines representation narrowly, as a situation where one person is authorised to act in place of others, or to 'represent', or to act with binding authority in the name of others. This narrow definition is further developed by the theory of representative democracy, which focuses on the concept of a representative government. Such representation is seen to be achieved when a government accurately reflects the community, or the general opinion of the nation, or the variety of interests in society (Ford, 1924). This broad concept of a representative government was developed by Bradbury and Kellough (2011) who refer to representative bureaucracy in the context of a public workforce. The aim is that a workforce represents the people it serves (including race, ethnicity and sex) to ensure that the interests of those groups are considered in the bureaucratic decision-making process. By having such a representative workforce, the views of those represented are seen to be considered. Individual bureaucrats are seen as reflecting the views of their demographic.

Peters, Schröter, & von Maravić (2015) characterise questions of representation as political, whether seen under labels of diversity management or representative bureaucracy. Political considerations are described as determining "who is represented and who is not, who is included and who is excluded. These issues are important in any society but especially relevant in societies that are deeply divided along religious, ethnic or class lines" (Peters, Schröter, & von Maravić, 2015, p. 1).

While not suggesting these sorts of deep divisions exist in New Zealand, within the context of this research, there are divisions and inequalities to consider when considering whether the Ministry – as a government department within the wider New Zealand public sector – is representative of the community it serves. It is also useful when considering how Māori are represented within the Ministry as tangata whenua.

Symbolic representation

In addition to considering active and passive forms of representation, this research will build on literature on symbolic representation, which emphasises the power of symbols to evoke feelings or attitudes for what it represents. It is described as existing when the audience receiving the symbolic message of representation believes it does (Kelly & Duerst-Lahti, 1998). Herzfeld (2008) explores the emotional manipulation of cultural objects by those in positions of power, referring to how those in power (reflecting Western values) exploit modes of intimacy, kinship and engagement in ways that often undermine the interests of the marginal populations to which they most effectively appeal.

Theory concerning 'standing for' representation suggests that human beings can be thought of as symbols, who can, under the right circumstances, stand for a nation just as a flag does (Pitkin, 1967). Cerulo (1993) helpfully describes the key functions of national symbols, including crystallising national identity, creating bonds among citizens, motivating patriotic actions, conferring honour, legitimating authority and adding popular political protest.

All these forms of symbolic representation inform the focus of what Māori diplomats 'stand for' or represent as diplomats in their own right and in relation to New Zealand's bicultural heritage. This research develops this aspect of representation by exploring participants' reactions to symbols used by the Ministry.

Pitkin (1967) describes symbols in symbolic representation theory not as a source of information, but rather as a recipient or object of feelings, expressions of feeling or actions intended for what they represent. Pitkin's description emphasizes 'the symbol's power to evoke feeling or attitudes' (Pitkin, 1967, p. 97) is useful when considering whether there are any emotional feelings or thoughts connected to the symbols the Ministry uses as part of expressing New Zealand's bicultural identity. Some participants described such emotional reactions and connections with art they encountered or lived with during postings. When shown a list of artworks at one of the posts participants had served at, they recalled a specific taonga:

"I always loved that" (P-12).

"As a New Zealanders as soon as I walk in (to the post) and see that (carvings in the post foyer) I feel comfortable and I feel like they're making an attempt). (P-8).

“I feel much more connected to (Ministry premises offshore) because you see symbols that are unique to New Zealand” (P-5)

In their work on art and emotion, Matravers (2001) describes how,

“great art provides some of the most valuable experiences it is possible for us to have. Such experiences engage many aspects of our mental life simultaneously; filling our senses whilst at the same time making demands on our intelligence, our sympathies, and our emotions”. (p. 1).

Mosher (1968) proposes a binary interpretation of representation as being either passive (where a bureaucracy employs ethnic minorities and women in proportions equal to their share of the population), or active (where those represented actively advocate for the interests and desires of those whom they are presumed to represent). This split interpretation is useful when assessing whether or how the Ministry represents New Zealand’s population, including Māori.

In relation to the literature on the key functions of national symbols (Cerulo, 1993) my interest is on the use of bicultural symbols to engender a patriotic response or a link to New Zealand by the observer (as part of my consideration of how Māori people, images - carvings and artwork - and practices are used by the Ministry). The literature on symbolic representation (Kelly, 1998; Herzfeld, 2008) assists an empirical consideration of what impact the people, symbols or artworks being used through the Ministry’s network of posts have on those who are working in or visiting these offices. The aim is to extend this concept further to clarify how Māori (people, images and practices) are used to present a bicultural image internationally.

Active and passive representation

No literature was found on the extension of this active and passive delineation to whether a bureaucracy (such as the Ministry) seeks to employ or prefers to have ethnic minorities (in this case Māori, as tangata whenua) who are passive rather than active - passive in the sense of Māori employees who are quiet or not actively advocating for Māori views within the Ministry (as opposed to Māori employees who are active, visible and advocate for Māori interests in the Ministry), or passive in the context of the extensive use of Māori taonga and

art by the Ministry in a posting environment. The issue explored within the interviews is whether there is a preference for such passive representation within the Ministry.

Saltzstein (1979) elaborates on Mosher's active and passive categorisation of representation by distinguishing between passive or sociological representation (where the focus is on mirroring the wider society) and active or functional representation (where it is presumed that an individual will press for the interests of the group they represent). In Saltzstein's view, the theory of representative bureaucracy as a means of ensuring administrative responsibility remains widely misunderstood and poorly operationalized. (Saltzstein, 1979, p. 465). Saltzstein is critical of the gross oversimplification of the social origin approach (that a bureaucracy will be responsive to the interests of particular social groups if members of those groups are drawn proportionately from those groups and share the same values and attitudes as the groups they represent) and the resulting theoretical, conceptual, operationalisation and methodological problems. These include difficulties for the researcher in having to decide which values should be congruent then measure these against the attitudes of the relevant group and the attitude of their bureaucratic representatives. Further problems surface when trying to decide what kind of values should be measured (Saltzstein, 1979, p. 469).

Bureaucratic representation

Saltzstein (1979) focuses on a common theme across the range of representative bureaucracy theories, that the mechanisms of responsiveness are the linkages between the social characteristics, values and values to behaviour and policy. Such assumptions ignore a range of wider factors that could impact on such linkages (the role of adult socialisation in value formation, the effect of upward mobility and peer group pressure). Others have queried the assumption that passive representation will automatically lead to active representation (Meier and Nicholson-Crotty, 2006). Further limits on active representation can include restrictions on the discretion of bureaucrats (i.e. pursuant to legislation); the hierarchical nature of the particular bureaucracy and internal processes of organisational socialisation (for example, organisations that reward individuals adopting and demonstrating the goals of the organisation can limit an individual's willingness to display "any residual values that might come from demographic origins" (Meier and Hawes, 2009, p. 274).

Phillips (1995) introduced the concept of the 'politics of presence', reframing the problems inherent in democratic equality (or the separation between 'who' and 'what' is to be represented). The politics of presence (also called the politics of 'difference', 'identity', or 'recognition') has become a familiar element of contemporary theories of justice, with political philosophers focusing on the moral justifications for group recognition—historical discrimination or oppression (Rosenblum, 1997). In her review of Phillip's work, Rosenblum (1997) asserts that the presence of previously excluded voices in public arenas helps to break the link between social and economic inequality and political participation, assuring fair processes, substantively altered outcomes and members' self-respect.

Described as bridging the middle ground between normative justifications of group rights and empirical studies of the accommodation of groups in practice, Rosenblum (1997) identifies a hole at the heart of Phillips' analysis of group representation. Responsiveness and accountability depend in large part on the self-organisation of groups; that is, on the concrete voluntary associations formed by members of what is otherwise a diffuse and elusive racial or ethnic 'culture' or 'community'. The groups that warrant 'presence' are the most likely to be disorganised, and guaranteed representation alone does little to foster associations where they do not exist. That, as much as top-down rights and representation, is the key to effective presence.

In her work on political accountability of legislators and questions of accountability to constituents, Mansbridge (2003) details the new forms of representation put forward by empirical political scientists, along with the traditional 'promissory' form of representation (where the representative is responsible to, 'answerable to', 'bound', and even 'bound by' voters). These forms are named 'anticipatory' (requiring a concept of power that includes anticipated reactions), 'gyroscopic' (voters select representatives who can be expected to act in ways the voter approves without external incentives), and 'surrogate' representation (representation by a representative with whom one has no electoral relationship, such as a representative in another district). As with the other forms of representation, none of these more recently recognised forms are described as meeting the criteria for democratic accountability developed for promissory representation. Each generates a set of normative and systemic criteria by which it can be judged (in contrast with the dyadic criteria appropriate for promissory representation), Mansbridge (2003).

All these theories of bureaucratic representation assist in exploring the construction of biculturalism and frame the empirical study being pursued (through the interview questions and as part of the assessment of documented material). They are useful when considering how the Ministry represents New Zealand offshore, and whether Māori diplomats and the Ministry's use of images are regarded as representing a wider demographic. This includes how aspects of representation relating to Māori (people, images and practices) are operationalised by the Ministry. These issues were pursued through the interview process, together with the document review and observations from the case studies.

EEO – diversity and inclusion

H. Smith (2011) asserts that insufficient attention has been paid to the reality that diversity has been implemented without any real “challenge to the dominant Anglophone patterns of bureaucratic behaviour or structure” (p. 10). There are parallels when considering New Zealand's anti-discrimination legislation (Human Rights Act 1993) and efforts at diversifying the state sector (taken forward through the vehicle of EEO and, more recently, diversity and inclusion). The literature on representative bureaucracy in New Zealand is largely restricted to minority representation (usually Māori and women) within a diversity or EEO context. The State Services Commission characterises EEO as a:

...long-term, strategic response to addressing discrimination in the workplace and building Public Service capability and performance. The focus has been to realise a diverse Public Service that reflects the community it serves and that is more effective at formulating and testing policy advice and ensuring that services are delivered appropriately. (SSC, 2008).

In 2001 Edgar described statistical evidence indicating the legislation had been effective, with rates of representation in the public service, nearly double those of the wider labour force. This analysis is now dated in comparison to more recent statistics detailing Māori participation rates in the public sector.⁸² Nor does Edgar consider rates of Māori participation in the public sector at different levels within the public service, notably within the senior management ranks.

⁸² In 2019 the Maori participation rate was 15.5% (SSC, 2019).

The type of research carried out by Edgar (2001) with its focus on statistics does not go beyond available statistics on Māori representation in the public sector to consider other issues influencing representation. The focus of my research, by comparison, goes beyond a study of the statistics of Māori within the Ministry to consider wider issues that could be impacting on representation levels. The literature on EEO in New Zealand also reflects the introduction of an American-based 'diversity' model. Originating from an American 'affirmative action' construct, some Māori practitioners regard diversity as inconsistent with the objective of establishing tangata whenua status (Jones, Pringle, & Shepherd, 2000). The phrase 'managing diversity' has emerged since the early 1990s alongside or as a potential replacement to EEO. Managing diversity is seen as reducing all differences to equivalence, with the risk for Māori EEO practitioners in a similar way to EEO, being that Treaty-based employment policies could be subverted.

In this view, Māori cultural values are only seen as important to the extent that they add value to the organisation. Māori culture is offered to employers within a managing diversity model as a commodity rather than as a cultural resource that Māori as tangata whenua have a right to create in their own workplace (Jones, Pringle, & Shepherd, 2000). The Ministry's use of EEO and more recently a 'diversity and inclusion' model, together with specific organisational values, is described in Chapter 2.

Payani (1992) has commented on the place of Māori in New Zealand bureaucracy, noting that one of the drivers for Māori is the eradication of the entrenched monoculturalism in bureaucracy and the establishment of a more bicultural public sector, which reflects both Māori and Pākehā cultural traditions. Increased Māori participation and representation in the bureaucracy is sought, to ensure that Māori are able to take part in government policy making and implementing processes on a partnership basis.

Māori are still categorised as an EEO group within the New Zealand public sector,⁸³ as such, a tension exists between this definition, Māori as tangata whenua and the broader principles of a bicultural public sector. I have considered these issues in previous research, pointing to the limitations of treating Māori solely as an EEO group and querying the suitability of this approach given the position of Māori as tangata whenua. A central issue is whether Māori

⁸³ As described in s.56 of the State Sector Act 1988

should be regarded as an EEO target group together with other target groups (such as women, or people with disabilities), or whether Māori should be considered outside an EEO framework as Treaty (of Waitangi) partners (Ngawati, 1996). Tremaine (1994) describes the differences between EEO Māori and Treaty concerns as being that EEO Māori recognises that Māori have been disadvantaged in employment (and attempts to improve that situation), while Treaty responsibilities of organisations involve all aspects of organisational life, all the functions of the organisation and the way they relate to the Treaty.

After reviewing the EEO policies of 10 public sector departments and four political parties, my earlier research (Ngawati, 1996) concluded that the relationship between EEO Māori and biculturalism is fraught with difficulties, with the theories relating to each concept disparate and seemingly incompatible with only limited range for reconciliation. Departments studied showed inconsistencies in their approach to reconciling the differences between the two concepts, with many appearing to not have considered the differences between EEO Māori and their bicultural imperative as representing any difficulties (Ngawati, 1996).

The Ministry uses a combination of language referring to EEO and diversity in its description of its workforce and the need to reflect the ‘cultural diversity of New Zealand’. The focus over the period 2014 – 2017 was to “build a diverse workforce to reflect the Ministry’s role in the Pacific and to ensure the cultural diversity of New Zealand is reflected” (MFAT, 2014). References to Māori in recruitment strategies and career opportunities within the Ministry are defined by business need (MFAT, 2014). There is no specific reference to ensuring Māori are represented offshore or in senior positions. My research examines how decisions are made that impact on Māori staff, and by whom – taking note of the operating context where most delegations for human resource decision-making now sit with line managers (MFAT, 2013).

The literature on representative bureaucracy resonates given its focus on ensuring that a group of people carrying out a public function (the bureaucracy) represent those they serve (usually including gender composition, ethnicity or race). The work of the Ministry in promoting New Zealand’s interests offshore is a key function of the New Zealand public service. International engagement is depicted as important for a small state such as New Zealand given that New Zealand’s future prosperity and security is intertwined with that of a changing world. In 2013 a Ministry goal was to invest in the capacity development of staff to

represent the interests of tangata whenua (Māori) and tangata Tiriti (non-Māori) offshore (MFAT, 2013).

Diplomatic practice in a New Zealand context

National identity

As part of considering how aspects of New Zealand's bicultural identity are represented offshore, I reviewed scholarship on national identity. There is some literature on the interplay of cultural identity and tourism in relation to an expression of national identity by a country or government. McIntosh, Hinch and Ingram (2002) characterise Māori culture as an important part of New Zealand tourism, with Māori increasingly investing in tourism as a means of economic development and cultural independence.

The concept of 'place identity' is introduced into case studies on culturally based tourist attractions with Māori themes. This is referred to as a means for articulating cultural authenticity and identity (McIntosh, Hinch, & Ingram, 2002). Within the literature on nation branding, there are also references to how aspects of indigenous culture may be promoted as an aspect of nation branding. This is in the context of indigenous culture being used to convey the core character of a destination. Pomering and White (2011) provide an example of how aspects of indigenous Australian identity (such as Aboriginal dancing and dreamtime references) were used to create an "image of the extraordinary" to attract visitors to Australia (p. 166). This is similar to an Australian tourism tagline to "Come Share Our Culture"⁸⁴ within an Aboriginal context, described as part of an upbeat rhetoric on tourism that continues to enchant many, however does not exist in a straightforward transfer of cultural knowledge (Tonnaer, 2010).

Despite the potentially destructive aspects of the relationship between culture and tourism (Hughes, 1989), an increasing number of countries are looking to use tourism as a vehicle for indigenous economic development (Hughes cited in J. McIntosh, et al. 2002). Caution is advised where there are uncomfortable and unresolved postcolonial social challenges, such as lack of reconciliation between conquered and conquerors or where inextricable links between images of nation and identity at home and abroad can be a double-edged sword (Pomering & White, 2011). De la Maza (2018) critiques tourism development in three

⁸⁴ Described as a convivial tagline with which tourists were attracted to visit Manyallaluk (Eva Valley), an Aboriginal community in a northern corner of the Australian 'Outback' (Tonnaer, 2010).

indigenous territories in Chile, finding that in all three examples, while “the promotion of indigenous tourism by state institutions and private sector agents does recognise indigenous culture as an asset that strengthens economic development, this does not imply political recognition of Chile’s indigenous peoples” (De la Maza, 2018, p. 108). In a Canadian context, indigenous tourism has also been described as a double-edged sword, which questions whether tourism is primarily a means to alleviate social and economic problems, or a new form of colonialism and a threat to tradition cultures (Cassel and Maureira, 2017).

Craik (2011) argues, in an Australian context, that the tourism industry, indigenous communities, governments and the Australian public need to tackle the place of indigenous culture in Australian life and redress problems and contradictions – given the expected continued use of Aboriginal cultural tourism to epitomise an image of Australia. One contradiction explored by Ruhanen, Whitford and McLennan (2015) is the positioning of indigenous tourism as an integral part of Australia’s tourism product offering, contrasted against declining participation in indigenous tourism experience.

Similar issues could be raised in New Zealand, where images used abroad do not necessarily reflect the reality in New Zealand and the place and status of Māori. Māori have been described as economically marginalised in their own land (Mitchell et al, cited in McIntosh, et al. 1992) and overrepresented in negative social indices (ranging from health to education achievement). There are disproportionate numbers of Māori in prison, for example, with Māori forming 52.8% of the New Zealand prison population as at March 2020⁸⁵ (Department of Corrections, 2020) compared to Māori being 17% of the New Zealand population (Statistics New Zealand, 2020). New Zealand’s Universal Periodic Review report to the United Nations in 2019 outlined significant and persistent disparities in health outcomes between Māori and non-Māori, lower life expectancy by approximately four years for both Māori men and Māori women, higher disability rates, a cardiovascular disease mortality rate twice the national average for Māori, lower education participation and achievement rates for Māori, and that Māori women and young mothers are particularly vulnerable to low wage employment and violence disproportionately affecting Māori society (MFAT, 2019n). Statistics reflecting the range of negative indices impacting on Māori women are not new, with Szászy (1993)

⁸⁵ Compared to 30.5% European, 11.5% Pacific, 4.9% other (including Asian and 0.3% unknown) (Department of Corrections, 2020).

describing 26 years earlier, the “common social indices (such as income, housing, employment and education) show Māori women also to be at the very bottom of New Zealand society” (Szászy, 1993, p. 289). The multiple challenges faced by Māori women who are able to obtain leadership roles, include encountering:

...the full force of male resistance. These women are thus limited in the recognition, authority and legitimate power due to them. They are denied access to decision-making, but all decisions made by others are, by and large, referred to them for action (Szászy, 1993, pp. 289-290).

Literature on ‘place identity’ and national identity is largely domestic focused, or inward looking, centring on the tourism experience. Pomering and White’s (2011) caution of a ‘double-edged sword’ of trying to reconcile images of nation and identity at home and abroad is relevant to the New Zealand experience. This is pertinent when considering New Zealand through a prism of having “uncomfortable and unresolved post-colonial social challenges” (Pomering & White, p. 108) with the non-Māori majority population and in the context of such social and economic statistics. While this research does not seek to detail the range of societal inequities experienced by Māori (historically and in a contemporary sense) and redress avenues, this point of unresolved issues is germane when considering how Māori are represented as part of New Zealand’s diplomatic expression.

Literature that considers the New Zealand experience centres on how Māori culture has been expressed through a tourism lens. It does not specifically consider how New Zealand’s nation identity is determined, or how ‘place identity’ is expressed, in relation to the representation of Māori offshore by the Ministry as a government department. Māori themes, aspects of culture or imagery are used frequently to promote New Zealand as a tourist destination or in commercial terms (for example the koru design used by the national carrier, Air New Zealand (Jaquiere, 2016) (Figure 50). There are also many examples of aspects of Māori culture being used by New Zealand national sporting teams to promote a point of difference within the sporting arena (such as use of the haka by the Māori All Blacks rugby team (F. Palmer, 2017) (Figure 51), the Black Ferns women’s team (Figure 52) and by other national sport teams).

Figure 50: Photo of Air New Zealand Airbus 320 departing Dunedin airport, showing use of koru and silver fern in Air New Zealand branding (Jaquiery, as cited in Hartley, 2016).

Figure 51: Photo of New Zealand Māori All Blacks Rugby team performing the haka (Palmer, 2017)

Figure 52: Photo of New Zealand Black Ferns Rugby team performing the haka (Photosport New Zealand, 2017).

Challenge of definition

National identity can be defined in multiple ways, depending on who is making the decision, what they are taking into account and who they represent. Expression of national identity can be subjective depending on a person's background, views and experience. New Zealand's national identity in the diplomatic environment, is largely the responsibility of the Ministry. Chapters 3 and 6 outline the limited guidance available to Ministry officials to inform these decisions.

Defining 'national identity' through the use of shared imagery also has inherent difficulties, with the New Zealand experience one where Māori may not have a shared view on the imagery of New Zealand's identity (from the dominant culture). Amoamo and Thompson (2010) refer, for example, to the use "in many of New Zealand's offshore tourism marketing campaigns, a somewhat stereotypical and homogenous representation of 'Māori culture' has constructed an identity that is at odds with the diverse reality that makes up such ethnic groups" (p. 36). Liu (2005) suggests that trying to understand New Zealand identity is to grasp the dynamic interplay between the shared knowledge on which it is based, and the comparative context or divisions in the social environment that define who is in and who is out of the group.

A further issue explored in other literature relating to New Zealand identity centres on the use of the term 'Pākehā'⁸⁶ to describe non-Māori New Zealanders. Bell (1996) describes the resistance by some New Zealanders to being described as Pākehā and considers the lack of recognition by some New Zealanders of their (Pākehā) culture, as a culture, encourages doubt about the existence of a distinctive national culture (in New Zealand). Bell (1996) refers to the work by Beatson and Beatson (1994) as occupying much of the artistic expression of New Zealand cultural nationalists during the middle of the 20th century. Bell's view is that this mix results in the irony of Pākehā New Zealanders being in situations where their national culture must be displayed (through song, costume or dance, for example) turning to Māori culture to represent 'New Zealand'. Following her reflective study into her Pākehā cultural identity, Amundsen (2018) concludes that the evolution of Pākehā identity is a continuous process of Pākehā situating themselves in relation to Māori and within wider Aotearoa society.

Pākehā culture may be the national culture or provide the pervasive, common sense underpinnings for the ordering of social life, but Māori culture is the national culture when distinctiveness and ethnic exoticism is called for⁸⁷ as shown with the wearing of korowai in credential ceremonies. Bell (1996) concludes that, "despite its ambiguities and dangers, Pākehā identity does offer something positive and specific to white New Zealanders that 'European' does not" and that "it is not good enough to continue with the 'we are just New Zealanders' identity claim with all the elisions and marginalisations that that implies" (Bell as cited in Spoonley, et al. 1996, p. 156). Laidlaw's (2005) view is that the clash of cultures between Māori and Pākehā which began more than two centuries ago, still obscures New Zealand's sense of nationhood: while most Pākehā are happy to recognise the singularity of Māori arts, crafts and music, they bridle at the idea of separate health, education, justice or welfare organisations as taking cultural independence too far. The case studies in Chapters 6 – 9 illustrate that in relation to the New Zealand identity portrayed offshore, Māori are represented more as a dominant brand than a minor sub-brand of New Zealand identity.

⁸⁶ "Pākehā" is defined as a New Zealander of European descent - probably originally applied to English-speaking Europeans living in Aotearoa/New Zealand (Māori Dictionary, 2019).

⁸⁷ Bell (1996) notes her thanks to Brian Ponter for "bringing this distinction between common sense and national culture to my attention."

Biculturalism and multiculturalism

I also considered the different academic understandings of biculturalism to clarify how this concept guides my research. In this section, I also consider key references to how biculturalism is considered in a New Zealand context.

Narratives on New Zealand's bicultural identity often touch on how biculturalism is distinct from multiculturalism, with the latter concerned with the institutional accommodation of diversity and biculturalism ideally emphasising a degree of cultural co-existence between distinct political communities (Maaka & Fleras, 2005). The term 'biculturalism' was first introduced in the New Zealand academic context by Schwimmer (1968), but was not accepted by the wider public until the 1980s through the influence of comments in 1982 by then Race Relations Conciliator⁸⁸ and Māori academic Ranginui Walker.⁸⁹ Subsequent debates on the significance of the Treaty of Waitangi, including literature that focused on its value as a charter for social partnership also re-established 'biculturalism' as part of the Treaty of Waitangi narrative in New Zealand. Sissons (1995) describes such a charter for social partnership as one which promises equal recognition of Māori and Pākehā cultures (especially languages) and, less conservatively, as a contract promising Māori self-determination.

The term 'bicultural' has been described as a particular social and political terrain familiar to most New Zealanders, encompassing the diverse workings of partnership between those identifying as Māori, the Crown and others in society as expressed in contemporary and historical interpretations of the Treaty, in struggles for redress of historical grievances and in the rights and responsibilities of citizenship for all New Zealanders (Barclay, Liu & James 2003).

McCreanor (2005) describes multiculturalism in the New Zealand context as when minority and immigrant groups add spice and colour to the mainstream society, a situation preferred by those who advocate for 'national unity' and 'one people'. In this situation, biculturalism is regarded as a divisive and dangerous power-sharing model, which unreasonably raises Māori aspirations to self-determination. In any analysis of the relative merits of biculturalism and

⁸⁸ Walker proposed in the publication *Race against Time* (Race Relations Conciliator, 1982) that a New Zealand national identity must be based on a firm foundation of bi-culturalism through which multi-culturalism can emerge.

⁸⁹ In his regular *Listener* column, Walker (1982) described New Zealand as a bicultural country, with biculturalism predicated on the basis that there are *tangata whenua*, indigenous people of the land, and non-indigenous colonisers.

multiculturalism, two immediate difficulties include firstly, the reality that there is no agreement on what these terms mean, and, secondly, that regardless of their precise meanings, both biculturalism and multiculturalism are politically loaded terms, as both tend to alienate various groups within the community (Boston et al., 1996). The choice of using 'bicultural' or multicultural' to describe New Zealand has also been characterised as reflecting a deep division over race relations policy and the position of Māori in New Zealand (Mulgan, 1989).

This ideal of co-existence is not always achieved. Shore (2017) points out, for example, that "for all its claims about social inclusion and biculturalism, the unresolved tension between Māori and the state over the expropriation of land under the Crown and successive settler governments remains a key political fault line" (Shore, 2017, pp. 5253).

In a New Zealand context, biculturalism has been described as barely addressing possible Māori models of self-determining autonomy. Institutions of the State (for example, government departments) are perceived as more focused on institutional accommodation by removing discriminatory barriers and incorporating a (limited) Māori dimension into state practices and national symbols. This includes adopting Māori names for government departments, increased use of Māori language and protocols for ceremonial occasions, and reports and documents in both English and Māori (Durie, 1995; Poata-Smith, 1996; Spoonley, 1993). In his exploration of New Zealand's Pacific identity, Ihimaera (1991) comments that Māori culture has been promoted more in the field of arts than in politics and economics. Mulgan (1989) defines biculturalism as the demand that Māori should be equally at home and influential in their own country and its institutions and suggests that the status of Māori within New Zealand is the single most important issue raised by biculturalism.

Workman considered in 1995 that, while biculturalism is still a goal for most of New Zealand's Government departments, "there is still a range of responses, a lack of uniformity, and a variety of perceptions" (Workman, 1995, p. 5). This prompted Workman (1995) to suggest a need for some sort of framework to assist organisations to define what is meant by biculturalism and to assist in evaluating an organisation's commitment to biculturalism.

Bicultural continuum

There is no single definition of biculturalism, but Durie's (1994) concept of a "bicultural continuum of bicultural goals" (p. 103) is useful, as is his second "bicultural continuum of structural arrangements" (p. 104). The latter describes at a structural level how biculturalism ranges between two poles with an unmodified monocultural institution at one extreme and an independent Māori institution at the other (Durie, 1994). These two continuums are relevant as part of examining where the Ministry sits as part of the wider New Zealand public service.

Durie (1994) describes the first continuum as ranging from a scenario where bicultural goals (within an organisation) are about acquiring cultural skills and knowledge (such as marae protocol or Māori waiata). Other goals could relate to trying to have an improved understanding of the Māori position or a clearer focus on Māori issues or networks, or to better outcomes for Māori as a consequence of a department's activities. The end state of this continuum reflects a situation where there is dialogue between Māori and the state that could result in formal joint ventures within agreed frameworks.

Initial findings from my pilot study indicate the Ministry occupies the first position in this continuum (Ngawati, 2014). This is illustrated in Figure 53.

Cultural skills and knowledge	Better awareness of the Māori position	A clearer focus on Māori issues and Māori networks	Best outcomes for Māori over all activities	Joint ventures within agreed upon frameworks
-------------------------------	--	--	---	--

Figure 53: A bicultural continuum of bicultural goals (Durie, 1994)

Durie (1994) then shifts his continuum concept to examine at a structural level how biculturalism can range between two extremes. At the one end an unmodified monocultural institution looks to introduce a Māori perspective into the culture of the organisation – but not as an integral part of core business. At the other extreme is a fully independent Māori institution. Three levels of biculturalism between these two extremes are seen as possible (as described in Figure 54).

Unmodified monocultural institution	A Māori perspective	Active Māori involvement	Parallel Māori institutions	Independent Māori institution
--	----------------------------	---------------------------------	------------------------------------	--------------------------------------

Figure 54: A bicultural continuum of structural arrangements (Durie, 1994)

Initial findings from an earlier pilot study I carried out (Ngawati, 2104), place the Ministry in the second position (a Māori perspective) in Figure 54 with aspirations to move into the third position (active Māori involvement). The second position represents a situation where the main objective is to introduce a Māori perspective into the culture of the institution – as an addition rather than as an integral part of core business.

While acknowledging the increasing diversity of New Zealand’s population⁹⁰ and projections that the number of people identifying with Asian ethnicities is likely to exceed the number identifying with the Māori ethnicity from the mid-2020s (Statistics NZ, 2013), this research focuses on the linkages between expressions of biculturalism and national sovereignty. Literature on multiculturalism was therefore of lesser relevance in relation to the literature on biculturalism and incorporating a Māori dimension into government practices and national symbols for New Zealand, such as the selective use of Māori language and protocols for ceremonial occasions. Aspects will be illustrative, however, regarding decisions that are being made on expressing New Zealand’s identity internationally (in the context of Māori identity versus other nationalities). The literature to date primarily focuses on the use of such symbolism domestically (within New Zealand). It includes research on the drivers behind Pākehā opposition to the symbolic aspects of Māori – Pākehā intergroup relations as predicated directly by motivations for intergroup dominance and superiority in the context of research on collective guilt and the perception of historical injustices (Sibley, Robertson, & Kirkwood, 2005).

This research aims to develop this theme referred to by Mulgan (1989) (of the status of Māori within New Zealand and how biculturalism should encompass the demand that Māori should be equally at home and influential in their own country and its institutions) on an international level. Mulgan’s (1989) concern centres on how Māori relate to or are comfortable with an expression of biculturalism in New Zealand – or within a domestic

⁹⁰ The Māori, Asian, and Pacific populations will continue to grow faster than New Zealand’s population overall, so will increase their share of the total population (Statistics NZ, 2013).

landscape. My interest is in how Māori are represented in and by the Ministry (as a New Zealand government institution) both in New Zealand and on the international stage through the Ministry's network of overseas posts. My analysis of the literature identifies a gap in the existing scholarship as to how a Māori dimension is used as part of New Zealand's diplomatic framework.

Bicultural symbolism

The gap is what I term 'bicultural symbolism', which I consider in relation to the use of Māori (people, image and practices) in New Zealand's diplomacy. My primary focus is on the expression of this bicultural symbolism by the Ministry, not only because of my previous role as an insider researcher with extensive experience working within the Ministry as a Māori diplomat, but as the Ministry is the primary New Zealand government institution responsible for New Zealand's diplomatic footprint across the globe. Mulgan (1989) recognises the role such institutions play in expressing and symbolizing the traditions and values peculiar to that nation – in this case, New Zealand. How the Ministry seeks to apply 'bicultural symbolism' within its diplomatic practice is illustrated through the case studies in later chapters, where I identify the use of a bicultural symbolism pattern as shown in Table 7. In later conclusions, I argue that the Ministry uses bicultural symbolism but does not practice bicultural diplomacy.

New Zealand identity

There is some literature that considers what is meant by a New Zealand identity. My interest is in the expression of this identity overseas in the diplomatic context. There are various definitions of what constitutes an 'identity'. Liu (2005) describes identity as changing with the claims that it upholds and the belonging that it enables. Identity emerges from the dynamic interaction between people and the aims they are trying to achieve in various situations. A New Zealand collective identity is described as an 'imagined community', in the sense that no one knows exactly what a New Zealander is, or has met every New Zealander (Liu, 2005).

I would agree with this statement that it is difficult to pinpoint exactly what is meant by a 'New Zealander', with one person's definition perhaps having no meaning for another. Neither is it straightforward to define what is meant by having or referring to a 'Māori identity'. This has been described as a fluid concept, with contemporary Māori identities being articulated in many different forms (including through such characterisations as

traditional, fluid, fusion/hybrid (such as rangatahi (youth)) and identities formed under conditions of deprivation (such as incarceration) (McIntosh, 2005). Defining Māori identities is characterised by McIntosh as complex, and notes that, while there are dominant forms, they are always informed and responding to social conditions. The ‘traditional’ identity remains the most overtly political identity and the one that demands wider societal engagement, with the proponents of this identity continuing to push for Māori demands to be addressed and to set and define the political agenda (McIntosh, 2005).

Anecdotally, aspects of New Zealand’s identity are important for New Zealanders on an individual level, as individuals seek to portray themselves as being from New Zealand (often through items of clothing, for example featuring Māori/New Zealand images), or through taonga,⁹¹ or an association with New Zealand sporting teams (national teams/Black Ferns, All Blacks (rugby)/Silver Ferns (netball)); or performing haka or waiata (see Figure 55). In his memoir, Sir Geoffrey Palmer (2013) recounted an occasion during his time as Prime Minister attending a dinner at the Japanese Foreign Office when he was required to perform in response to a show of magic tricks by the Japanese Foreign Minister. G. Palmer (2013) recounts how his Ministry adviser suggested to him that:

...‘Minister, you will have to do something’. It was good advice but I could not think what. Then I thought I would do a Māori haka. So I performed the Nelson College haka in the Japanese Foreign Office and it was a hit. I explained what a haka was before I began. The Māori strand is such an important part of our New Zealand culture, being such a point of distinction with other countries (p. 743).

Spoonley’s (2015) work on settler society super diversity considers the situation in New Zealand as an example of a settler society, where the colonisation of indigenous peoples (Māori) has occurred alongside a nation-building project that centres on mass immigration. Spoonley (2015) notes that New Zealand “has invested considerable resources in the (partial) recognition of indigeneity, hence biculturalism, and has yet to officially acknowledge cultural diversity in the way that Canada and Australia have” (p. 651). This literature on identity touches on some of the inherent difficulties in trying to define what is a New Zealand identity and what is a Māori identity.

⁹¹ Precious objects from New Zealand such as pounamu or bone pendants.

Figure 55: Photo of group performing Māori songs at the New Zealand High Commission in Malaya, Waitangi Day, 6 February 1961. Taken by an unidentified photographer during the Malayan Emergency (1948 – 1960) (Department of Internal Affairs, 1961).

Art works chosen as part of the Māori imagery used by the Ministry appear aligned with either traditional expressions of Māori identity or more modern work from emerging Māori artists. Images or art forms reflecting Māori grievances or conflict are not prominent. The case studies featured in Chapters 6–9 examine the Ministry’s works of art collection to detail which images are chosen, by whom and the symbolism around these choices.

Public and cultural diplomacy

I also considered literature in the field of public diplomacy in the context of how governments and countries present themselves to the world – in a similar way to companies’ brand management. Public diplomacy, together with brand management, underpins the idea of competitive identity (Anholt, 2007). The concept of public diplomacy was first used by the US Information Agency in the early 1960s to communicate what is meant when a modern state manages its reputation abroad (Anholt, 2007). As Leonard (2002) suggests, it encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy, including the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries, the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another, the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy, communication between those whose job is communication between diplomats and foreign correspondents, and the process of inter-cultural communications (Leonard, as

cited in Anholt, 2007). A New Zealand example is the Asia New Zealand Foundation media programme, which funds New Zealand journalists under their media programme to travel to Asia and cover stories that “help demystify Asia for New Zealand audiences” (Asia Foundation New Zealand, 2020).

I also considered any application of literature to cultural diplomacy. Appearing to not have any agreed definition, Mark (2010) describes this concept as the deployment of a state’s culture in support of its foreign policy goals or diplomacy. Mark (2010) refers to the activities undertaken within cultural diplomacy, which manifest themselves in an aspect of the culture of the polity the government represents. Drawing on his experience within the Ministry, the New Zealand example is characterised as an interesting illustration of the role cultural diplomacy plays in the presentation abroad of a national image and the extent to which such an image is tied to a national brand. Mark (2010) refers to the New Zealand Government’s Cultural Diplomacy International Programme in 2004 (launched by then New Zealand Prime Minister Clark, which focused on presenting an image of New Zealand offshore as modern and innovative). Mark (2010) concludes that apart from this programme there has been “little systematic effort by New Zealand officials to use cultural diplomacy to present a particular image of New Zealand abroad” (p. 16). This literature focuses on governments presenting a national brand rather than the specific expression of bicultural symbolism through the New Zealand diplomatic network. A specific example of national branding that has emerged by the New Zealand government has been the use of the silver fern to brand a range of New Zealand government departments and activities both in New Zealand and overseas (Figure 13).

Silver fern and Tiaki promise

The Silver Fern image shown in Figures 13 and 56 is used extensively as part of the signage of New Zealand posts (as shown in Figure 57 in London, and Figure 74 in the Cook Islands). It is described as one of New Zealand’s:

...most recognised, long-standing, and respected national symbols that the New Zealand Government and key private businesses have helped grow into a recognisable and valuable icon. Tourism New Zealand and New Zealand Trade and Enterprise have also adopted the silver fern as the country of origin symbol for New Zealand (Fernmark, 2019).

Figure 56: New Zealand Embassy branding showing use of Silver Fern (MFAT, 2020a).

Targeted tourism marketing is routinely used in New Zealand as a tool to broadcast the image and reputation for foreign audiences that New Zealand authorities want portrayed. This is described as using tourism promotion to communicate an idea of the country that has more to do with building a 'global brand' for the country than with persuading large numbers of people to visit (Anholt, 2007). Examples include the '100% Pure New Zealand' campaign (launched in 1999 by Tourism New Zealand) and the 'New Zealand story'. The latter is an initiative focused on "defining the distinctly Kiwi attributes that make us unique and provides a framework to help us better communicate our value to the world. These include the values of kaitiaki (care of people and place), integrity and resourcefulness" (New Zealand Story, 2014). More recently the 'Tiaki promise' (Figure 58) was launched, which centres on the Māori word 'Tiaki,' defined as 'to care for people and place'. Linked to other Tourism New Zealand government initiatives, the Tiaki promise outlines a:

...set of guiding principles for visitors to follow, showing them how to contribute to preserving and protecting our land as part of reflecting, "New Zealanders special connection to the land, and want to help visitors travel safely and conscientiously" (Tiakinewzealand, 2019).

In contrast, Tourism New Zealand's '100% Pure New Zealand' campaign "tells the story of how this country's unique combination of landscapes, people and activities cannot be found anywhere else in the world - it is a "100% Pure New Zealand" visitor experience" (Tourism New Zealand, 2020). Shore (2017) takes an opposing view, noting that "contrary to its well-cultivated reputation for environmentalism and sustainability, New Zealand also has one of the worst records of any country for environmental destruction, species loss and environmental degradation" (Shore, 2017, p. 53).

Figure 57: Photo of Silver Fern displayed on New Zealand House London, UK (where the New Zealand High Commission is located) (Kiwi Kids Abroad, 2020).

Figure 58: Image of Tiaki promise (The Visual Library, 2020).

Main themes from the literature review

In this section I present the main themes and draw out relevant aspects from reviewing the various literature streams. One conclusion is that there has not been any previous consideration of the use of Māori (people, images and practices) in New Zealand diplomacy in relation to symbolism. Nor has there been research on the use of art and design in New Zealand's diplomacy to portray a particular identity. Literature on the origins and history of the New Zealand diplomatic service focuses on non-Māori themes and more generic issues rather than on an examination of the contribution of Māori diplomats and wider Ministry staff to the Foreign Service.

It was clear from my review of the literature on diplomatic symbolism that select aspects of this work would be key to approaching how the New Zealand government seeks to use Māori people, images and practices in New Zealand diplomacy. A significant theme is the use of objects, rituals and ceremonies transposed into a New Zealand context with focus on the use of Māori taonga, cultural imagery and practices. The literature detailed the historic use of diplomatic symbolism in many forms by states over the centuries. A key reflection for me is that the literature on diplomatic symbolism can help interpret this research on how the Ministry is using Māori themed art, design and practices – together with the human contribution of Māori staff - to portray symbols and symbolic meanings that relate to New Zealand.

A further theme is the symbolism used by states and governments to conceptualise aspects of the state the government wishes to highlight. As part of this conceptualisation, states try to make these chosen aspects of the state relatable to people, with symbols acting as 'sense makers'. This is to assist people to make sense of parts of the state and increase relatability, for people who tend to personify states. Literature on public and cultural diplomacy underscored states wanting to distinguish themselves from others, through public and cultural diplomacy tools, often visually, to create a positive image or narrative of their country. Literature on the emotional manipulations of cultural objects was a further theme of interest to consider how government officials can make calculated decisions on the symbols used to portray their country in order to provoke an emotional reaction from observers or diplomats that work in these symbolised spaces.

A clear theme was the role of diplomats in representing their country symbolically, not only by the fact of their appointment, but through their actions. Every action, word or activity can be scrutinised for additional meanings than a literal interpretation, as part of diplomats 'living in a highly symbolised world'. People represent their state as well as objects (ranging from the traditional: flags, statues, seals, crests, to the use of cultural or indigenous themed objects that differ according to the country concerned), with all being subject to 'wrapped meanings'.

Literature on the potential for an emotional angle to these forms of state symbolism concludes that such symbols can have different meanings to different people and that symbols can be receptacles for feelings. My reaction to this theme is that, within a New Zealand cultural context, given the propensity to use Māori-themed art and taonga, individual reactions to symbols, whether an emotive or other response can be influenced by a cultural overlay. Subjective reactions by people who work in or visit an environment that includes state symbolism (for example a New Zealand embassy) can also include cultural reactions or concerns. This type of cultural lens or filter is an example of diplomats or diplomatic practices using 'encoded or decoded meanings'.

A further theme from the literature is the use of art as part of image-building diplomacy, with states using art by artists from their country to promote an image of the country abroad. States also showcase artists through displaying or exhibiting artists' work in posts – primarily in public representational areas. My own experience, together with reading different sources on this issue, indicates that governments all use different ways to choose, procure and display works of art. As a result, government officials have varying forms of control over the works chosen and the images they portray.

A key theme from the literature on architectural diplomacy was the use by states of various architectural and design aspects of embassy buildings to incorporate national symbols. These symbols or images can then be interpreted in different ways according to any power imagery or ideological significance by the country concerned. Architectural and design aspects of diplomatic buildings are used to present certain chosen images of a country and to differentiate one country from another. In the New Zealand context, for example, some national symbols are used across all embassies and high commissions (such as the New Zealand government coat of arms, fern, photos of the Queen and Prime Minister). These are

supplemented by other New Zealand and Māori imagery detailed in the case studies. Literature on states' use of the imagery and design of capital cities to portray an image supplements this work on national symbols.

In the New Zealand context, a key observation was that the literature on architectural symbolism is limited to inward, New Zealand-focused aspects of bicultural architecture. Aspects of a bicultural design theory are used to illustrate New Zealand's biculturalism as part of the architectural design of large-scale community builds (such as churches, community centres). Literature on cultural aspects of Māori taonga in New Zealand, including on the history and symbolism of marae design, focus on the significance of such taonga to Māori and the geographical links to various iwi within New Zealand. There is a gap in relation to the use of marae in a New Zealand institutional context, for example use of marae by New Zealand government departments and by the Ministry as part of New Zealand's diplomatic presence overseas.

Key themes from the literature on representation centred on people representing or acting for others and the related parameters, together with the ideal that a representative government should represent all sectors of the community. While this analysis centres on an electoral context, my interest is in the parallel scenario that community should also be represented at a government department level. A further theme from the literature on representation was the multifaceted types of representation, including active, passive, sociological and symbolic. My main interest is in how these forms of representation can also manifest in the internal actions of employees in the workplace. In the context of the public sector, lack of representation of all groups (with a focus on Māori in this context) within a bureaucracy, can have policy implications. If Māori are not fully represented across all levels of the public sector, for example, decisions with policy impact on Māori individuals, whānau and communities will be largely taken by non-Māori, with the avenues for Māori input limited and at times structurally inadequate.

Revisiting literature on EEO and diversity highlighted the focus of these frameworks on numerical representation of minority groups within a public sector context. Issues of indigeneity and a Treaty of Waitangi context specific to New Zealand are not in scope for these frameworks. An additional key point was that the expression of Māori culture within a diversity and inclusion model limits culture to a commodity.

The main themes from the literature on national identity centred on the use of cultural identity in a tourism context as part of expressing 'place identity'. Aspects of indigenous culture can be used as part of national branding to create a point of difference to other locations and to feature in marketing campaigns, including through promoting an "image of the extraordinary" (Pomeroy & White, 2011, p. 166). Caution was noted when there are unresolved racial or social issues at play, for example unresolved colonial issues of conflict in Australia and New Zealand (where in the case of New Zealand the outward-facing imagery of Māori do not match the reality for many Māori of living and experiencing negative social indicators, rather than a romanticised life). I concluded as a result, that the use of visible and recognisable parts of Māori culture and language are used in different expressions of New Zealand's national identity (including the New Zealand tourism imagery, silver fern logo, Tiaki promise, sporting use of the haka).

It was also clear that most of the literature on national identity in New Zealand has a domestic focus, rather than an outward external lens. This includes material on the definition and use of the term 'Pākehā' in New Zealand and how Pākehā New Zealanders express their links with 'New Zealand culture' through references to Māori culture. A key theme for me was the subjective element to an expression of national identity. Every New Zealander will have a different view on what is or what should be New Zealand's identity. There are inherent difficulties in trying to define a national identity when 'shared imagery' is being promoted by one sector of society. This potential for a range of views means there is a fluidity in trying to define identity, with the literature speaking of a New Zealand identity being imagined, as no one knows what all New Zealanders think. The key point for me being any expression of New Zealand identity can be subjective and culturally dependent, depending on who is asked or involved in making decisions on expression of identity.

Gaps in the literature

After concluding this process of identifying the main themes from the literature review, I have identified a range of gaps in the literature in relation to my research question on the use and symbolism of Māori (people, images and practices) in New Zealand diplomacy. There is a disparity in how New Zealand has used bicultural symbolism to portray New Zealand's national identity as part of New Zealand's diplomatic practice. While Payani (1992) focuses on the place of Māori in the New Zealand bureaucracy, there has not been research focused on the international diplomatic context.

There are omissions in the telling of the story of New Zealand's diplomatic history with the majority of accounts and narratives focused on non-Māori. The stories of Māori in the New Zealand Foreign Service are scant, with a gap in how individual Māori within the Ministry have reconciled their role and presence within the New Zealand Foreign Service. A further gap exists to give voice to Māori within the Ministry on their views and reaction to the predominant use of Māori art and taonga by the Ministry to portray New Zealand.

The literature on diplomatic symbolism canvasses a variety of examples and scenarios whereby states use symbols as part of building their identity and brand. There is a gap to look at how New Zealand as a country with an indigenous population use forms of diplomatic symbolism within a cultural context. This gap relates to how New Zealand as a bicultural country is using selected symbols from the Māori world, culture or image kete to portray a particular bicultural themed 'look and feel' internationally.

A further gap exists in considering the issues that arise when members of majority cultures or, in this example, predominantly non-Māori government officials select Māori symbols, objects, art and taonga to portray an image of New Zealand. Issues of cultural appropriation, consultation and representativeness are some examples of issues that can arise. Cultural appropriation has been defined as the "taking...of intellectual property, cultural expressions or artefacts, history and ways of knowledge" (Scafidi, 2005 cited in Siems, 2019). The costs of appropriation and commodification of indigenous heritage have been described as possibly including loss of access to ancestral knowledge, loss of control over proper care of heritage, diminished respect for the sacred, commercialization of cultural distinctiveness, uses of special or sacred symbols that may be dangerous to the uninitiated, replacement of original tribally produced work with reproductions, threats to authenticity and loss of livelihood, among other things (Hollowell, 2004; Nicholas and Hollowell, 2006 cited in Brown, 2012).

As part of analysing these art and design choices that are made in the New Zealand context, there is a gap in considering what emotional or other reaction is being sought. Is there meant to be a link between the images chosen and the intended response or reaction by the viewer. Is there an assumption that the use of these objects implies they have meaning to the Ministry or the New Zealand Government and, by implication, the New Zealand public? There is a gap in how symbols are used to reflect a specific collective or national identity (in this

case –the ‘we’ of New Zealand). Are these intended responses meant to be generic and apply to a broad population, or is a cultural response anticipated? I suggest there is a gap in considering the spectrum of response by Māori, for example, to these symbols.

A gap also exists within the literature on architectural and bicultural diplomacy in the use of bicultural design features in the architectural design of diplomatic premises. Literature on Māori architecture and the use of marae is focused on the New Zealand experience and context, not in the international realm.

There is also a gap in the literature on representation on the wider range of issues that need to be taken into account when considering representation within a bureaucracy (that is how representative the workforce is, what is the result when a workforce does not reflect the community it represents, what constraints may be operating within the organisation that inhibit individuals who purport to represent the views of the group(s) they belong to and how to reconcile the links between values, behaviour and policy).

This research will add to the scholarship in this area and represent an original contribution. Most of the writing on foreign policy has been the preserve of historians and former diplomats, and even then, identity has not always been seen as relevant. Capie and McGhie (2005) refer to writing by McKinnon (1993) which observes that the evolution of identity was not presented as having much to do with explaining foreign policy.

Resulting questions

Given the preceding discussion, a number of questions are raised, including the following:

Dominant use of Māori art and taonga

Is there a prevalence or dominant use of Māori art and taonga in Ministry offices in New Zealand and overseas?

If so, why is this a dominant theme? How is it manifested?

What is the purpose and symbolism behind this dominant use of Māori art and taonga that the Ministry is trying to convey?

What is the process the Ministry uses to acquire or purchase art and taonga? Who makes these decisions and how?

Are these artworks and taonga used or incorporated into the work of the Ministry?

Aspects of Māori cultural practice

What are the origins of the use of some aspects of Māori cultural practice in the Ministry?
What is the background and the symbolism the Ministry is trying to portray through their use? How are some used and why?

What is the cultural permission space the Ministry relies on, if any?

What are the issues that arise with the use of these cultural practices? Including from a Māori cultural perspective?

What do Māori staff think about their use? Are there differences for Māori staff if they are involved in these cultural practices?

In relation to the use of korowai by the Ministry, what are the processes used by the Ministry around the commissioning, use, care and wearing of korowai?

Disconnect between the Ministry's external imagery of Māori and the internal reality of Māori staff

What are other Māori staff views and experiences?

What is the Māori staff demographic in the Ministry? How does this compare with the wider New Zealand public service?

As an organisation, where does the Ministry sit within a bicultural continuum and Treaty responsiveness?

Use of EEO and diversity and inclusion framework

What is the Ministry's current practice in this area? How does this relate to or impact on Māori staff?

What are Māori staff views and realities of the duality between the Ministry's internal and external narratives around Māori responsiveness?

Literature on Ministry origins and Māori staff

What literature exists detailing the Ministry's history in relation to Māori diplomats and staff?
What are the stories of Māori staff? When and why did the previous leaders of the Ministry begin to think it was useful or important to have Māori in the Ministry? *Knowledge and care of art and taonga*

What do other Māori staff think about the use of taonga by the Ministry? What are their observations and experiences? What guidance is available to Ministry staff about taonga? How does the Ministry acquire, place and care for taonga?

Chapter summary

This chapter presents the diverse range of literature that provides a background narrative to this research. Presented in three broad themes identified in the literature map (Figure 23) – including diplomatic symbolism, representation and diplomatic practice, the key themes are identified above. In addition, the range of gaps in the literature in relation to my research question on the use and symbolism of Māori (people, images and practices) in New Zealand diplomacy are clarified. The term ‘bicultural symbolism’ is introduced to address these gaps, which I consider in relation to the use of Māori (people, image and practices) in New Zealand’s diplomacy.

After considering the themes identified from the literature, several resulting questions are posed, which are further explored and tested through the qualitative interviews (with the process used described in Chapter 5 and the findings in Chapter 10); the case studies (Chapters 6 – 9) and review of available written guidance or information.

Chapter 4: Use of cultural practice

As part of addressing the research questions that relate to the use of some Māori cultural practices by the Ministry as part of its expression of diplomatic practice, this chapter considers the use of korowai and pōwhiri (including waiata). In particular the historic use of korowai and pōwhiri together with the incorporation of these practices a form of bicultural symbolism by the Ministry. This chapter also outlines the organisational support systems available to Māori staff, notably staff networks. A number of staff networks operate on a voluntary basis by staff within the Ministry. Māori staff can choose to join Te Pou Māori which is primarily a support network for Māori staff. Other networks include those for women, rainbow staff and part-time workers.

Established in the 1980s by a core group of Māori staff, Te Pou Māori provides a safe, whānau-based support mechanism for Māori staff. It includes staff from all job families (ranging from administrative support, policy and management). While the exact nature of the activities Te Pou Māori gets involved in has varied over time (reflecting the current membership and their interests), Te Pou Māori serves as an important touchstone and support base for Māori staff.

Over the years Te Pou Māori has been involved in many iterations of trying to improve Ministry responsiveness to Māori issues, including the recruitment, retention and progression of Māori staff, recognition of cultural capability in the Ministry's performance management framework, and the Ministry's strategic settings, as these relate to the inclusion of a bicultural or Treaty of Waitangi based framework in the Ministry's core business. In the retention area, for example, Te Pou Māori has been advocating for some years for the Ministry to address the root causes of low retention. In 2016, Te Pou Māori noted:

...while the Ministry has a good understanding of other countries' cultures, there is limited understanding of our own. There also appears to be limited appreciation of the value-add Māori staff can bring, for example many cultures feel an affinity with Māori that can be invaluable from a relationship development/business transaction perspective (Te Pou Māori, 2016, p. 5).

The place and role of Te Pou Māori was mentioned by a number of participants and is more fully described in Chapters 10 and 11. In addition to staff networks the Ministry has an additional grouping called Ngāti Aorere, a bicultural group which “stressed the philosophy that everyone in the Ministry belonged to it, although some took a more active role than others” (Templeton, 1993, p. 211). The term Aorere stems from ‘Manatū Aorere’ with members playing a support role primarily in the conduct of pōwhiri and waiata when manuhiri visit the Ministry.

A range of Māori cultural practices are used by the Ministry in its work. A number of the participants refer to and express views on how specific cultural practices are used. The range of cultural practices pertaining to Māori are many and varied. For the purposes of this research, I have considered the use of a smaller number of these practices that are more commonly used to varying degrees, with a focus on the use of the korowai and pōwhiri.

Historic use of korowai taonga

Korowai have been a part of New Zealand’s historical fabric since records began of settler contact with Māori (for example, as shown in the portrait of Tamati Waka Te Puhi in Figure 61, photographed between 1872 and 1886). Clarke (2018) suggests that the first descriptions of Māori dress in the journals and logbooks of early explorers, and in the diaries and correspondence of early traders, missionaries and settlers, which perpetuated the prevailing eurocentric idea of the ‘savage’ doomed to extinction, gave rise to the systematic recording and collecting of Māori material culture, including dress, for eventual deposit within the nation’s developing museums from the mid-19th century onwards.

Literature on the use of korowai refers to the historical origins of korowai and their importance in Māori culture. Malcolm-Buchanan, Te Awekotuku and Nikora (2012) characterise the “acknowledged cultural treasures of today originated from pragmatic processes intended to obviate particularly harsh living conditions, and the Māori of old drew on a rubric of technical abilities that would increasingly allow for the development of aesthetic aspects” (Malcolm-Buchanan, Te Awekotuku and Nikora, 2012, p. 51). Further literature details one of the earliest and most prestigious cloaks made of kahu kuri (dog skin cloaks) which were worn as a mark of leadership. With the demise of the kuri breed in the 1870s, kahu kuri were replaced by fine flax cloaks and fine feather cloaks as symbols of chiefly

prestige (Hakiwai and Smith, 2008). Figure 59 shows an illustration from circa 1816 of “a native chief dressed in a dog’s skin mat with a weapon called wahanoghi” (Merrett, 1816).

Figure 59: Merrett, Joseph Jenner, 1815-1854. (Merrett, Joseph Jenner) 1816? -1854 (The Hobson album). A native chief dressed in a dog’s skin mat, with a weapon called whanoghi (ca 1843). Ref: E-216-f-045. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand/record/22696958.

Korowai have traditionally been regarded as cultural taonga holding deep cultural meaning for the whānau or iwi they belong to, the weaver who made them and the wearer of these special items. Korowai have been described as “prestigious garments of aristocrats, they could symbolise personal semblance, tapu (sacred), mana, āhua (appearance)”, which “embody, as well as compel, both spatial and temporal connectivity, revealing aspects of liminality which engage the past with the present” (Malcolm-Buchanan et al., 2012). Hakiwai and Smith (2008) describe how a particular feather cloak (noting the genesis of one cloak made from 9000 feathers of native New Zealand birds) could take months of specialised work, gathering, preparing and weaving the materials, resulting in a garment of great status linked to the history of a distinguished tribal matriarch.

In their work describing the evolution of the art of Māori weaving from the days of the first Māori settlement in New Zealand, Evans, Ngarimu and Heke (2005) describe korowai as the most prestigious ceremonial garments worn on certain special occasions to signify chiefly or special status. Distinguishing between pre-European use, where highly prized korowai were owned and worn by chiefs, in more modern times a korowai:

...is worn to emphasise Māori ancestry and to accentuate the status of both the occasion and the wearer; it may also be gifted or loaned to others who are not Māori in recognition of the high esteem these individuals are accorded (p. 21).

Te Awekotuku (1991) described the first Pākehā explorers to New Zealand:

...noting the richness of the chiefs' costume and the regal manner of their bearing; their immaculately dressed hair fastened by combs of wood or bone; their glowing pendants and curious amulets of polished nephrite; their shimmering fibre cloaks and brightly textured dogskin wraps (Te Awekotuku, 1991, p. 137).

Figure 60 is a historic photo of guide Sophia Hinerangi wearing a korowai when this photo was taken c. 1900–1909. Figure 61 is a further historic photo showing a korowai being worn even earlier by Tamati Waka Te Puhi, probably photographed by the Foy Brothers of Thames between 1872 and 1886.

Figure 60: Photo of Sophia Hinerangi seated on the paepae-kai-awa (threshold beam) of the porch at Te Rauru meeting house in the model village at Whakarewarewa (Rotorua, New Zealand), taken circa 1900–1909 by William Beattie and Company. Sophia wears a korowai (tag cloak). Ref: PAColl-8839. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. (Jones, C S, active 20th century).

Figure 61: Head and shoulders portrait of Tamati Waka Te Puhi, probably photographed by the Foy Brothers of Thames between 1872 and 1886. Shows a man with a moko in three quarter profile. He wears a tag cloak. Tamati Waka Te Puhi. Ref: PA1-o-277-07. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22311412

In more modern times, korowai can be seen to be worn by Māori on special occasions (including for example, graduations, award ceremonies, weddings) or as part of a tangihanga where the korowai is used to cover the tūpāpaku as part of the tangi process. Hakiwai (1996) characterises the wearing of korowai on special occasions as being “worn as much to express one’s tribal identity as they are to enhance the occasion” (Hakiwai, 1996, p 57). In this sense, wearing korowai by Māori is described as one of the many “outward expressions of Māori identity. Wearing carved bone or nephrite pendant or ear ornaments in the form of fishhooks and other Māori motifs, or possessing kete, or plaited baskets are all visible expressions of Māori identity” (Hakiwai, 1996, pp. 56-57). As part of his research of Māori fibre arts, Pendergrast (1996) describes how for “the past 150 years and more, Māori people have dressed in Western clothing, with traditional garments sometimes worn over them to express identity, pride, or mana and sometimes protest” (Pendergrast, 1996, p.144). Figure 62

illustrates this modern use of korowai worn in conjunction with academic robes by Māori graduates to celebrate a university graduation.

Figure 62: Photo of Māori medical students celebrating their graduation from Otago University, New Zealand. A number are wearing korowai in addition to their academic robes to symbolise the importance of the occasion to them and their whānau. Photo: Sharron Bennett (University of Otago, 2016).

Use of korowai for ceremony

Since 2007 the Ministry has used korowai (ceremonial cloaks) as part of its work, primarily for Heads of Mission to wear as part of their accreditation ceremonies offshore as described in earlier chapters (as shown in Figures 63 and 65). During the scoping phase of the Ministry 'korowai project' a small number of korowai were purchased specifically to be used by Head of Mission staff at posts. At that time the korowai project aimed to have four of five korowai placed in designated hub posts around the world. Since then four korowai have been commissioned from various geographical locations in New Zealand as part of representing iwi from throughout New Zealand. In 2017 the Ministry had four korowai, representing iwi from Ngāi Tahu (South Island), Te Arawa (central North Island), Tairāwhiti (eastern North Island) and Ngapuhi Kōwhao Rau (Northern). Ministry divisions or posts can request the use of these korowai through an online booking system operated by the Ministry's Māori Policy Unit (via an intranet platform accessible by staff only).

Specific instructions are usually provided to the weavers commissioned to make the korowai, including instructions to ensure they are made of materials allowed across borders; feathers, for example were identified as potentially problematic at international border crossings, presumably due to biosecurity regulations. Korowai also need to be sturdy enough to be couriered when requested, and of an agreed size so that either men or women can wear them (MFAT, 2009).

Figure 63: Former Ambassador of New Zealand to the Netherlands, Janet Lowe (wearing a Ministry korowai) with President Sauli Niinistö President of Finland, after presenting her credentials on 4 December 2014 (New Zealand Embassy The Hague, 2014).

Once a booking is made and the korowai is available it is transported in a hard suitcase to the post concerned, then returned after use. Within the case there is written guidance given on the korowai and its origins. This guidance typically describes the origins of the korowai, background on the weaver who was commissioned to create it and explanations of the design used (including the choice of colours, material and the meaning of the Māori designs chosen).

The Ministry describes the korowai as:

...very special and provide a mantle of prestige, identity and mana for the wearer which are most often worn by our heads of mission at their credential ceremonies and other key events where they provide a stunning point of difference for New Zealand” (MFAT, 2014b).

The Northern korowai was named ‘Ngapuhi Kōwhao Rau’, which the Ministry translated as ‘Ngapuhi of a hundred holes’, with the hundred holes act as a metaphor to highlight the strength of the tribe based on its constituent hapū groups. It can also reference the difficulties of sustaining a unified position” (MFAT, 2016c, p. 2). At the ceremony held to welcome this korowai to the Ministry, Martin Wikaira, the Acting Director of the Ministry’s Māori Policy Unit described korowai “as a concept about identity and our connection to this beautiful country; a taonga which our people can wear with pride” (MFAT, 2016c, p. 2). In this context, Martin Wikaira as a Ministry official who is Māori is presumably referring to “our people” as Ministry people or staff, not specifically in relation to Māori people.

The use of korowai by the Ministry is an example of a specific aspect of Māori culture, being chosen by the Ministry to portray an aspect of Māori cultural practice offshore. As noted in Chapter 4 detailing the Māori demographic in the Ministry, the number of Māori staff and, as a result, the number of Māori Heads of Mission, are statistically slim. In this sense korowai have been commissioned to be used largely by Ministry staff who are not Māori as a way of physically portraying by the wearing of the korowai that the Head of Mission position is regarded as one of importance to New Zealand. In the small number of occasions where Ministry staff of Māori ancestry are appointed as Head of Mission, their wearing of a korowai will also emphasise their Māori ancestry in the manner envisioned by Evans, Ngarimu and Heke (2005). In Chapter 10, I discuss some of the comments from participants on the issue of non-Māori staff wearing taonga such as korowai.

When korowai are worn by Heads of Mission in credential ceremonies this signals to the observer that the korowai is from and about New Zealand (or why would it be chosen to be worn at this important occasion in a diplomat's posting where she or he is being introduced to the receiving country's head of state?). There is also an assumption that by the korowai being worn as part of a New Zealand diplomat's credentials ceremony, the korowai symbolises and is an object that is meaningful to New Zealand and could also form part of New Zealand's 'national dress'. Figure 64 shows the New Zealand Ambassador to Ireland wearing a korowai and being congratulated by the New Zealand Foreign Minister Rt Hon Winston Peters at the time of the opening of the New Zealand Embassy in November 2019. Figure 65 shows the New Zealand Ambassador to the Netherlands wearing a korowai next to King Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands during her credentials ceremony.

Figure 64: Photograph of New Zealand Minister of Foreign Affairs Rt Hon Winston Peters and New Zealand Ambassador to Ireland Brad Burgess (wearing a Ministry korowai) shaking hands over a Mauri Stone at the opening of the New Zealand Embassy Dublin, Ireland 2019 (MFAT, 2019d).

Figure 65: Photo of King Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands and the New Zealand Ambassador Lyndal Walker (wearing a Ministry korowai) at her credentials ceremony (Zimbio, 2017).

Use of korowai as works of art

In addition to the korowai commissioned by the Ministry and worn by some staff, the Ministry owns several korowai that are displayed as works of art. These korowai are part of the Ministry's works of art collection and are used extensively in the Ministry's network of posts. The korowai I have seen or am aware of, are usually framed under glass and displayed in a similar way to a painting. This form of display conveys to any observer (who is not aware of what the korowai is or any background to its cultural significance to Māori), that the korowai on display is important and valued by New Zealand. I make this comment because an observant visitor to any New Zealand diplomatic post that has a korowai on display, will note that firstly the korowai has been presented in a way similar to a work of art, with time taken to frame it and display it in a prominent position in the embassy or high commission. The Ministry's choice to use korowai in this way is a further example of using a selected aspect of Māori culture for the purpose of symbolising a connection to, and a demonstration of New Zealand.

Examples include a historic korowai by renowned weaver Rangimarie Hetet on display in the Washington chancery (Figure 66) and a korowai by Erenora Puketapu-Hetet on display in the Dublin chancery which was opened in 2018 (Figures 67 and 68).

Figure 66: Korowai by Dame Rangimarie Hetet,⁹² c 1973, on display at the New Zealand Embassy Washington, USA (MFAT, 2016b).

⁹² Dame Rangimarie Hetet's iwi is Ngāti Maniapoto

Figure 67: Korowai by Erenora Puketapu-Hetet⁹³, c 1987, on display at the New Zealand Embassy Dublin, Ireland (as also shown in Figure 68) (MFAT, 2019d).

Figure 68: Korowai by Erenora Puketapu-Hetet, c. 1987, on display at the New Zealand Embassy Dublin, Ireland – shown in situ at the Embassy (MFAT, 2019d).

⁹³ Erenora Puketapu-Hete's iwi is Te Āti Awa.

The piupiu in Figure 69 is described by the weaver Elizabeth Scott as representing “my Māori and Celtic heritage, the circle of life is symbolised in the tāniko border at the top through the Celtic knot which has no beginning or end.” (MFAT, 2019c, p. 16). The Ministry has chosen this piupiu to display in the chancery, as the Celtic knot imagery used in the border of the piupiu is intertwined within the overall Māori design of the piupiu. In this way, this ‘Celtic piupiu’ is a visual metaphor and reference point for the connection the Ministry is seeking to make between New Zealand and Ireland.

Figure 69: Celtic piupiu, 2018 by Elizabeth Scott,⁹⁴ on display at the New Zealand Residence, Dublin Ireland (MFAT, 2019c).

The Ministry describes further links between New Zealand and Ireland through the descriptions used in the Dublin art and design book for the New Zealand Embassy (MFAT, 2019d). Reference is made to “one in six New Zealanders claim some Irish heritage. We share a common way of looking at the world, and our shared values and similar population size of around 4.7 million people make us natural partners on the world stage” (MFAT, 2019d, p. 3).

The architecture and design focus of the Embassy in Dublin is portrayed as creating “a welcoming environment for visitors, evoking New Zealand’s unique culture, landscape and flora” (MFAT, 2019d, p. 4). Specific references are then made to three artworks by Māori artist Johnson Witehira, which have been positioned in the Embassy reception area to “symbolise the pou (Māori carvings) lining the walls of a wharenui (meeting house)” (MFAT, 2019d, p. 4). The foyer also displays a pounamu mauri stone (Figure 64) which “plays a vital role in the foyer of the Dublin Embassy. It embodies a spiritual energy that is shared with all

⁹⁴ Elizabeth Scott’s iwi include Te Arawa, Ngāti Whakaue and Ngāi Tahu

those who touch it, and it also protects customary Māori values in all ceremonies taking place in the building” (MFAT 2019d, p. 8). The residence in Noumea also displays a framed korowai (Figure 70) which is a historic piece owned by the Ministry and is also part of the overarching selection of Māori taonga and narrative encompassed within the reference to the design aim of evoking “New Zealand’s unique culture” (MFAT, 2019d, p. 4). The korowai, mauri stone and art works by Witehira with references to the wharehenui, demonstrate that the “unique culture” referred to is the Māori culture of New Zealand.

Figure 70: Photo of ‘Tui’ framed korowai displayed in residence of New Zealand Consul General Noumea, New Caledonia (MFAT, 2017b).

Use of pōwhiri

Pōwhiri are used by the Ministry on occasion for welcoming visitors, new staff, returning staff or staff from offshore to Wellington. While the arrangements for each pōwhiri are fluid for each organising or host group (with staff from different divisions appearing to organise pōwhiri in a variety of ways) they are usually held in the Whare Aorere, the Ministry’s wharehenui (as illustrated in Figure 71), or in a larger conference room if more space is needed. Staff volunteer to carry out the respective roles in the pōwhiri from the karanga and whaikōrero, to the waiata. Themes that reflect on the use of pōwhiri in Wellington and at post featured through interview data and are discussed further in Chapter 5.

Figure 71: Photo of Ministry pōwhiri held in Whare Aorere welcoming EU negotiators for EU New Zealand Free Trade Agreement negotiations, 7 October 2018 (MFAT, 2018q).

Historical use of pōwhiri

Pōwhiri have been described as one of the Māori rituals of encounter, which includes a complex accommodation of the laws of tapu, and thus recognise and pay due respect to mana and effect the fullness of manaaki prior to, during and after the visitation to the marae (Duncan & Rewi, 2018)⁹⁵. Early images of pōwhiri exist within other collections: for example, Figure 72 shows a pōwhiri in the 1920s – 1930s within a school context.

My interest relates to the Ministry use of pōwhiri within its diplomatic practice, which are outside the context of a marae-centred tradition. Where pōwhiri are conducted in a marae setting by different whānau, hapū and iwi, the practice of pōwhiri is described as:

...governed by kawa that has been established by the tangata whenua. Kawa comprises a system of appropriate rules, rituals, practices and behaviour that would ideally occur and apply on the marae; in particular, when and how rituals are performed, the order of performance, the location of the performance and those tasked with performing it (Duncan & Rewi, 2018, p. 122).

When pōwhiri are carried out in a location that is not a marae, for example within a public sector organisation, school, university or community-based institution, Duncan and Rewi (2018) comment that “participants may be bound to perform such rituals based on the tikanga of the local iwi” (pp. 123-124).

⁹⁵ The historic and cultural origins of the practice of pōwhiri are detailed by other authors (e.g. Salmond, 1975).

Figure 72: Photo of pōwhiri (official welcoming ceremony) at Te Aute College, Waipawa District, New Zealand. Henry Whitehead Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library (Whitehead, 1920s 1930s).

Within the public sector environment in Wellington, New Zealand, the Ministry is one of many public sector departments that use pōwhiri, with all departments having a different approach to whether local tikanga is used. The Ministry has its own kawa used during pōwhiri in its whare or buildings, which in my experience can vary according to who is organising the pōwhiri. Guidelines for Ministry staff who are organising a Ministry pōwhiri, characterise pōwhiri as “an important part of this Ministry’s culture. It is about whānaungatanga (family) and manaakitanga (hospitality), values which we hold dear in our daily lives and which resonate in our cross-cultural relationship and constituency building work” (MFAT, 2017i, p. 1). Produced by the Ministry’s Māori Policy Unit, these guidelines provide an “ABC on the organisation of pōwhiri and mihi whakatau” (MFAT, 2017i, p. 1). Waiata form a key part of these pōwhiri with some staff regularly practising waiata to be ready for these types of occasions. Some posts or divisions may also have waiata practices and the Ministry has a waiata booklet for these types of events. In contrast to the Ministry’s written guidelines, one participant’s experience of pōwhiri showed:

“It’s the lack of commitment. When I started (at the Ministry) none of my managers came to my pōwhiri...they all had other things on. I found that really hard like they didn’t care. It’s like why have it if your manager can’t come... .if it had been a meeting with the Senior Leadership Team or the Minister, I’m sure they would have found time to go” (P-3).

The performance of pōwhiri in the public sector or in a context outside of the marae has at times been controversial, including on the role of women in pōwhiri (Szasay, 1993; Curchin, 2011). Curchin (2011) highlights how the “transposition of ceremonies such as pōwhiri from marae (spaces owned and run by Māori communities) into workplaces, predominantly staffed by Pākehā, has created issues that continue to be the topic of deliberation and negotiation” (Curchin, 2011, p. 376).

In their article focusing on pōwhiri in an education context and ethnic performativity Stewart, Tamatea and Mika (2015, p. 94) note that:

...For Māori to be expected to organise or participate in tikanga Māori within non-Māori settings can be a burdensome extra duty that does not necessarily count in terms of career advancement, so it is important to understand the deeper significance of this work. In thus including aspects of our culture in the contemporary milieu, we draw attention to the history of oppression of our people, language and culture, and re-assert the right of “Māori” to exist.

In my observation within the Ministry, this generosity of spirit is evident with the continued willingness of Māori staff to be called upon to participate in or organise pōwhiri. This is accompanied by concern by some Māori staff that the use of pōwhiri by the Ministry can be characterised on some occasion as a ‘dial-a-pōwhiri’ with the traditional meaning being lost and the pōwhiri becoming merely a ‘symbolic acknowledgement’ of local tangata whenua (Metge, cited in Stewart 2015) (or in this case, Ministry staff). Participants recalled their first memory of pōwhiri at the Ministry, when Māori staff organised and performed a pōwhiri for the visit of United States Secretary of State George Shultz in 1984:

“What was really interesting is that in fact the Ministry in general had no idea about what was involved. We had all the interested parties who were in the kapa haka welcoming group – with all Māori at the time that were in the Ministry” (P-11).

“We had Shultz visit, the big ANZUS fracture happened that year...we welcomed him into the Ministry... and I remember we had a very strong group (of Māori staff)” (P-6).

Competency in Te Reo Māori varies within the Ministry depending on the staff who are skilled in this area and may be serving in Wellington or at post at any one time. In July 2019 the Ministry estimated that while the percentage of staff with basic knowledge of Te Reo Māori had increased from 6% (in 2013) to around 18% (in 2016) as a result of the Te Reo classes delivered under the Cultural Passport Programme. Few of these staff continue to the next level and our cultural and language capability at the intermediate and advanced levels is likely to remain weak in the absence of an intervention. There are only two first language speakers and fewer than five exceeding a limited working proficiency when compared to other language capability and investment in the Ministry. The Ministry introduced the concept of a cultural passport as part of staff preparation for going on posting, followed by a Mātauranga Māori programme “to ensure our people are confident representing Aotearoa New Zealand and Māori culture”. (MFAT, 2019j).

Chapter summary

This chapter illustrates how the Ministry uses a range of Māori cultural practices and taonga as part of the expression of its diplomatic practice and operation. The use of korowai taonga and pōwhiri are described. The historic origins and use of korowai are outlined to situate the cultural importance and meaning of korowai. The Ministry’s ‘korowai project’ where four korowai are now owned since the project began in 2007 is presented as a contemporary expression of the use of korowai. Predominantly used by Ministry staff when they obtain the rank of Head of Mission or Post, this use of korowai is described within the context of the presentation of credentials by new Heads of Mission to a host government. Used in this way, korowai are an example of a conscious choice made by the Ministry to express an aspect of Māori culture through the use of korowai taonga in an international context. Some concerns are illustrated including the appropriateness of using korowai this way, whether Ministry staff who wear korowai as part of any ceremony understand the cultural understandings and tikanga around this privilege and whether korowai are adequately cared for by the Ministry as they are flown around the world risking damage or loss. A connection with the demographic of the Ministry’s Māori staff can also be made, as statistically it is unlikely many Māori staff will ever be afforded the opportunity to wear a korowai as a Head of Mission. This results in a paradoxical situation of the Ministry promoting use of korowai as a taonga, for use in credential ceremonies on the international stage for largely non-Māori staff.

The historic and contemporary use of pōwhiri by the Ministry is also described, within the context of the challenges that present when public sector agencies use this aspect of Māori culture in an essentially modern context. Including use outside of a marae or traditional setting, competence in waiata and Te Reo Māori by speakers and staff, the role of women, risk of tokenism and the risk of taking advantage of the goodwill of Māori staff to conduct and support pōwhiri. This chapter also outlines the important role of the whanau support rūpū, Te Pou Māori for Māori staff, which largely functions outside of the direct support of the Ministry.

Chapter 5: The process and findings

Research design

In this chapter I outline the process I followed to explore the research questions summarised at the end of Chapter 3. This process of exploration was through the use of interviews, case studies and a review of written material.

Qualitative approach – the interviews

A qualitative approach was used to facilitate the most appropriate methods of data collection. The majority of the research questions sought comments or descriptions from key staff within the Ministry. Cheu-Jey (2012) highlights the impossibility of delineating qualitative research without doubt, describing qualitative research as a fluid, sprawling field that is still growing and changing. This description reflects the difficulties in definition characterised by Denzin and Lincoln (2005) who describe qualitative research as a set of interpretive activities that privileges no single methodological practice over another. As a site of discussion, or discourse, qualitative research is difficult to define clearly. It has no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own.

Faizullaev's (2013) scholarship on diplomatic symbolism was key to the theoretical framework used. The research questions were framed to reflect the theoretical lenses described in Figure 23. The framing of the research questions also allowed for the possibility (which was the reality) of the interview process that the research questions needed to be able to follow an iterative process. This flexible approach allowed for the development of questions or lines of discussion that arose during the interview process. While carrying out the interviews it was clear that while the general set of questions I had framed for this research were relevant and useful, they evolved into related points of discussion or topics during the interview process. This was determined or influenced by each individual being interviewed and their different life and work experience. Questions were especially shaped by each person's work journey when interviewing Ministry Māori staff. They were also influenced by whether individuals had served at any of New Zealand's overseas posts or embassies.

This iterative process also allowed questions to evolve or lines of discussion to be explored with different participants when it became apparent that questions were also needing to be shaped by how participants expressed their identity as Māori. For some being interviewed,

this was an overriding theme or backdrop to how they approached the interview and answers to questions and for others this identity was more an influence that, while always there, would emerge at various points in the interview. During each interview I sought to shape the discussion to respond to these expressions of Māori identity or to draw out the participant on this issue as needed and fitting.

This research seeks to find meaning in the reality observed (or constructed) by these organisations and individuals (Creswell, 2009). Literature on the use of Māori people, images and practices as part of New Zealand's diplomatic practice through an examination of symbolism appears to be a question that has not been specifically considered before. As such it would seem to fit the description used by Creswell (2009) of a situation where not much research has been done on a particular issue, making qualitative research an appropriate choice.

This research will seek to use secondary data sourced through documentary sources by a process of content analysis. Denscombe (2010) describes content analysis as a useful way to quantify the contents of text. The general approach is to choose an appropriate sample of texts or images; break down the text into smaller component units; develop relevant categories for analysing the data; code the units in line with the categories; counting the frequency with which these units occur; and analyse the text for frequency of the units and their relationship with other units that occur in the text (Denscombe, 2010).

Narrative analysis

Material sourced from interviews of Ministry staff is reviewed in Chapter 9 using a narrative analysis to see how participants impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives (Riessman, 1993). This methodological approach sought to examine the participants' stories and analyse how they are put together, the linguistic and cultural resources they draw on and how they persuade a listener of authenticity. This approach was useful to consider not only the stories told (in relation to the participant's experience of the research question), but, as Riessman (1993) describes, enables a wider look at why the story was told in that particular way. A full account was then possible of the participants' personal narrative of how they have chosen to construct past events and actions as part of claiming their identity and constructing their lives (Riessman, 1993). A range of diverse data emerged as a result that formed the 'narrative' of the analysis or the storied

ways of knowing and communicating, sequence and consequence, and how events are selected, organised, connected and evaluated as meaningful for a particular audience (Riessman, 2005). The particular typology of a narrative analysis model is a thematic analysis (where the emphasis will be on organising narratives by theme as a representational strategy with case studies or vignettes providing illustration) (Riessman, 2005).

This use of a narrative analysis to review the interview data involved a process of reviewing each interview transcript to establish the main themes present for each participant. A further review was then undertaken to focus on any common themes that were evident across various participants. A pragmatic approach using a form of thematic content analysis was used to review the interview data multiple times (Burnard et al., 2008). This deductive approach to analysing qualitative data involves using a structure of predetermined framework to analyse the data, described as a situation where the researcher imposes their own structure or theories on the data and then uses these to analyse the interview transcripts (Williams et al., cited in Burnard, 2008). Utilising a deductive approach, I analysed the interview material in accordance with the framework of the research questions and key themes.

As part of the seeking consent from participants and obtaining ethics approval from the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee⁹⁶ potential participants were given an information sheet (see Appendix A). This provided information on the use of the information provided in interviews, noting that no identifying information would be included to deliberately identify participants. Participants are referred to by role or association with the Ministry, with no personal characteristics referred to in this research. Where I have used quotes from participants, the participant has been assigned an identifier.⁹⁷

Documents of interest

In addition to conducting a series of interviews to gather material which was then analysed according to the research questions posed, various documents of interest were examined. These documents were largely drawn from pre-existing material sourced from the Ministry and are regarded as secondary sources. Most of these documents are available in the public domain either as published items or online on various websites, including the Ministry's webpage. Key

⁹⁶ Approval number 0000022596

⁹⁷ Any participant quoted in this research has been assigned the identifier of a 'P' or participant number, for example P -1, P -2.

documents or publications related to the Ministry's strategic objectives, internal policies regarding the use of works of art, and art and design publications explaining the art and design features used in a specific post environment.

Case studies

Main case studies: Rarotonga, Noumea, Canberra

Several case studies were carried out to explore whether and how New Zealand's bicultural identity is expressed through Māori people, images and practices by the Ministry. A central focus was on the Ministry's approach to the use of Māori art and design in an overseas posting environment and the symbolic use of aspects of Māori cultural identity. Three main case studies considered the Ministry's approach at the New Zealand High Commission in Rarotonga, Cook Islands, the New Zealand Consulate in Noumea, New Caledonia, and the New Zealand High Commission in Canberra, Australia. Rarotonga was chosen to illustrate the lengthy and historic connection with cultural and genealogical linkages between Cook Islands Māori and New Zealand Māori. Noumea illustrates the process adopted by the Ministry when the Consulate was re-designed after shifting to new premises. Noumea was also chosen to illustrate a more modern expression of New Zealand's identity, which incorporates architectural design features as part of the Ministry's narrative.

Canberra was chosen to illustrate the results of a remodelling exercise of the High Commission building, where the Ministry describes New Zealand's relationship with Australia as "our closest and most significant" (MFAT, 2019j).

Further modern examples: Sydney, Abu Dhabi

As an extension of this modern narrative, aspects of additional overseas posts were also considered to further illustrate the use of art and design as part of New Zealand's diplomatic footprint. This included the New Zealand Consulate in Sydney, Australia, and the New Zealand Embassy in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates. Sydney and Abu Dhabi were both chosen as they are modern examples of an expression of New Zealand's bicultural identity through the specific use of striking taonga or artwork. Sydney's design narrative is based on the selective use of Māori mythological references, which also informed the overall design aesthetic. Abu Dhabi features dominant pou in the public reception area together with

architectural design features characterised by the selective use of aspects of Māori tukutuku fused with patterns drawn from Emirati Mashrabiya⁹⁸.

Illustration of use of taonga

Additional examples were then included from some posts that illustrate the Ministry's patterns of use of specific aspects of Māori taonga or cultural practice. These included the use of tokotoko at New Zealand residence of the Consul General in Los Angeles, United States of America, and the New Zealand Ambassador's residence in Seoul, Republic of Korea (South). Both Los Angeles and Seoul use tokotoko as door handles on their residences as part of the overall design approach.

Use of Te Aka Aorere carvings within post reception areas is illustrated at the New Zealand Embassies in Santiago, Mexico City and Buenos Aires. Use of Māori inspired carving to represent traditional wharenui or waharoa was also detailed by examples in the Ministry's head office in Wellington, New Zealand (Whare Aorere wharenui) and New Zealand embassies in Washington (historic waharoa), Tokyo (waharoa), Beijing (wharenui) and Port Moresby (wharenui).

These case studies also make clear that the Ministry uses select cultural taonga as part of its display of artworks and Māori taonga or cultural artefacts. For instance pou carvings (Noumea, Canberra, Sydney, Rarotonga, Dublin, and Abu Dhabi), korowai (Noumea, Abu Dhabi and Canberra), framed kete (Rarotonga, Noumea, and Abu Dhabi), framed piupiu (Dublin), tukutuku panels (Rarotonga, Noumea and Abu Dhabi), pounamu mauri stones (Sydney, Dublin) and modern expression or interpretation of Māori mythological references (Sydney).

Approach to case study in Rarotonga, Cook Islands

The main approach I took with the posts I visited was to observe the physical expression of how New Zealand is represented in each location. My interest centres on the use of art, images and taonga in the areas that are publicly accessible. Focusing on the public areas reflected that the majority of art and taonga on display at posts is in the areas where visitors

⁹⁸ Mashrabiya has been defined as a spiritual, decorative and functional architectural element that merges form and function of the Islamic window screen with a conventional jalousie, taking on the materiality of the local culture (MIT Architecture, 2019).

are likely to see it. This reflects the Ministry's approach to display art and taonga where it is likely to have the best visual effect. Art and taonga purchased by the Ministry (with New Zealand taxpayer funds) as part of the expression of New Zealand's diplomatic footprint is not intended to be for the benefit of Ministry staff on posting in different locations. The focus is always on spaces where the public can access or where visitors are received (for example in the High Commissioner's office or a meeting room).

The main case study in Rarotonga, Cook Islands centres on my direct experience living and working in Rarotonga for three years. Over this period, I worked in the New Zealand High Commission offices and often visited the residence of the High Commissioner (which are the two key premises considered in the case study). My comments and observations are framed by my voice of lived experience being a part of the case study context and landscape. They are also reflective of my lengthy association with the Cook Islands, having been a regular visitor since 2005.

Over the period of time specifically writing this case study, I visited Rarotonga on two occasions. During these visits I was able to further physically experience the spaces detailed in this research. This meant I could observe and experience the physical environment within each location, including the placement and impact of the works of art and taonga. I could then use these observations to supplement the photographs taken of the space and artwork, together with the available written material on the design. I also visited other related sites of interest and took further photographs and notes to refer to when I returned to New Zealand.

In Rarotonga this included other physical and spiritual representations of the relationship between the Cook Islands and New Zealand. It includes Avana passage (Figures 101-102), sites dedicated to commemorating the shared service between the Cook Islands and New Zealand during World War One at the Returned Services Association near the airport (Figures 103-105) and in Avarua, Rarotonga (Figures 109 – 110) and also sites noting New Zealand development assistance contribution to the Cook Islands in relation to the Punanga Nui market (Figures 108-110). The aim of visiting and documenting these sites was to illustrate the wider connections and context of the Cook Islands/New Zealand relationship, in order to locate the physical expression of this relationship of the New Zealand interpretation of this relationship within the High Commission and residence spaces.

Approach to case study in Canberra

I was able to visit Canberra in 2019 while writing the case study on the New Zealand High Commission chancery. During this visit I was able to physically experience the spaces detailed in this research within the chancery building and grounds. I was able to observe and experience the placement and impact of the works of art and taonga. I could then use these observations to supplement the photographs taken of the space and artwork, together with the available written material on the chancery redesign. I also visited other related sites of interest and took further photographs to refer to back in New Zealand.

Chapter summary

This chapter explains the ‘how’ – the process used to explore the key issues and themes informed by the literature review in Chapter 3 and literature map in Figure 23. I outline the qualitative approach to the interviews and the subsequent narrative and deductive analysis used to assess the resulting data. To allow for some flexibility and the development of lines of questioning, an iterative approach to interviews was used. This approach resonated with the participants who, whilst bringing some commonalities of perspective, all had different experiences of the Ministry reflecting their own narratives and background (which is subsequently reflected in Chapter 10).

The approach to the case studies is introduced to provide context on why the posts were selected. Reflecting my lengthy association with the Cook Islands, including a three-year posting in Rarotonga, this post allowed my immersive observations over a number of years to be portrayed, in addition to the historical nature of this post and the Māori whakapapa connections with New Zealand. The choice of Noumea, Sydney and Abu Dhabi provided a platform to illustrate the Ministry’s more modern approach to using Māori art and design together with unique aspects of Māori identity in a posting environment. Noumea, through the use of architectural design features – notably the ceiling wave with its Pacific Ocean narrative (described in Chapter 7); Abu Dhabi illustrates the use of striking taonga and example of fusion of local artistic practice (Mashrabiya), with aspects of cultural taonga (tukutuku) as described in Chapter 9, and Sydney the use of Māori mythological references to inform the design narrative (Chapter 8). Canberra was selected to reflect the continuation of the Ministry’s bicultural focus and use of Māori art and taonga in a remodelled environment. The Ministry’s extensive and often historical use of Māori taonga and cultural

artefacts is also introduced to give some context for subsequent exploration of this theme in later chapters.

Chapter 6: Case study: Cook Islands

Background

This chapter presents a case study of how New Zealand is represented in the Cook Islands. Various uses of Māori images and practices by the Ministry as part of an expression of New Zealand's diplomatic relationship with the Cook Islands are described. This includes my personal voice, reaction and observations based on my lived experience living and working in the Cook Islands for three years and visiting Rarotonga for over 15 years. Consequently, I have a keen interest in the links between the Cook Islands and New Zealand, especially how Māori images and references are used in this context. I am also familiar with the works of art and design features used in Rarotonga.

I considered the artwork used in the physical spaces owned and used by the Ministry in Rarotonga (the official residence of the New Zealand High Commissioner and the office of the New Zealand High Commission) through the lens of diplomatic symbolism to illustrate how these objects are used to build and portray images of Māori, a bicultural New Zealand identity and the relationship between New Zealand and the Cook Islands.

This approach aims to demonstrate how Māori images and practices are used by the Ministry overseas in a posting environment (where New Zealand has a physical presence through diplomatic premises and diplomatic staff sent to the Cook Islands, in this case from New Zealand). In addition to describing and commenting on the Ministry's physical representation in the Cook Islands (through the New Zealand High Commission building and the residence of the New Zealand High Commissioner to the Cook Islands), I also consider other physical examples in Rarotonga and how the links between New Zealand and the Cook Islands are portrayed. There are several key features in the Rarotonga landscape that reference New Zealand and the Cook Islands, including historical points of reference, commemorative memorials, carvings and monuments. This chapter concludes with an analysis of how the Ministry refers to the links between New Zealand and the Cook Islands through its work and public interface.

The New Zealand Government is officially represented in the Cook Islands through the office of the New Zealand High Commission. The High Commission is based in Rarotonga, which is the largest of the Cook Island's 15 islands (Figure 73). New Zealand is the only country with a

full-time permanent diplomatic presence in the Cook Islands (as at April 2020). The Cook Islands' formal constitutional status is self-governing in free association with New Zealand – or a status less than a fully sovereign state.

Figure 73: Map of the Cook Islands (World Atlas, 2020)

Statistics – a snapshot

Cook Islands – facts and figures	
Geography	15 islands within the Cook Islands group; total land area 240 sq. km (DFAT, 2019).
People	Population 17,500 (MFAT, 2019b). Numbers of people of Cook Island descent in New Zealand estimated 60,000 (MFAT, 2019b).
Government	Parliamentary democracy, Queen Elizabeth II the Head of State, represented by a Queen’s Representative, currently HE Sir Tom Marsters (DFAT, 2019).
Economy	High per capita GDP compared to many other Pacific Island countries, the Cook Islands economy faces many of the development challenges common to other small island developing states. These include relatively limited natural resources, remoteness from major trade and industrial centres, and a small labour force (DFAT, 2019).
Cook Islands and New Zealand	The Cook Islands is part of the Realm of New Zealand which also includes Niue, Tokelau and the Ross Dependency in Antarctica. Its constitutional status is self-governing in free association with New Zealand. The Cook Islands and New Zealand share the Queen as the same head of State. Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens who are free to live and work here. The Ministry describes the

Cook Islands – facts and figures	
	relationship between New Zealand and the Cook Islands as “special, and coming with a set of mutual obligations and expectations. The Cook Islands is expected to uphold shared values and principles including human rights and good governance and New Zealand has specific obligations for foreign affairs, defence and security, upon the request of the Cook Islands Government” (MFAT, 2019b).
Citizenship	All Cook Islanders are New Zealand citizens, travel on New Zealand passports and can live, work and study in New Zealand without restriction. This is not fully reciprocal – for New Zealanders who are not of Cook Islands descent, they must apply for a residence or entry permit to stay in the Cook Islands for longer than 90 days and are not permitted to work without a work permit.

Table 1: Cook Islands facts and figures

What is the New Zealand High Commission and what does it do?

Snapshot of New Zealand High Commission Cook Islands
<p>Located in Rarotonga, Cook Islands. New Zealand has been represented in the Cook Islands since 1901 when the Cook Islands became a New Zealand colony. Following a push for self-determination in 1965, the Cook Islands became self-governing in ‘free association’ with New Zealand. A status less than a fully sovereign state, the Cook Islands largely administer their own affairs. The New Zealand High Commission in Rarotonga is one of 11⁹⁹ diplomatic posts representing the New Zealand Government in the Pacific region.</p>
<p>Staff profile:</p> <p>High Commissioner*</p> <p>Deputy High Commissioner*</p> <p>Second Secretary (responsible for the development programme) *</p> <p>Development Programme Coordinators x 3</p> <p>Office Manager</p> <p>Administrative staff x 4</p> <p>Household staff x 3 (working at official residence of the High Commissioner)</p>

⁹⁹ Other Pacific posts representing New Zealand include: Apia (Samoa), Honiara (Solomon Islands), Honolulu (Hawaii – which is also responsible for the New Zealand relationship with Palau, Federated States of Micronesia and Republic of Marshall Islands), Niue, Noumea (New Caledonia), Nukualofa (Kingdom of Tonga), Port Moresby (Papua New Guinea), Suva (Fiji Islands) and Tarawa (Kiribati).

Snapshot of New Zealand High Commission Cook Islands
<p>*These three staff are ‘seconded’ or usually based in New Zealand, so are on secondment or an offshore assignment posted to Rarotonga. They are either from the Ministry or are political appointments¹⁰⁰.</p> <p>Responsible for: management of the relationship between New Zealand and the Cook Islands Government. This includes delivery of the New Zealand development programme in the Cook Islands (currently valued at NZD66.17m for the period 2018–2021), which “focuses on strengthening the public sector, especially building capacity in health, education and tourism. It also includes supporting critical water, sanitation and communications infrastructure, and multi-country programmes” (MFAT, 2019b).</p> <p>High Commission staff also provide consular assistance to New Zealanders visiting the Cook Islands who need help or guidance. Staff play a key role in looking after all the arrangements for inward high-level visits, for example the Prime Minister of New Zealand or various Ministers. The High Commissioner is also expected to periodically visit some of the outer islands as opportunities arise and lead any disaster response (for example, should a cyclone or other disaster hit the Cook Islands).</p> <p>Property footprint: The official residence occupied by the High Commissioner in Ngatipa, Rarotonga 3 staff houses in Nikao, Rarotonga (2 occupied by seconded staff, 1 rented) The chancery</p>

Table 2: Snapshot of New Zealand High Commission Cook Islands

While serving as Deputy High Commissioner in Rarotonga from 2009 to 2012, one of my responsibilities was to manage all aspects of the administration of the chancery and residence. This included oversight of items from the Ministry’s works of art collection on display in the residence (mainly in the reception area where the public is hosted during functions or events) and the chancery. These works of art had been sent to Rarotonga for display from the Ministry’s head office in Wellington. At that time many the art works had been in Rarotonga for some time and had been either shipped to Rarotonga as part of an arriving staff member’s sea freight or air freighted.

Personal reaction

My initial observations, when inspecting the works of art on display in the chancery and residence, were that a number of the works of art, especially Māori taonga had been on

¹⁰⁰ There have been a number of political appointments made by the Governor General/New Zealand Government to the position of High Commissioner in the Cook Islands, including Peter Marshall (2015–2018); John Carter (2010–2012) and Brian Donnelly (2008–2009).

display for many years. These included a range of carved taonga, some pieces visibly showing signs of age. This was clearly the case for those carvings and some prints that were displayed in a semi-enclosed reception area, exposed to more of the elements. The length of time some pieces had been part of New Zealand's footprint in Rarotonga meant that for the period of my posting, I viewed these taonga as part of the fabric of the residence and chancery. I also recall observing the range of taonga and artworks used in the chancery and residence, including paintings, prints and ceramic pieces. These were displayed alongside Māori carvings, tukutuku panels (woven pieces of pingao or harakeke interwoven on wooden pieces of wood to form patterns with particular meanings in Māori culture – for example Figures 77 and 92), ceramics (Figure 84) and framed woven kete (baskets made of harakeke or flax – for example the kete in Figure 95).

I noted that most works were by New Zealand artists, with a large proportion by Māori artists. I also recall seeing some works of art by Pacifica artists (including some by artists of Cook Islands and Samoan descent). I assumed that the placement of these artworks was a way for the Ministry to reinforce the cultural links between Cook Islands Māori and New Zealand Māori or New Zealand. Two Cook Islands artists (Mahiriki Tangaroa and Sylvia Marsters) for example have works displayed within the chancery (Figures 79 and 80). The use of a smaller number of works by Cook Islands artists such as Tangaroa and Marsters compliments the dominant use of Māori art and taonga as an expression of biculturalism. This provides a cultural bridge between the whakapapa connections between New Zealand and the Cook Islands which is underlined by the strategic use of art by Cook Island artists.

Process of choosing art

During my posting, works of art were chosen by the Ministry's works of art advisers and, on occasion, with some input from the incoming High Commissioner and his or her partner/spouse. The practice at the time included the permission space for the High Commissioner to choose to display artworks from their own collection in the private spaces of the residence (for example in the living quarters). The disadvantage of this approach, which resulted in some art works being changed or refreshed every three years when a new High Commissioner began their posting, was the risk of any original design aesthetic being diluted. It could also result in a mismatched style of art competing for the viewers' attention, with an increased potential of diluted messaging of what the art is meant to represent. In 2019 this process is no longer followed, with the Ministry's works of art adviser and wider

asset management team taking a more active role in setting the ‘look and feel’ of the Ministry presence at post. In the case of Rarotonga, I would anticipate this will be more evident in future years as there is a possibility that the Ministry will be moving the chancery premises. This will provide an opportunity for a coordinated design narrative to be used, perhaps in a similar way to that in Noumea, as explained in Chapter 7.

Chancery – New Zealand High Commission Rarotonga

The chancery is the office where New Zealand’s representatives carry out their diplomatic activities and functions. This includes, for example, administering New Zealand’s aid programme, maintaining links with the Cook Islands government, and assisting New Zealanders travelling to the Cook Islands who may need consular help.¹⁰¹ The New Zealand High Commissioner is based at the chancery with his/her staff as detailed above. In Rarotonga, this is a mixture of locally engaged staff (or local people employed to work at the High Commission) and ‘seconded’ staff or diplomatic staff sent from the Ministry’s head office in Wellington to work and serve at the High Commission office for three years. I was one of the latter staff, seconded to work at the High Commission as the Deputy High Commissioner.

The New Zealand High Commission is located in the downtown Avarua area of Rarotonga in a prominent position on the corner of Takuvaine and the main road near the main shopping area. The entrance to the chancery is nondescript and is the main entrance to the stairwell and the actual office on the first floor. Figure 74 illustrates the door and the sign showing the office hours. This sign features a koru design, which is used as part of the visual branding of all New Zealand posts offshore and in the head office.

¹⁰¹ For example, if they need an urgent New Zealand passport or assistance after being arrested by Cook Islands police.

Figure 74: Photo of entrance to New Zealand High Commission, Rarotonga, Cook Islands (Author).

Opening of chancery

I worked at the chancery from 2009 to 2012, some years after the premises were opened on 21 June 2004 with a kawanga whare (formal opening ceremony). Accounts from the time, describe the kawanga whare as involving kaumātua (elders) from the Cook Islands and New Zealand (Māori). The Ministry’s media advisory at the time referred to the:

...ceremony emphasising the kinship and close cultural and historical links between Aotearoa and the Cook Islands, with a highlight of the opening being the unveiling of a striking new contemporary Māori carving for the High Commission office, created by students from Toi Houkura¹⁰² under the direction of toi moko artist Derek Lardelli¹⁰¹ (MFAT, 2004).

Mead (2016) expresses the concept of kawanga whare or te tā i te kawa (the dawn ceremony) as coming “out of the traditions and customary practices of Māori society. The dawn ceremony is called tā i te kawa, that is, to strike (the carved posts) with a branch of leaves (kawakawa, for example) or with a tokotoko” (pp. 61). As the High Commission office is overseas and essentially built for what Mead (2016) would define as “non-Māori purposes

¹⁰² The school of Māori Visual Arts was established in 1990 by Ivan Ehu as part of Tairāwhiti Polytechnic, Gisborne, New Zealand. ¹⁰¹Derek Lardelli (Ngāti Porou, Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Konohi -Ngai Te Riwai, Ngāti Kaipoho - Ngai Te Aweawe) is a leading tā moko and visual artist, kapa haka performer, orator and composer. In June 2020 he received the highest honour of a knighthood for services to Māori Arts (Radio New Zealand, 2020).

(where) some Māori art pieces may be added to it in order to conform to cultural requirements” (pp. 75).

This was the case in Rarotonga with the inclusion of the Lardelli carving (Figure 76) with its carved features and painting on wood. Centred on a taniwha image with a long tail, the carving uses strong blue and green colours. My reaction on seeing the Lardelli carving on the numerous times I walked past it was that, firstly, it was displayed in the most prominent place in the chancery. The carving is the only artwork in the reception area of the chancery and is the first image you see as you climb the stairs to reception (Figure 75). I also thought that the carving was chosen for its use of Māori and Pacific inspired imagery, colours and cultural references to draw a connection between New Zealand and the Cook Islands. The carving is large¹⁰³ and has been described by the Ministry as:

...illustrating the ancient links between New Zealand and the Cook Islands ... specifically the whakapapa connections between Rarotonga and the Mauke islands of the Cook Islands and Aotearoa/New Zealand, in particular the Mataatua waka and Ruiahona marae at Te Teko in the Bay of Plenty region¹⁰⁴ (MFAT, 2004).

Figure 75: Photo of stairs to reception of New Zealand High Commission, Rarotonga, showing the Lardelli carving at the top right at the top of the stair rail (Author).

¹⁰³ Measured at 2.4m x 0.9m

¹⁰⁴ A region of New Zealand.

The carving also references the seven waka that encapsulate the whakapapa connections between Aotearoa and the Cook Islands. Many authors have described the historic cultural connections between Māori and Cook Islands, with Māori being described as:

...the product of a cultural transformation that took place within Aotearoa from an ancestral culture that may be described as East Polynesian; on the basis of the current evidence, their closest relatives are the inhabitants of the Cook Islands, French Polynesia, Hawai'i and Rapanui. In other words, the Māori became Māori in Aotearoa as a result of East Polynesians arriving about AD 1250, adapting to the unique environment, normalising those adaptations and then evolving into the discrete iwi that we now collectively call Māori (Addis, 2012, pp. 20-21).

Figure 76: Untitled carving. Derek Lardelli, NZ High Commission foyer, Rarotonga, Cook Islands (Author).

New Zealand Māori are characterised as:

...part of the broader Austronesian cultural system which spans the maritime areas of South East Asia from Taiwan to Indonesia westwards to Madagascar, eastwards to New Guinea and right across the Pacific, as far east as Rapanui (Easter Island), as far north as Hawaii as far South as Aotearoa (Crocombe, as cited in Brady, 2019, p. 146).

Media coverage at the time of the kawanga whare vividly describe the impact of hearing the two Māori languages ¹⁰⁵ “spoken with a clarity and a fluency rarely witnessed, linking a race of people that live in separate countries over a thousand kilometres apart” (Syme-Buchanan, 2004). Speaking at the ceremony, then Cook Islands Prime Minister Dr Robert Woonton is reported to have noted the opening of the new chancery and the celebration of the reunion of the Māori people of Aotearoa and the Cook Islands who “don’t need a written language to record over a thousand years of kinship” (Syme-Buchanan, 2004). Then New Zealand High Commissioner Kurt Meyer referred to these links (including the departure of the seven double hulled waka from Avana for New Zealand with many passengers and crew), which are not only spiritual and historical but legendary (Syme-Buchanan, 2004).

Meyer commented at the opening, on the appropriateness of New Zealand’s representation in the Cook Islands “giving a message in the same way as other High Commissions throughout the world – one experiences immediately what is New Zealand through the art and décor”. Meyer went on to note the importance of immediately expressing the close bond, history and culture of the Māori peoples (referring to the Lardelli carving, Figure 76) and the other Māori artwork used in the chancery (Meyer, as cited in Syme-Buchanan, 2004), including tukutuku panels in the meeting room (Figure 77), framed flax kete (Figure 95), fine sculptures (Figure 84) and carved artefacts (Figure 86).

Meyer also referred to the overall colour scheme of the chancery chosen as “reminiscent of some Aotearoa landscapes, creating an overall effect that is understated, elegant and brings the beauty and strength of contemporary Māori art to the fore” (Syme-Buchanan, 2004). The new chancery and the art chosen was seen to not only reconnect Māori of Aotearoa and the Cook Islands but to illustrate these connections in the longer term.

¹⁰⁵ Cook Islands Maori and Te Reo Maori from New Zealand.

Figure 77: Photo of Marae Orakei Tukutuku panels for meeting house, displayed in New Zealand High Commission conference room, Rarotonga, Cook Islands (Author).

Figure 78: Photo of bust of Brett Graham, necklace from series Tatau my Tatau (foreground). Sofia Smith (Author)

In December 2017 I observed (in addition to the Lardelli carving described above) the chancery was still displaying all the pieces Meyer described at the opening, as well as a few additional pieces. Visitors entering the reception area see the Lardelli carving on their right once they ascend the stairs. They then move into a small reception area and need to wait to talk with the receptionist who sits behind a glass security screen.

A painting by Cook Island artist Sylvia Marsters (Figure 80) of fruit on a tivaevae (Cook Islands quilt) is displayed behind the reception desk in full view of visitors. On the right-hand side of the reception is a framed work by Māori artist Rangi Kipa of five resin tiki (Figure 82). This artwork is not able to be seen by visitors unless they are given access behind the secure area into the main office area.

Art in the chancery

An oil painting by Cook Islands artist Mahiriki Tangaroa (Figure 79) is displayed in a prominent position within the meeting room of the chancery. Incoming visitors will usually see it when they are seated at the conference room table, depending on where they are sitting. Mahiriki Tangaroa is a well-known Cook Islands artist. This work features some Pacific themed images, including floral and design details. Two dogs also feature, which could be interpreted as a reference to the many dogs on Rarotonga. Displaying this piece in the meeting room, where members of the public or incoming officials/visitors are invited in for meetings or interviews, sends a message to those who know Mahiriki Tangaroa's work that the High Commission staff have selected an artwork by a Cook Islands artist. In turn, this will potentially suggest to some viewers of the painting that New Zealand has sought to link the work of the High Commission with the Cook Islands.

Figure 79: Photo of 'As the wind danced on the horizon', by Mahiriki Tangaroa (Author).

There is also a painting by another well-known Cook Islands artist, Sylvia Marsters, 'Tivaevae fruit salad' (Figure 80). Displayed on the wall behind the receptionist at the chancery, it is seen by all visitors when they speak with the receptionist on their arrival. Painted in vivid, bright colours the painting evokes an upbeat display of fruits commonly found in the Cook

Islands (pawpaw, banana, mango and coconut) on a tivaevae. A tivaevae is a traditional cloth made in the Cook Islands or by Cook Islanders living abroad. Encompassing many forms, it can feature – like the example in Figure 81 – colourful floral images sewn onto a sheet.

Figure 80: Photo of 'Tivaevae fruit salad' by Sylvia Marsters in the reception area (Author).

Küchler & Eimke (2010) describe how:

...tivaivai in the Cook Islands are clearly more than well-made objects for home decoration, or the product of a 'hobby' undertaken in the quiet hours of the day. Rather they give us profound insights into the way Cook Islanders 'understand' the material and visual world and each other, and the manner in which they articulate this as a way of sharing attitudes to belonging, which have become of increasingly importance to the diaspora, where most Cook Islanders live today for at least part of their lives (p. 93).

Tivaevae are treasured quilts made by women in the Cook Islands.... made from brightly coloured fabrics, and designs can include geometric shapes, flower and animal designs - though animal or bird shapes are considered unlucky on a bedspread (Te Papa Collections, 2002). The choice of this painting by Sylvia Marsters with its use of Cook Islands fruits and tivaevae, again reinforces that the Ministry is acknowledging the High Commission's place within the landscape of the Cook Islands. It also sends a message that the High Commission

has chosen a piece by Sylvia Marsters, whose work is well known as being from and about the Cook Islands. Marsters has been described as “using painting to capture the fresh colours and distinctive beauty of Polynesia, with the floral subjects of her work carrying a strong personal symbolism, which for her represents Polynesian women, femininity, beauty and matriarchal strength” (Tautai, 2019).

The overall impact of the placement of this combination of Māori and Pacific artworks is a consistent message of the importance placed on these works of art – given they are located in a prominent position as people enter the High Commission. This is reinforced by the reality that most people who enter the chancery do not proceed past the reception area, with the majority of queries being dealt with at the front counter.

Figure 81: Tivaevae (quilt) by Mere Tapaeru Tereora (Cook Islands), 1980 (Te Papa Collections, 2002).

Figure 82: Photo of 'Tiki' by Rangi Kipa (Author).

Figure 83: 'Hei Tiki', by Rangi Kipa (Auckland Art Gallery, 2019).

Rangi Kipa¹⁰⁶ is a well-known Māori artist who has frequently used resin mouldings to make tiki forms. These, like the ones in Figure 82, often feature strong, vivid colours. While not in such a prominent position in the reception area as the Lardelli carving, these tiki reinforce the Māori themes within the Lardelli work, as the symbol of the tiki is a relatively well known as connected to Māori. The hei tiki is understood as a symbol of fertility and whakapapa. Contemporary artist Rangi Kipa has revived and explored a vast range of Māori personal body adornment practices and the hei tiki form is a central piece in his work. He makes modern/contemporary pieces using synthetic materials such as corian, alongside more traditional materials such as pounamu, shell, teeth and bone, (Auckland Art Gallery, 2019). The hei tiki in Figure 83 for example has been carved by Rangi Kipa out of the tooth of a sperm whale (Auckland Art Gallery, 2019).

Some visitors will be given access beyond the reception area, for example to attend a meeting or be interviewed by one of the High Commission staff. This will either take place in the conference room or the office of the High Commissioner. If they go into the conference room, they will see in addition to the painting by Cook Islands artist Mahiriki Tangaroa (Figure 79),

¹⁰⁶ Rangi Kipa's iwi connections are Te Atiawa (Taranaki), Ngāti Maniapoto (Auckland Art Gallery, 2019).

artworks with strong Māori points of reference. These include three tukutuku panels mounted in a prominent position on the side of the main table, and on the opposite wall two ceramic pieces (by Māori artist Wi Taepa – Figure 84). The positioning of the tukutuku panels are in a dominant position and, together with their strong visual references to Māori culture provide additional messaging of the importance placed on these panels by the High Commission. This echoes the choice of placement of tukutuku panels in other posts, including the New Zealand Consulate in Noumea where tukutuku panels feature in the meeting room (Figure 122). To illustrate the prevalent use of tukutuku, tukutuku panels also feature in posts or residences in Rarotonga (Figure 77), Bridgetown (MFAT, 2014d), Suva (MFAT, 2019m), Honolulu (MFAT, 2015g), Taipei (MFAT, 2015f), Shanghai (MFAT, 2014c) and Singapore (MFAT, 2013b).

Figure 84: Photo of Wi Taepa, 'Whakamahara Matanga I and II', ceramic works in the New Zealand High Commission conference room (Author).

For a select few visitors, they will be invited to proceed through the reception area (past a New Zealand landscape photo by Craig Potton in Figure 85) to meet with the High Commissioner in their office. In that room, they will see a small wakahuia carving (on display in a bookshelf so not immediately visible in this office Figure 86), and a painting by Tawai

Williams (Figure 87). The wakahuia is traditionally a receptacle to hold special items in Māori culture. The painting, 'Ra' or sun by Tawai Williams features Māori-themed images, including of koru and taniwha.

Figure 85: Photo of Craig Potton, 'Speargrass in the Hooker Valley, with Aoraki/Mount Cook beyond, Mount Cook National Park' photo in the New Zealand High Commission office (Author).

Figure 86: Photo of Gray Nicol, wakahuia carving (Author).

When viewed together as part of the overall experience of visiting the High Commission, these artworks illustrate a strong Māori theme in the chancery. They also imply attempts to link New Zealand with the Cook Islands through the choice of selected paintings by Cook Islands artists to sit alongside those works by Māori artists. While there are some artworks by non-Māori New Zealand artists, these feature less heavily and are in areas where there is less public access (for example there are three Peter Ireland paintings in the Deputy Head of Mission's office). This choice of artwork and carving, featuring Māori and Cook Island artists, has in my view been made to seek to emphasise the historical cultural links between New Zealand Māori and the Cook Islands which in turn seeks to underscore the importance New Zealand places on its relationship with the Cook Islands. The choice of art is purposeful and

intentional and does not seek, for example to feature work by European artists or others from outside the Pacific region.

Figure 87: Photo of Tawai Williams 'Ra' painting in High Commissioner's office (Author).

Official residence

The High Commissioner of New Zealand to the Cook Islands is the New Zealand representative appointed by the New Zealand Minister of Foreign Affairs. This person is charged with representing and promoting New Zealand's interests in the Cook Islands. While living in Rarotonga, the High Commissioner (and his or her family) live in the official residence which is called 'Ngatipa'.

For the duration of their residence in Ngatipa, the High Commissioner is supported by various locally engaged staff (including housekeepers and gardeners). Ngatipa serves not only as a residence or homestead, but also as place or work (for when the High Commissioner hosts guests, functions or ceremonies).

Ngatipa is the Cook Islands name given to this historic homestead and the accompanying piece of land (see Figure 88). The land was originally gifted to Queen Victoria by local ariki Makea Takau Ariki on 27 December 1890. Documents recording this gift refer to Ngatipa

being gifted to Queen Victoria, “her heirs and successors for the purposes of British residency, or such other purposes as Her Majesty may see fit” (MFAT, 2016).

Figure 88: Craig Elsdon Water Hart, The Residency Ngatipa photo early 1900s (Hart, 1917).

Ngatipa is located on the outskirts of Avarua. Reached by driving into the interior of the island, Ngatipa is approached by entering its sweeping driveway. The land is an extensive block of 3.55 acres and has various buildings, including the main residence (the High Commissioner’s living quarters), an external reception area (used for official functions), a swimming pool, garden sheds and a self-contained cottage.

The main homestead (Figure 89) was originally built in 1977 by the New Zealand Ministry of Works. Some of the original limestone perimeter walls were originally built in the late 1890s (MFAT, 2016) and remain in place as at the time of my last visit in December 2018. Ngatipa has been inhabited by New Zealand Government representatives since Annexation in 1901.¹⁰⁷ At that time, Walter Gudgeon was the British resident living at Ngatipa. After annexation, he then became the first resident commissioner (MFAT, 2016).

¹⁰⁷ When the Cook Islands were included within the boundaries of New Zealand. Annexation in 1901 was as a result of the British Government agreeing to a request by Richard John Seddon, Prime Minister of New Zealand, which was by then a self-governing dominion within the British Empire, to allow New Zealand to annex the Cook Islands as a dependency (Pigman, 2012).

Figure 89: Photo of Ngatipa pavilions from driveway (Author).

In addition to providing living quarters, Ngatipa is used by the High Commissioner for a range of representational activities, where the High Commissioner hosts events officially as the representative of the New Zealand Government in the Cook Islands. These range from hosting functions, meals or cocktail events. The grounds are also used for hosting some events occasionally (for example in relation to celebrations of the New Zealand public holiday Waitangi Day on 6 February and citizenship ceremonies).¹⁰⁸

Whilst the location and purpose of Ngatipa is well known anecdotally to people living in the Cook Islands, Ngatipa and the grounds are not open to the public to access freely. There are two iron gates at the top of the road and at the entrance to the property. The first sign you see is placed in the garden, so you see it as soon as you enter the circular driveway, which says “Private property residence of the New Zealand High Commissioner” (Figure 90). Most of the functions hosted by the High Commissioner are held in the entertainment area, which

¹⁰⁸ When the High Commissioner hosts formal ceremonies for New Zealand citizens.

is a large, covered porch area connected to the main residence, or – less frequently - in the formal dining area.

Figure 90: Photo of entrance to Ngatipa, (Author).

This entertainment area is immediately on the right of entering the property and was designed to ensure visitors did not need to enter through the High Commissioner's living quarters to attend functions. As guests walk up the short path to enter the entertainment area, their line of sight looks through to see four carvings from the Matariki range (Figure 91) displayed on the beams at the far side of this open area. On entering the entertainment area visitors will see a range of carvings and artworks that are largely by Māori and Cook Islands artists. These are described below to further illustrate works with Māori themes and artwork by Māori artists have been selected to be used in the primary area to showcase New Zealand for official purposes.

Figure 91: Photo of entrance to Ngatipa entertainment area (Author).

A range of artworks are displayed, with a predominance of Māori carvings.¹⁰⁹ There is also a tukutuku panel affixed to a lectern (usually positioned underneath a photo of the Queen of England as the head of state — Figure 92) and three paintings. The majority of these are displayed on the perimeter walls to ensure that guests or visitors can see the artworks when they are in this area.

The living room had one artwork (a framed kete) in a corner, in an area where guests may sit on couches. Decisions on where the art is placed are key as part of portraying images of New Zealand to allow maximum exposure when visitors or guests are using this area. These placement decisions are usually made with input from the Ministry's art advisors who provide guidance to the post staff. For instance, when new artworks arrive, or art is rotated between posts and Wellington.

¹⁰⁹ There were 11 when I visited in December 2017.

Figure 92: Photo of Karmen Thomson, tukutuku panel affixed to lectern in Ngatipa entertainment area. This lectern is used by the High Commissioner and some visitors to deliver speeches (Author).

In addition to these carvings there are paintings, Pacific themed prints (Figure 93 and 94) a framed woven kete in the living room (Figure 95), a tiki print (Figure 96) behind the bar area in the entertainment area, a large carved panel (Figure 97) located near the entrance of the entertainment area and a New Zealand landscape (Figure 98).

Figure 93: Photo of Cerisse Palalagi, 'Evoke' (Author).

Figure 94: Photo of David Teata, 'Merging Flight' (Author).

Figure 95: Photos of Jill Fleming, 'Kete, whetu po I' (Author).

Figure 96: Photo of Aroha Lewin, 'Floral Pop Tiki' (Author).

Figure 97: Photos of Stormy Kara, 'Tangaroa i te Titi' (left) and Greg Whakataka-Brightwell, 'Poupou' (right), both in the entertainment area (Author).

Figure 98: Photo of Mark Wooller, 'Mountains and lakes' (Author).

When viewed together, these artworks illustrate a strong Māori points of reference at the residence that also links with the Cook Islands through the choice of works by Cook Islands artists. The intention is to portray New Zealand in the Cook Islands with images that draw heavily on Māori themes and art.

In 2015 a series of carvings were put on display in the entertainment area following the conclusion of the 'Matariki Māori Art Exhibition: The Story of Two Interwoven Cultures', which took place in Rarotonga from in June 2015. Carvers and weavers from the New Zealand Māori Arts and Culture Institute worked alongside Cook Islands artists over this period as part of an artistic collaboration. The purpose was to "assist in building new relationships between New Zealand and the Cook Islands" (MFAT, 2017). The addition of the Matariki carvings links a contemporary interpretation of the story of the seven waka to reinforce the cultural links between New Zealand and the Cook Islands. The art generated during this exhibition was displayed at the Beachcomber Art Gallery in Rarotonga from 16 November to 4 December 2015, and:

...form a series of works that reflect and celebrate the relationship, emphasising the strong historical and cultural links between New Zealand and the Cook Islands. Both the exhibition and gallery display were funded by the New Zealand High Commission as part of a year long series of events to mark the 50th anniversary of Cook Islands self-government in free association with New Zealand in 2015 (MFAT, 2017).

Seven carvings that were produced during the exhibition are now located in the entertainment area, prominently displayed in a row along one of the structural beams (Figure 99).

The names of these carvings reflect the historical connections between New Zealand and the Cook Islands through the representation of the seven waka that departed Rarotonga for Aotearoa around 1250AD that comprised the original settlement of Aotearoa/New Zealand (Adds, 2012). The New Zealand Māori Art and Craft artists used a contemporary interpretation of a traditional design to demonstrate the evolution of culture and art. Each carving is named after one of the seven double hulled waka¹¹⁰ that are said to have departed Rarotonga through Avana passage on their voyage to Aotearoa with the first Māori settlers. Figure 100 shows one of the Matariki carvings representing the Te Arawa waka.

Figure 99: Photo of Ngatipa entertainment area showing seven Matariki carvings on far wall (Author).

¹¹⁰ Tokomaru, Kurahaupo, Aotea, Takitimu, Tainui, Te Arawa and Mataatua.

Figure 100: Te Arawa: Matariki Project carving (Author).

Memorial stone garden, Avana passage

These connections are commemorated in Rarotonga with a memorial stone garden at Avana passage. Set back from the main road, the site of the waka departure is marked with a sign noting the seven waka names (Figure 101). Within the area, a memorial garden has been created that contains a circle of stones, each noting a waka name, and each marked with a local plant. Visitors to the site can spend time looking out from the stone circle (Figure 102) to Avana passage, the gap in the reef at the edge of the lagoon where the waka departed for New Zealand.

This site is culturally significant for visitors from New Zealand, especially Māori, who visit Avana to see this historic departure place for Māori. The site represents a tangible and physical expression of the whakapapa links between Cook Islands and New Zealand Māori. It also interests other overseas visitors and Cook Island Māori who recall the historical links with New Zealand Māori in their own stories and oratory.

The links between New Zealand and the Cook Islands are strong with Cook Islanders sharing New Zealand citizenship. There is a multitude of connections and linkages between Aotearoa and the Cook Islands and travel between both countries is frequent and common. Other sites on Rarotonga commemorate or note such historical connections and links, such as the shared service between the Cook Islands and New Zealand during World War One at the Returned

Services Association near the airport (Figure 103) and in Avarua (Figure 106) and the Punanga Nui market (Figures 108-110) built with New Zealand development assistance.

Figure 101: Photo of Avana passage sign (Author).

Figure 102: Photo of Avana memorial circle and stone (Author).

World War One: Cook Islands contribution

The World War One commemorative sites are dedicated to the service of the 500 Cook Islanders who left the Cook Islands to serve as part of the New Zealand contribution to World War One¹¹¹. As part of the 2015 celebrations of 50 years of self-government, officials from the Cook Islands and New Zealand Governments, together with the Cook Islands RSA agreed to erect a memorial gateway at the RSA cemetery in Rarotonga to honour this contribution (Figure 103). The carving was created jointly by New Zealand artist Michael Tuffery¹¹² and Cook Islands master carvers Mike and Awhitia Tavioni. The striking gateway design includes many Māori and Cook Islands visual references. It is situated directly across from the Rarotonga International Airport in a highly visible position for all visitors and Cook Islanders arriving from overseas, or the outer islands of the Cook Islands, or when passing the RSA. The Pou (gateway) was opened in 2016 and is described by RSA President Henry Wichman as “representing those who served during the Western European conflict and in the Middle East” (Tuaine, 2017, p 50). In addition to the gateway, a stone carving (Figure 104) was created of a Pu – (conch shell). Tuffery describes the Pou and Pu as both paying homage to

¹¹¹ The Cook Islands sent 45 men to WW1 in October 1915. A second contingent of 120 men, with representatives from every island in the group, left Rarotonga for Auckland in July 1916 (The Rarotongan Company, 2019).

¹¹² Who also has links to the Cook Islands, Tahiti and Samoa.

the 500 Kuki Airani (Cook Islands) soldiers who enlisted and served with the Allied forces during the war. The Pu was chosen to commemorate the story that one of the Cook Islands' soldiers took a ceremonial conch shell from the Pacific with them to France, where they were stationed, as a symbol of home during the war (Tuffery, 2017).

Funding was sourced from the New Zealand High Commission in Rarotonga (shown in Figure 105) and the World War One fund administered by the New Zealand Government. Tuaine (2017) describes how one of the key motivators for this service by Cook Islanders was:

...not only to do with our service and response to assist New Zealand and the British Empire but our partnership and close relationship to New Zealand Māori who were our brothers in arms and indeed the reason our country became involved as part of the Māori contribution to the war effort (p. 52).

Figure 103: Photo of Pou and Pu at rear (Author)

The Pou is unique on Rarotonga and stands out given its position and composition. While the pou and pu are recent physical expressions of the bonds between the Cook Islands and New

Zealand (specifically New Zealand Māori), they join other examples of these close ties on the main island of Rarotonga. The Cook Islands' contribution to World War One is also noted on the main cenotaph on Rarotonga (Figures 106-107) which recognises:

The loyalty of the natives of Rarotonga, Aitutaki, Mangaia, Atiu, Mauke, Mitiaro, Manahiki, Rakahanga and Pukapuka¹¹³ of the Cook group who sent their sons to the number of 500 to help the empire in the Great War 1914 – 1918.

Figure 104: Photo of Pu (Author).

Figure 105: Photo of RSA memorial sign (Author).

Figure 106: (left) Photo of World War One Cenotaph, Rarotonga (Author) and Figure 107: (right) Photo of text from World War One Cenotaph, Rarotonga (Author).

¹¹³ All outer islands of the Cook Islands

This cenotaph is where New Zealand and Cook Islands government representatives and the public commemorate key events during the year such as ANZAC commemorations on 25 April. The cenotaph is outside the main courthouse on the main road, across from the current chancery building.

Punanga Nui market

Within the Punanga Nui market (the main marketplace of Rarotonga where locals sell produce, food, crafts and other items to tourists), there are two further monuments of note. The first celebrates the opening of Punanga Nui in 1998 and recognises the major sponsorship provided by the New Zealand Aid Programme. The plaque is mounted on a large volcanic rock which features carvings of both Cook Islands and Māori figures (Figure 108). The second is of two plaques; also on a rock, which note further New Zealand aid funding for the Punanga Nui market, marking the “ongoing relationship between the Cook Islands and New Zealand” (Figure 109 and 110).

Figure 108: (left) Photo of Commemorative stone and plaque, Punanga Nui market Rarotonga (Author) and Figure 109: (right) Photo of Commemorative plaque, Punanga Nui market, Rarotonga (Author).

The links between New Zealand and the Cook Islands are well known and detailed by others who have written on the constitutional angles, cultural or people-to-people linkages (Fepulea'i, 2002; C. McDonald, 2018; Townend, 2002). From my observations and experience working at the New Zealand High Commission, the Ministry seeks to reinforce and capitalise

on these links through the art and design choices made in the chancery and official residence that feature art, design and carvings predominantly by Māori and Cook Islands artists. Works chosen by these artists largely feature Māori and Pacific inspired themes and images to further reinforce these links.

The Ministry has also provided financial support for some carvings/works of art (including the Pou and Pu (Figures 103-104) and the Matariki carving series (Figures 99-100)). Spoken references to these historical and cultural links between New Zealand Māori and the Cook Islands, and New Zealand and the Cook Islands more generally, are also routinely made in speeches (Peters, 2018, 2019)¹¹⁴ and in written form¹¹⁵ by the Ministry, High Commission staff and wider New Zealand Government representatives. References to these close historical, cultural and constitutional links are routinely made by New Zealand's Foreign Minister when describing the bilateral relationship between New Zealand and the Cook Islands. This has been a consistent theme across multiple government administrations, including by former Foreign Ministers McKinnon (1996),¹¹⁶ Goff (2004)¹¹⁷ and McCully (2014).¹¹⁸

It is a different matter when looking at whether or how these links are reflected in the High Commission's work in Rarotonga or the broader strategy of the New Zealand government's relationship with the people and government of the Cook Islands. As part of this case study I have had discussions with officials from the Ministry currently working in the area of New Zealand's relationship with the Cook Islands. It became clear that there is no real focus on exploring these links between New Zealand Māori and the Cook Islands in any deeper way.

¹¹⁴ Where the Minister of Foreign Affairs Rt Hon Winston Peters describes the relationship between New Zealand the Cook Islands as "very special with the Cook Islands a realm country" (Peters, 2019).

¹¹⁵ For example, in the Joint Centenary Declaration of the Principles of the Relationship between the Cook Islands and New Zealand, reference is made to "recognising the close traditional, cultural and social ties that have existed between the two countries and their people for many hundreds of years" (MFAT, 2001).

¹¹⁶ Don McKinnon was New Zealand's Foreign Minister from 1990 to 1999, and described New Zealand's relationship with the Cook Islands as "among the most important in the South Pacific region", and "special" (McKinnon, 1996).

¹¹⁷ Phil Goff was New Zealand's Foreign Minister from 1999 to 2005 and described Cook Islanders as "making an important contribution to our (New Zealand's) identity as a Pacific nation" (Goff, 2004).

¹¹⁸ Murray McCully was New Zealand's Foreign Minister from 2008 to 2017, who described the "value New Zealand places on our unique constitutional relationship of shared citizenry and currency" (McCully, 2014).

Figure 110: Photo of Commemorative stone and plaques, Punanga Nui market, Rarotonga (Author).

Efforts to take this issue further are very much driven by individual staff – on the whole, by Māori staff who try to move initiatives forward as circumstances allow. During my posting in Rarotonga, for example, the then High Commissioner Tia Barrett worked with the local Ariki and people from the village in Matavera to ensure that there was appropriate signage to mark the location where the seven waka left Rarotonga for New Zealand at Avana passage. This project resulted in the current signage at this spot and the circular memorial in place today (as shown in Figure 102).

Following my return to New Zealand, I sought to take forward these links as part of the Ministry's project to collect story ideas in the lead up to the Ministry's 75th Anniversary celebrations. I submitted a story proposal that sought to highlight the unique cultural links between Māori and the Cook Islands that inform our work in the Pacific. I saw that 'Our Story'¹¹⁹ is an opportunity to draw New Zealanders' attention to the unique relationship that

¹¹⁹ Which was one of the Ministry projects to mark its 75th anniversary. The 'Our Story' platform tells the story of "the Ministry's post expansion over 75 years as the story of New Zealand growing up in the world" (MFAT, 2019).

exists between New Zealand, Niue, Tokelau and the Cook Islands through the lens of Niue, the Cook Islands and Tokelau being part of the Realm of New Zealand.

After briefly highlighting the many strands to this unique relationship, ranging from our shared New Zealand citizenship and constitutional arrangements, to the broad range of high spend development programmes with the Realm states I proposed exploring the deep cultural connections between New Zealand Māori and Cook Islands Māori and the impact (and potential) this has had (and could have) on the Ministry's work. I proposed a range of methods to gather information and progress this topic (including collecting stories and personal recollections from the previous and current staff who have an interest or experience with this issue and exploring the stories of current and previous Pacifica staff. The ultimate aim of collecting these various stories was to look forward to the future in order for these cultural and historical links to be considered in different ways so that they may more fully contribute to New Zealand's future relationship with the Cook Islands and, in turn the wider Realm. Disappointingly this story proposal was not selected so is not being taken forward.

Chapter summary

This chapter illustrates the Ministry's historic and extensive use of Māori art and taonga in the Ministry's physical environment in Rarotonga (focusing on the Chancery and official residence). This is considered in relation to the symbolism behind this use and within the context of the narrative consistently used to characterise the relationship between the Cook Islands and New Zealand. Reflecting the historical connections, the whakapapa links between New Zealand and Cook Island Māori and the Cook Islands position as part of the Realm of New Zealand (Table 1), wider examples are also shown of how the Cook Islands seeks to portray the connection with New Zealand and examples of how the Ministry has supported these symbolic expressions through funding. This includes funding of the Matariki carving project between Māori from New Zealand and the Cook Islands (Figure 100); a memorial to the 500 Cook Island soldiers who served in World War One (Figure 105) and the ongoing aid relationship (Figures 108-110).

The historic connection between New Zealand Māori and the Cook Islands was illustrated in the description of the significance of Avana passage (Figures 101-102) and the departure of seven waka for Aotearoa in 1250 AD (Addis, 2012, pp. 20-21). Artistic choices made by the Ministry through the selection of art and taonga for its physical spaces extenuates those links

(for example the Lardelli painting in the Chancery (Figure 76); extensive use of Māori carving in the official residence; use of Māori and Cook Island artists' works, together with the choice of Cook Island artists' works which reflect images that resonate with Cook Islanders who may be visiting the Chancery or official residence (for example, Sylvia Marsters work in Figure 80) which includes the Cook Islands tivaevae). In conclusion, my observation is that whilst New Zealand Government representatives have inhabited the gifted Ngatipa land (Figure 88) where the New Zealand High Commissioner resides, since 1901 the Ministry has not sought to take opportunities to fully develop the myriad of cultural and historical links linkages between New Zealand and the Cook Islands to more fully contribute to New Zealand's future relationship with the Cook Islands. This has included in relation to the Ministry's involvement in the appointment of High Commissioners, with the first Māori High Commissioner only being appointed in 2008 (Tia Barrett – Figure 18). Then Minister of Foreign Affairs McCully (2008) emphasised this fact in his press release announcing the appointment of Barrett as "New Zealand's first Māori High Commissioner to Rarotonga" (McCully, 2008). This was followed in 2010 with the appointment of the first Māori woman High Commissioner (Linda Te Puni¹²⁰) who was appointed after I served as Acting High Commissioner from November 2009 – March 2010 following the untimely passing of Tia Barrett.

¹²⁰ Appointed in June 2010 (McCully, 2010).

Chapter 7: Case study: Noumea New Caledonia

In the previous case study of New Zealand's diplomatic presence in the Cook Islands, I described how New Zealand has been represented in Rarotonga since 1901 and the deep cultural and constitutional links between New Zealand and the Cook Islands. To contrast that example, this case study considers New Zealand's diplomatic representation in Noumea, New Caledonia. Noumea represents a more contemporary example of how the Ministry chooses to present symbolic references of New Zealand in an offshore posting environment. This is through the use of targeted works of art and striking design features within the current New Zealand Consulate opened in 2016. Noumea is a noteworthy example of the Māori and Pacific themes chosen by the Ministry in a modern context, in comparison with the Ministry's presence in Rarotonga, where the chancery and residence have been in existence for a significantly longer period.

I also chose Noumea as it is the most recent design of a new post carried out by the Ministry in the Pacific region. To contrast the subtle design approach in Noumea, contrasting dominant art and design choices used by the Ministry in New Zealand posts in Australia (Canberra and Sydney), United Arab Emirates (Abu Dhabi) and United States of America (Los Angeles) are profiled.

I was first drawn to Noumea as a good example for this case study when the Ministry released an art and design booklet showcasing the Consulate's new premises in Noumea (MFAT, 2017b). This showed the strong use of Māori art and design, together with design features that seek to show the connections between New Zealand and the Pacific region. Choosing Noumea alongside Rarotonga is also an opportunity to consider New Caledonia as a Melanesian country in the Pacific alongside the Cook Islands as a Polynesian Pacific country that is part of the Realm of New Zealand. Both countries also have some similarities as neither New Caledonia nor the Cook Islands are fully independent sovereign states (New Caledonia is an overseas territory of France and the Cook Islands is a self-governing country in free association with New Zealand) both are part of the Pacific post network operated by the New Zealand Government and both countries have some cultural similarities and links to New Zealand Māori.

Statistics – a snapshot

New Caledonia: Facts and figures	
Geography	<p>Four main islands make up New Caledonia and various outer islands, which are largely uninhabited. Located in the South West Pacific Ocean, 1500km East of Australia (Britannica, 2018). Noumea is the capital, situated on the island of New Caledonia or the Grande terre, mainland.</p> <p><i>Area:</i> 18,576 square kilometres (Britannica, 2019)</p> <p><i>Exclusive Economic Zone area</i> 1,740,000 square kilometres (Secretariat of the Pacific Community Aquaculture, 2011).</p>
People	<p>Estimated population of New Caledonia: 287,800 (Britannica, 2019).</p> <p>Ethnic composition of population (2014) Melanesian/Kanak 39.1%, European 27.2% (Britannica, 2019).</p>
Government	<p>Under the Noumea Accord of 1998, New Caledonia has limited autonomy within the French legal system. It sends three representatives to the French parliament: National Assembly, and one to the Senate. The French president is the head of state (Britannica, 2019).</p>
Economy	<p>Largely relies on services, nickel mining and subsidies from France (Britannica, 2019).</p>
New Zealand and New Caledonia	<p>New Zealand has a “strong friendship and share a vision for enhanced cooperation in trade, education, sport, health, the environment and research” (MFAT, 2018c).</p> <p>All New Caledonians are French citizens</p> <p>Entry into New Zealand requires a visa</p> <p>Numbers of people from New Caledonia living in New Zealand: 57 (Statistics New Zealand, 2013).</p>

Table 3: New Caledonia facts and figures.

What is the New Zealand Consulate and what does it do?

Snapshot of New Zealand Consulate in Noumea
<p>Located in Noumea, New Zealand has been represented in New Caledonia since 1972. One of 11 diplomatic posts representing the New Zealand Government in the Pacific region.</p> <p>Also accredited to French Polynesia (Tahiti) and Wallis and Futuna¹²¹.</p> <p>Staff profile:</p> <p>Consul General*</p> <p>Vice Consul*</p> <p>Policy Officer</p> <p>Administrative staff</p> <p>*Staff 'seconded' or usually based in New Zealand. They are either from the Ministry or are political appointments.¹²²</p> <p>Responsible for:</p> <p>Management of the relationship between New Zealand and the Government of New Caledonia. This includes delivery of a small New Zealand-funded aid programme which focuses on short term training scholarships for courses in New Zealand and is also administered from the Consulate (MFAT, 2018c).¹²³</p> <p>Providing consular assistance to New Zealanders visiting New Caledonia who require assistance. Key role in receiving inward high-level visits, for example the Prime Minister of New Zealand or various Ministers. The Consul General is also expected to periodically visit the Consulate's other countries of accreditation and to lead any disaster response (for example, should a cyclone hit New Caledonia or other disaster).</p> <p>Property footprint:</p> <p>The official residence and the Consulate General.</p>

Table 4: Snapshot of New Zealand Consulate in Noumea.

¹²¹ Also an 'overseas collectivity' of France. New Zealand and Wallis and Futuna Islands have limited official contact, but good shipping links between the two countries mean New Zealand exporters have a strong presence in that small market (MFAT, 2018c).

¹²² While all head of mission or head of post appointments are made by the New Zealand Governor General under s 4 of the Foreign Affairs Act 1988, these are usually on the recommendation of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, who can recommend people who are not employees of the Ministry or career diplomats, for example former Members of Parliament.

¹²³ Reflecting New Caledonia and French Polynesia's status as French territories as part of the French overseas collectivity (Embassy of France, 2018)

Background

New Zealand opened a Consulate General in Noumea in 1972. A consulate is one form of diplomatic representation a country may use, together with embassies or High Commissions. New Zealand's Consulate General in Noumea is the place from where the Consul General for New Zealand works and operates. The Consul General is assisted by seconded staff from Wellington (currently a Vice-Consul) and a number of locally employed staff. In addition to serving as the Consul General for New Caledonia, the Consul General is also formally accredited to French Polynesia and Wallis and Futuna. Consulate staff in Noumea assist visiting New Zealanders with a range of issues ranging from business contacts to lost passports.

New Zealand's relationship with New Caledonia is described by the Ministry as longstanding with New Caledonia being New Zealand's closest neighbour in the Pacific (geographically). New Caledonia is New Zealand's fourth largest export destination in the Pacific and there is also trade in services. New Zealand is a popular education destination for New Caledonians wanting to learn English and tourists travel in both directions¹²⁴ (MFAT, 2018c). There are strong historical links between New Zealand and New Caledonia, forged during World War Two "when nearly 20,000 troops of the 3rd New Zealand Division were stationed in the territory, engaging in jungle warfare and amphibious landings in training for the campaign in the Solomon Islands" (Ratuva & Brady, 2019, p. 153). There are cultural links between the indigenous Kanak of New Caledonia and New Zealand Māori. In 2019, Māori – Kanak relations are described as "growing, supported by the New Zealand government" (Ratuva & Brady, 2019, p. 153).

These cultural links between New Zealand Māori and Kanak are less obvious in the expression of art in the public areas of the Consulate (in contrast to the closer Polynesian linkages able to be referred to in Rarotonga). This is likely influenced by perceptions of a weaker connection that the Ministry makes with the Cook Islands and other Polynesian (as opposed to Melanesian) countries. A participant did note that whilst there are not any works of art shown by Kanak artists "*we get given gifts and some paintings which we display in the working areas, like small wooden sculptures from New Caledonia and French Polynesia*" (P-

¹²⁴ With 19,920 New Caledonians visiting New Zealand in 2017, and 13,320 New Zealanders visiting New Caledonia in the same year (MFAT, 2018c).

14). There is no Kanak art in the Ministry's collection that is shown in Noumea, reflecting either that the Ministry does not own any Kanak art or, more likely chosen to focus on a selective interpretation of other works of art to compliment the use of Māori art and taonga. The dominant use of the Tangaroa painting in the Noumea reception, for example (Figure 118) was chosen not only for its colours – reflected in the colour palette in the reception, but to provide a link with the wider Pacific (through choosing a painting by a Cook Islands artist) as part of the Ministry's broader narrative for Noumea.

Journey to the new premises

The Consulate moved to new premises in December 2016 from an earlier property leased since 1994. Participants commented on the limited space of these premises with no meeting room or separate bathroom facilities. The office was described as “increasingly cramped and inadequate” (MFAT, 2017c), with minimal attention to refurbishment and a physical layout that prevented structural alterations with the placement of internal walls. The ‘Te Aka Aorere’ carving in the reception area (Figure 111) was the main artwork featuring Māori design. After going through various internal processes to decide on new premises, the Ministry sought alternative office accommodation in Noumea (via the Consul General). This process took an extensive period of time, with various properties being considered and assessed for their suitability (primarily from a physical and security point of view).

Figure 111: Photo of reception in the previous property in Noumea (MFAT, 2011). Note Te Aka Aorere carving.

In 2016 the current Consulate property at 27 Rue de Verdun, Noumea was secured after the required lease negotiations. A number of considerations were taken into account as part of the Ministry approval process. These ranged from physical suitability, financial parameters and alignment with the current and expected long term purpose of the Consulate (noting New Zealand's expected long-term relationship with New Caledonia as part of the wider footprint of New Zealand's relationship with Pacific countries).

Design process for new premises

My research interest is in the process and events after the lease was concluded when the Ministry turned its attention to the physical environment to be created and it chose to give visual effect to the design goals. These goals focused on giving expression to New Zealand's long-term links with New Caledonia as part of New Zealand's broader relationship with Pacific countries.

A range of Ministry staff and external providers were involved in the subsequent design process, fulfilling various roles including on decisions on property, works of art and design perspectives. At the initial stage of designing the new premises in Noumea, the Ministry established a multi-disciplinary team from the asset management division. This included a core group of a property manager, interior designer and art adviser. External assistance was sourced as required, including architectural designers.

A key concept of the design brief was to give visibility to the connections between New Zealand and New Caledonia. This was a core part of the design discussions and resulted in the choices of art made (as described below) and key design and architectural features of the fit out. On completion, the Ministry characterised the opening of the new Consulate as featuring modern New Zealand design and contemporary art works and "a fitting reflection of New Zealand's desire for a modern, strengthened relationship with the French Pacific" (MFAT, 2017b).

The overall design is credited to a New Zealand architecture firm ¹²⁵ that was contracted to provide a design characterised as "evoking a strong New Zealand identity through materials,

¹²⁵ Opus architecture, Wellington- described as "a multi-disciplinary consultancy for the infrastructure development covering areas such as planning, design, project management, construction supervision, maintenance and rehabilitation. Services provided are: architecture, civil and geotechnic engineering, heritage, land surveying, property, traffic engineering and more" (Architecture Now, 2020).

pattern and colour, unique art and design features” (MFAT, 2017b). Early discussions were held with Ministry staff (both in Wellington, New Zealand and at post in Noumea) on the look proposed for the Consulate. These exchanges focused on whether this would be a post that needs to be distinctively New Zealand or whether the design should focus more on reinforcing the similarities between New Zealand and New Caledonia. In this case, the former was the focus. This design aim was then progressed, considering the architecture in place (including structural features), the existing works of art and the available wall space for any additional works.

To guide their interpretation of the ‘look and feel’ being sought by the Ministry, the architects were provided with design information covering a range of design principles being sought. This design material is not unique to the design of Noumea but has also been used for other new builds or remodelling of New Zealand’s overseas posts. Architects such as Opus are able to bid for work from the Ministry through such mechanisms as the New Zealand Government Electronic Tenders Service¹²⁶ where particular services are sought including architects.¹²⁷

Directions were given that the consulate should have a “distinctive New Zealand identity, reflecting our bicultural heritage, showcase modern New Zealand and embody New Zealand’s long-term commitment to the bilateral relationship” (MFAT, 2017g, p. 1). The design was to draw on “New Zealand’s bicultural and multicultural society and New Zealand’s place in the Pacific” (MFAT, 2018g, p. 2) and to demonstrate “the essence of New Zealand, through achieving a New Zealand look and feel, creating designs that encourage New Zealand values and a sense of welcome, family and friendliness, bicultural (Māori) and multicultural society and New Zealand’s location in the Pacific” (MFAT, 2018g, p. 2). The works of art play an important role in the look and feel - reflecting a strong New Zealand identity, with Māori and Pacific art. Artworks will be eye-catching, elegant and sophisticated befitting the architectural setting” (MFAT, 2017g).

¹²⁶ <https://www.gets.govt.nz/ExternalIndex.htm>

¹²⁷ For example, in October 2020 the Ministry sought tenders from architects and design firms to assist with Pacific Staff Housing and Infrastructure Services (<https://www.gets.govt.nz/MFAT/ExternalTenderDetails.htm?id=23465458>).

Figure 112: Photo of Noumea Consulate reception area, (MFAT, 2017b)

On entering the Consulate, visitors see the Māori carving 'Te Aka Aorere' by Albert Te Pou above the reception desk (shown in Figure 112). Placing this carving in this visible location is symbolic of the value placed on showcasing a Māori taonga within the reception area, which is the first area or space where visitors to the Consulate encounter a physical expression and visual pointers or indicators of New Zealand. The inclusion of this carving is also symbolic as it was originally purchased and displayed in a similar position in the earlier Consulate in Noumea and represents some continuity between the two offices (Figure 111). A further carving also entitled 'Te Aka Aorere' is also on display at the New Zealand High Commission reception in Canberra, Australia, by the same artist (see Figures 133 – 134). Similar 'Te Aka Aorere' carvings are also in Buenos Aires (Figure 113, 116 and 117), Santiago (Figure 114) and Mexico (Figure 115) which provide further continuity of this theme.

Figure 113: Photo of 'Aorere 1998' by Albert Te Pou, displayed at the New Zealand Embassy in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Aorere is described as the Ministry's figurehead. Reference is made to the kō (customary digging tool), to "signify the strong agricultural, technological and environmental connections between Argentina and New Zealand" (MFAT, 2019a).

Figure 114: Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' carving by Albert Te Pou in the New Zealand embassy Santiago, Chile (MFAT, 2018t).

Figure 115: Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' carving by Albert Te Pou in the New Zealand Embassy Mexico City, Mexico (MFAT, 2018t).

Figure 116: Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' carving by Albert Te Pou in the New Zealand Embassy Buenos Aires, Argentina (reception) (MFAT, 2018t).

Figure 117: Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' carving by Albert Te Pou in New Zealand Embassy Buenos Aires, Argentina (MFAT, 2018t).

Participants commented on the importance of continuing to display the carving in this way as it provided a link for some of the local staff transitioning from the old to the new premises. The Ministry describes this piece as “acting as a kaitiaki¹²⁸ for the premises and symbolises the relationship between New Zealand and New Caledonia” (MFAT, 2017b).

In the waiting area, a large painting piece by Cook Islands artist Mahiriki Tangaroa (Figure 118) who also has work displayed in the meeting room of the New Zealand High Commission in the Cook Islands (Figure 79). Tangaroa’s work dominates the reception area, with the orange tones of this work reflected in the colours of the chairs chosen and the tones from the carving ‘Te Aka Aorere’ (shown in Figure 112).

Figure 118: Photo of ‘Blessed again by the Gods’, Mahiriki Tangaroa (MFAT, 2017b).

¹²⁸ Guardian

Tangaroa's painting (Figure 118) is interpreted in the Art and Design booklet made available to visitors, as:

...evoking spring, the season of growth and renewal, and offers the prospect of spiritual protection, with the rich patterning including elements of landscape and plant life, and a stylised hand motif which references the carving traditions of the Pacific, from New Zealand to New Caledonia. This motif has special significance in the Noumea Chancery symbolising partnership between the two countries (MFAT, 2017b).

The narrative on this painting is presented by the Ministry as an authoritative interpretation of the painting's meaning with references to reinforcing the cultural links between New Zealand and New Caledonia. This is one interpretation of this work, led by the Ministry's works of art advisers and is selective in the information presented. The Ministry purchased this work as part of its chosen narrative to illustrate a cultural connection between New Zealand and New Caledonia. In fact, Tangaroa has produced a series of works using the title 'Blessed again by the gods,' which was the title of a 2016 exhibition of her work in the Cook Islands (Bergman, 2018).

Adjacent to Tangaroa's painting in the reception area is a framed breastplate carved of pounamu with a coconut fibre cord by Chris Charteris ¹²⁹ (Figure 119). Named 'Protector,' this work aims to "forge a link between customary Oceanic art and craft, and contemporary art practice" (MFAT, 2017b). This piece demonstrates an exact connection with New Zealand and

Māori with the artist's choice of using pounamu which is culturally significant to Māori and enhances "the mana of the form by using pounamu, a material of great significance in Māori culture" (MFAT, 2017b). Again, a clear choice has been made by the Ministry to have an image displayed in the public reception area, seeking to symbolise a connection to New Zealand through a Māori-themed object.

Figure 119: Photo of 'Protector' by Chris Charteris (MFAT, 2017b).

¹²⁹ Of Fiji and Gilbertese descent (MFAT, 2017b).

A key design feature in the Consulate is the use of a 'wave' formation in the ceilings of the public areas principally in the reception (Figure 112) and visitor meeting room (Figure 120). Participants described the wave as serving a variety of purposes from a physical representation of the ocean connecting New Zealand and New Caledonia, to also act as a filter for the lights installed in the ceiling. During the initial design discussions reference was made to:

"Looking at the similarities between the countries (New Zealand and New Caledonia) so the colours and the coastline – the water. That's where the wave came from" (P-15).

and how the wave

"has an elegance, it's quite sophisticated" (P-13).

This illuminated feature in ceiling was designed to "recall the waves that surround both countries as islands in the Pacific" (MFAT, 2017b). The impact of the artwork and wave design in the reception was described by a participant as "instantly recognisable when people come in as something New Zealand, even the waves, it's interesting and they look up and see the waves and think about the connections"¹³⁰.

Figure 120: Photo of meeting room showing wave formation in ceiling, Noumea (MFAT, 2017b).

¹³⁰ Participant P-14

Participants pointed out the visual impact the entire reception area made on visitors as they entered the Consulate or waited to be seen by staff. The space was described as instantly recognisable as being from New Zealand, with visitors looking up and seeing the wave design on the ceiling, prompting some to consider the connections between New Zealand and New Caledonia. The concept of the wave grew from looking at the similarities between New Zealand and New Caledonia and the colours, coastline and the idea of the water surrounding and connecting the countries.

Targeted colour choices were also made (focusing on blue, red and orange) with the furniture chosen in the reception and meeting areas, together with the wood panelling and the choice of some art. It includes three tukutuku panels in the meeting room (Figure 122) where the couches chosen reflect the colour palette in the panels. This colour palette aims to “reflect the coastal landscape, with feature colours ranging from aquamarine to deep blue”, with red and orange accents to “represent New Zealand’s native pohutukawa¹³¹ and the flamboyant flame trees of New Caledonia. The warm timbers are a synthesis of both nations: New Zealand rewarewa and French marotte.” (MFAT, 2017b).

The images shown in Figures 121 illustrate some of the visual inspiration for the architectural design, including images of the New Zealand coastline, a vineyard/rural scene and a geothermal mud pool. References in the design brief refer to imagery around:

- the land of the long white cloud
- the crisp whiteness
- the geometric images
- the timber fins, weaving texture, through the artwork.

¹³¹ The Pohutukawa is a New Zealand native tree.

Figure 121: New Zealand images used as part of Noumea design schematic (Opus, 2016).

The Noumea consulate is a recent example of how the Ministry has approached the design and presentation of a new post to promote New Zealand's interests, using design features and art to symbolise a specific image of New Zealand. The features and art chosen present strong Māori themes, together with imagery to illustrate cultural connections between New Zealand and New Caledonia. Key features in the reception include the ceiling wave design (Figure 120), the pūkeko motif (Figure 112), the Mahariki Tangaroa painting (Figure 118) and pounamu breastplate (Figure 119). The meeting room design centres on the tukutuku panels (Figure 122) with their colours being reflected in the furniture.

There are formal and informal sources of guidance available to Ministry staff to guide their decisions on art, design and the 'look' sought. Formal sources include the works of art and asset policies. Informal norms by staff involved in these processes also feature, to guide what is seen as acceptable or best practice.

Figure 122: Photo of meeting room in New Zealand consulate Noumea, showing tukutuku panels – Tumatakahuki binding stitch by Emma Marino (MFAT, 2017b).

The approach taken in the Noumea building differs to that in Rarotonga, noticeably on the choice of art. The design process used in Noumea considered the works of art to be used in the spaces being created at an early stage allowing flow-on decisions to be made that enhanced these art pieces.

“we discuss early on whether this will be a post that needs to be distinctively New Zealand or we look if it is going to be a post where we are saying we are similar to you and there is not a huge difference...once we have the plan and look at the walls where the works of art will go and from that we work on the concept and what the architecture of the building looks like so it complements the works of art also” (P-15).

Decisions on lighting placement accentuated the art chosen, with furniture choices reflecting colours from the art to accentuate the colour palette chosen. This approach differs from the situation in Rarotonga, where the approach has been more piecemeal and historic. Some art works have been in place for decades, for example, and other pieces have been the result of historic choices by previous High Commissioners. All art has needed to be displayed in existing spaces with both the residence and chancery having been built some years earlier.

A key theme from participants was the Ministry’s overarching goal when considering the new design of premises and the related selection of artworks, to “represent our Māori identity up

front and as much as possible”¹³². This ideal of portraying New Zealand’s Māori identity translates into a strong theme when a collection of art works is being assembled to use in the post premises. Given the close correlation between the choice of artworks and the design features used, this theme of Māori identity crosses over into design as well. In the Noumea Consulate, this is seen with the placement of the pūkeko motif used under the reception area (Figure 112), the ceiling wave (Figure 120), the colour palette chosen (Figure 121) and the choice of New Zealand native timber rewarewa (Figure 112). The latter three features are also used to show broader more interpretive connections between New Zealand and New Caledonia, which centre on the shared ocean between these two countries and seek to portray New Zealand as a modern country with a Māori identity, with close cultural and geographic connections with Noumea. The end goal with this narrative is to present the consulate as a space that is immediately recognisable as New Zealand when people enter the reception that is seen as distinct from other diplomatic representatives in Noumea. Participants also referred to the importance of the reception and meeting areas being seen as inviting to government officials from New Caledonia and French Polynesia when these representatives visit and serves as a signal to these governments (and in turn their parent country France) that New Zealand is committed to the relationship with the French territories (not only by having a consulate in Noumea with resident diplomatic staff, but through the signal of investment in the relationship through the design and build of new premises).

Participants spoke of the positive impact the new consulate has had on the ability of staff at the consulate to carry out their work and the interest it provokes in visitors to the consulate – on the story of the design. Individual artworks have also prompted positive discussions with visitors (indigenous Kanak were mentioned), which in turn assisted in building ongoing links with key contacts. Previous Consul General Justin Fepulea’i described how pleased he was with the result and the “modern and spacious feel (of the new chancery), providing a very pleasant work environment, reflecting excellent work by the design team, especially with the judicious use of colour schemes and artwork” (MFAT, 2017c).

The use of the tukutuku panels in the visitors’ meeting room (Figure 122) is seen as a significant representation of New Zealand and a clear signal to visitors that they are in a New Zealand territory or space. In a similar manner to the use of tukutuku panels in the meeting

¹³² Participant R13.

room in the New Zealand High Commission in Rarotonga, and as part of lectern used at the residence in Rarotonga, the use of tukutuku panels reflects a clear choice to use an art form that reflects New Zealand, that is distinctly Māori. Participants in relation to Noumea spoke of physically positioning themselves in key meetings directly in front of the panels as part of reinforcing this image of New Zealand space and representation and to draw strength from these panels on a more spiritual sense in these type of encounters. One participant described the impact of sitting in front of the panels *“as a representation of what New Zealand is and what it should be, having those symbols there gave you some strength and a little bit of grounding”* (P-14).

In this context, the panels reflect an example of Ministry staff working in the consulate and some visitors experiencing an emotional response to an artwork and the symbolism surrounding it. Participants referred to the tukutuku panels providing a point of reference for staff that connected them to New Zealand through this taonga/artwork while serving New Zealand in Noumea. For other staff interviewed as part of this research, I also heard of similar emotional reactions to works of art that featured Māori imagery or themes they had encountered or experienced while being on posting. Interestingly, as part of this interview process, I showed some staff images of artworks at post, some years after they had departed the post. Despite this passage of time, staff had vivid memories and, in most cases, positive connections with artworks they could recall connecting with while serving overseas.

The consulate succeeds in projecting a modern image of New Zealand, with the choice of design features providing points of difference to a standard office reception. In contrast with the previous reception area (Figure 111) the new consulate is contemporary and user friendly with both the kitchen area and flexible meeting rooms. The four most striking images representing New Zealand’s bicultural origins are the ‘Te Aka Aorere carving’ (Figure 112), the breastplate (Figure 119) on display in reception, the woven tukutuku panels in the meeting room (Figure 122) and the kete in the visitor lounge (Figure 123).

Figure 123: 'Taranaki' kete by Matthew McIntyre Wilson, displayed in visitor lounge, Noumea (MFAT, 2017b).

In comparison with other recent designs of New Zealand Embassy public reception areas, Noumea is a subtler example of the use of Māori art and design, with the features showcased in the public spaces more interpretative of the New Zealand connection with New Caledonia. Use of the wave design as part of the ceiling is the first time such a design has been used in a remodelling of a New Zealand post. Participants suggested it could be used as part of future remodelling work of posts, especially those where the Ministry is looking to design new posts in the Pacific region.

The wave design (Figure 120) seeks to symbolise a wave pattern evocative of the Pacific Ocean. Participants commented that the wave and its intended meaning of the Pacific Ocean was chosen to represent the physical links between New Zealand and New Caledonia, which are linked geographically by the Pacific Ocean. The wave design is in the reception area and extends into the meeting room. I would suggest that for most people viewing the wave for the first time and without any accompanying interpretation from Ministry staff who are aware of the design backstory, linking this design to the Pacific Ocean would be a stretch. While it is possible some would make this link, others may just regard the wave design as an interesting built feature in the ceiling.

Residence

The official residence of the Consul General is located within a residential area of Noumea currently leased by the Ministry. The main area used for entertaining visitors and hosting

small functions is the reception area. This area features a small art collection, including a sculpture by Tracey Tawhiao (Figure 126), and paintings by Māori artist Paratene Matchitt¹³³ and Michel Tuffery.¹³⁴ There is also a glass-framed korowai (Figure 70) which is an older taonga previously displayed in the chancery premises. This taonga is displayed in a similar way to the kete in the residence in Rarotonga, within a glass frame.

This method of encasing taonga within glass frames, or 'object framing' is widespread in the Ministry's art collection through the encasing of fibre works of art: kete (Figure 95), korowai (Figure 70) and piupiu (Figure 69). While there may be some archival or preservation rationale for this encasement to ensure longevity, I consider it detracts from the beauty of these pieces and inhibits the expression of the wairua within each taonga. Blackley (2018) describes this encasing practice as "to imprison objects in glass cases" (p.129) in the context of his analysis of the curio economy that existed in colonial New Zealand. Blackley referred to this method of display as part of early museum practice in New Zealand in the context that:

...Māori diffidence in relation to the rise of museums was connected to fundamental notions of tikanga – 'correct' procedure. To imprison objects in glass cases may have seemed wrong, but what about when museum displays contained ancient burial chests wrenched from the wahi tapu in which they had been ritually interred? (p. 129).

The overall impression from the art used in the residence is one of muted references to Māori art including the korowai (Figure 124) and work by Tracey Tawhiao¹³⁵ (Figure 126) with some inclusion of works by Pacific artists including a print by Fatu Feu'u,¹³⁶ 'Ika mana' (Figure 125). Works of art on display in the living and dining rooms (which are the main areas where guests would visit) are largely small and relatively discreet with colours blending with that of the furniture.

¹³³ New Zealand artist (Te Whānau Apanui and Ngāti Porou).

¹³⁴ Ibid footnote 112

¹³⁵ Tracey Tawhiao (Ngāi te Rangī, Whakatōhea, Tūwharetoa).

¹³⁶ Fatu Feu'u is a New Zealand artist of Samoan descent.

Figure 124: Photo of New Zealand Consul residence, Noumea, showing display of korowai 'Tui' by Kohai Grace (MFAT, 2018t)

Figure 125: Photo of 'Ika mana', by Fatu Feu'u. Displayed in the residence living room, Noumea (MFAT, 2018r).

Figure 126: Photo of 'Ika' by Tracey Tawhiao, sculpture. Displayed in residence dining room, Noumea (MFAT, 2018r).

This subtle approach in Noumea contrasts with the more dominant artwork by Lardelli in the High Commission in Rarotonga (Figure 76) and the use of large and dominant carvings and other design features featured in the remodelling of other overseas posts. To illustrate these contrasts in Chapter 8 I have considered images from the reception areas of the New Zealand Consulate-General in Sydney, Australia, the New Zealand High Commission Canberra, Australia, and the New Zealand Embassy in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates, together with a feature of the New Zealand residence in Los Angeles, United States of America.

Chapter summary

This chapter presents an example of a modern expression of New Zealand's bicultural identity in a posting environment, detailing the design process around the Ministry's move from older premises (New Zealand's Consulate was first opened in 1972) to a new office in 2017. The range of actors involved in designing the new 'look and feel' of the Consulate is outlined showing the mix of Ministry officials and external design and architectural advisers used. The Consulate design illustrates how each aspect of design, art, taonga, pattern and material chosen centres on the Ministry design narrative of wanting to show a 'modern strengthened relationship' with New Caledonia, that also reflects a Māori identity and the Pacific links between New Zealand and New Caledonia. Examples are used to illustrate these connections, for example the Ministry narrative in its art and design booklet which interprets motifs in the Mahiriki Tangaroa painting (Figure 118) as carving references connection New Zealand and New Caledonia in the Pacific and extrapolates this to symbolise partnership between the two countries (MFAT, 2017b). There is strong use of colour reflection to also demonstrate the coastal or oceanic connections between New Zealand and New Caledonia (as featured in the wave design) through the blue aspect of the colour palette (Figure 121) reflected through the tukutuku panels and furniture choices in the meeting room (Figure 122).

This chapter introduces the concept of people (including participants) experiencing an emotional connection and drawing strength from Māori taonga (with the example given of the tukutuku panels). Literature on the encasing of taonga is also introduced reflecting the glass framing of korowai in Noumea (in a similar way to the glass framing of kete in Rarotonga – Figure 95).

Chapter 8: Case study: Australia

Canberra

In addition to the case studies of the Cook Islands and New Caledonia I also considered the example of the New Zealand High Commission in Australia's capital, Canberra, which was extensively remodelled in 2017. This was informed by a visit to Canberra in March 2019 when I was able to visit and experience the design of the High Commission building, the interior design features chosen and the extensive use of art and Māori taonga. I was also able to observe the High Commission involvement with the exhibition 'Māori Markings: Ta Moko' and attend the opening at the National Gallery of Australia where the New Zealand High Commissioner Annette King presented a welcome speech.

Statistics – a snapshot

Australia: Facts and figures	
Geography	<p>Australia is an island continent located between the Indian and Pacific oceans. It is 7,682,300 sq. km and approximately 4000km from east to west and 3,200 km from north to south, with a coastline 36, 735 km long.</p> <p><i>Area:</i> 7, 682, 300 square kilometres (Australian Government, 2020)</p>
People	<p>Estimated population: 25, 649, 985 as at 31 March 2020) (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2020).</p> <p>In 2016, 2.8% of the Australian population are Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2016). Anglo ancestries make up more than 50% of the population (Jeyaratnam, 2018)</p>
Government	<p>Australia is a federation of six states which, together with two self-governing territories, have their own constitutions, parliaments, governments and laws (House of Representatives Practice, 2018)</p>
Economy	<p>Ranked as the fourteenth largest economy in 2019. Nominal GDP estimated at A\$2 trillion, or approximately 1.6% of global economy (Austrade, 2020)</p>

Australia: Facts and figures	
New Zealand and Australia	<p>New Zealand and Australia “share a long standing and close political relationship...and enjoy close people to people relations, based on close historical ties, enduring family connections and our similar worldview” (MFAT, 2020c).</p> <p>Both New Zealanders and Australians can travel, live and work in either country (MFAT, 2020c).</p>

Table 5: Australia facts and figures.

The Canberra chancery was remodelled in 2017, guided by a series of key design principles Ministry staff provided to the architects and designers involved. These included aiming for interiors:

...to draw on New Zealand’s bicultural and multicultural society and New Zealand’s place in the Pacific, and to provide a muted colour palette which compliments the design and style of the building and allows New Zealand carvings and art to be showcased. New Zealand sourced design items have also been incorporated throughout the building. A tawa¹³⁷ veneer is featured as an insert in the New Zealand wall in the entrance; other items include New Zealand carpets, furniture, works of art and fabrics (MFAT, 2018d, p. 4).

The entrance to the High Commission is up a path flanked by a garden area, including a sculpture of cows on the front lawn (Figure 127) reflecting New Zealand’s agricultural and dairy farming background.

Figure 127: ‘Cows’ sculpture by Jeff Thomson (MFAT, 2018d).

¹³⁷ Tawa is a New Zealand native wood.

Approaching the doorway of the low building, you see large posts with timber veneer (Figure 128). On entering the main doors, the first visual sign you are in a New Zealand High Commission is the display of two large Māori carvings by Rangi Hetet in the immediate foyer area (Figure 129).

Figure 128: Photo of entrance pathway to New Zealand High Commission Canberra (Author).

Figure 129: Photo of 'Poupou', Te Whānau-ā-Apanui style, and 'Poupou', Ngāti Porou style, carvings by Rangi Hetet (Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Maniapoto), c. 1980 (Author).

On moving into the wider foyer area, the eye is drawn to the wood panelling along the right-hand wall (Figure 130) in a distinctive waewae pūkeko pattern, similar to some aspects of tukutuku panel designs (Figure 14). On the left side of the foyer area is further wood panelling and a striking painting by Darryn George, named 'Ariki'. In addition to featuring the use of Te Reo Māori (and the words 'Ariki' and 'Ora'), this work features traditional Māori colours of red white and black and use of patterns similar to those in kōwhaiwhai¹³⁸ (Figures 131 – 132). 'Ariki' is one of a series of 'Ariki' works created by George after the 2011 earthquake¹³⁹ in Christchurch, New Zealand (George's hometown), described as "prayer paintings and expression of hope for his city's future" (MFAT, 2018d, p. 10). Working primarily in oil on canvas, George's work has been described as illustrating his mastery of a "unique style of geometric abstraction which incorporates dizzying pop art colours and a host of influences from popular culture to Māori kōwhaiwhai" (Gow Langsford, 2019). George's painting occupies a dominant position in the foyer as the only work of art on display before visitors can proceed up to the reception area up the stairwell.

Figure 130: Photo of foyer entrance showing wood panelling in waewae pūkeko design (Author).

¹³⁸ Kōwhaiwhai, defined as "rafter paintings, which have similar symmetrical patterns to lattice-work and tāniko weaving" often displayed within Maori wharenui or meeting houses.

¹³⁹ On 22 February 2011 Christchurch experienced a magnitude 6.2 earthquake, which caused severe damage and casualties (Geonet, 2011).

Figure 131: Photo of 'Ariki Ora II' by Darryn George (MFAT, 2018d).

Figure 132: Photo of 'Ariki Ora II' by Darryn George in foyer (Author).

Figure 133: Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' carving, by Albert Te Pou (previous reception) Canberra (MFAT, 2018d).

In the new building, a large Māori carving is positioned in a prominent space above the stairwell (Figure 134). For those who notice the carving, it can leave those ascending the stairs with the feeling that the carving is watching them. This carving spans the area directly in front of the reception area. Entitled 'Te Aka Aorere' this carving is described by the Ministry as depicting:

... Aorere, the Māori figurehead of New Zealand's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. The stylised human forms on each side of Aorere represent the two nations, New Zealand on the left and Australia on the right, working together for a common cause (MFAT, 2018d, p. 6).

This carving is also by Albert Te Pou, who carved an earlier work similarly called 'Te Aka Aorere', which is displayed in the reception in Noumea (Figure 112).

On the right of the glass-enclosed reception area is a waiting area with two chairs and a coffee table (where, during my visit, copies of the Ministry's art and design booklet on the Canberra refit (MFAT, 2018d) were on the table for visitors to view while waiting).

Figure 134: Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' by Albert Te Pou displayed above stairwell in new building (Author).

This area features a Pacific inspired work 'Va I Moana' by Samoan artist Fatu Feu'u (Figure 135). Colours from 'Te Aka Aorere' are also reflected in the wood panelling used in the reception area, together with the carpeting. Patterns in the carpeting could also be interpreted as reflecting the poutama¹⁴⁰ (steps or stairway) pattern from tukutuku panels (Figure 136) as also reflected in the Ministry's guidance on patterns as part of its visual identity guidelines (Figure 16).

Figure 135: 'Va I Moana (Respect for the Sea)' by Fatu Feu'u (MFAT, 2018d).

¹⁴⁰ The poutama (steps) represent many things in the Māori world. In the cosmological sense it represents the path taken by Tane Mahuta to the uppermost heaven in his quest for the baskets of knowledge. In the secular sense, it represents the steps taken with education, advancement, planning and success (MFAT, 2019e).

Figure 136: (right) Photo of reception area showing Feu'u painting and poutama step patterns on the carpet (Author).

These wooden tonal colours also feature in the wood panelling and carpets within the Sir Carl Berendson¹⁴¹ meeting room adjacent to the reception. This room features the work of two Māori artists, including a korowai in a glass case ('Manākitanga' by Māori weaver Te Ao Marama Ngarimu¹⁴²) flanked on either side by lino prints by Māori artist Cliff Whiting¹⁴³ ('Hatupatu killing Kurangaituku's pets' and 'Hatupatu and the death of Kurangaituku', inspired by a Māori legend of Hatupatu and the fearsome birdwoman Kurangaituku) (MFAT, 2018d).

¹⁴¹ New Zealand's first High Commissioner to Australia and former Secretary of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁴² Iwi affiliation Ngāti Porou, Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

¹⁴³ Iwi affiliation: Te Whānau-a-Apanui.

The overall impression of this meeting room (Figure 137), which is situated to allow easy access for those visitors who have official meetings with High Commission staff, is one where priority has been placed on emphasising the artworks. Both feature recognisable aspects of Māori culture (the korowai as a readily identifiable taonga used for various ceremonial occasions, and the lino prints which incorporate koru designs). The visual image also reflects an extension of the subdued natural colours used throughout the public areas. In this sense the choice of colours has been successful in the context of the original design brief for the colours chosen to be muted to compliment the design and style of the building to showcase the New Zealand carvings and art (MFAT, 2018d). The colours chosen and the predominant wooden tonal colour palette, which is reflected in the display of the three carved pieces, also mirrors the external location of the High Commission, surrounded by trees and foliage that can be seen through and reflected in the glass windows (for example in Figure 137).

Figure 137: Photo of interior of Sir Carl Berendson meeting room, Canberra, showing framed korowai 'Manākitanga' by Te Ao Marama Ngarimu and two prints by Cliff Whiting (MFAT, 2018d).

The Ministry's art and design booklet for Canberra links the name of the korowai ('Manākitanga,' (Figure 138) translated as caring, especially for visitors) as "highly appropriate for display in the Canberra High Commission. Manākitanga is a vital aspect of Māori custom and identity, concerned with welcoming and caring for visitors. Manākitanga can also mean showing kindness, treating people with respect, and nurturing relationships" (MFAT, 2018d, p. 12). This selective use of a Māori term to reinforce a taonga is interesting;

however, the actual expression of manākitanga to manuhiri (visitors) is where one can assess the actual translation in practice of a concept such as manākitanga.

Figure 138: 'Manākitanga', by Te Ao Marama Ngarimu (MFAT, 2018d).

Figure 139: (left) 'Hatupatu and the death of Kurangituku' by Cliff Whiting (MFAT, 2018d) and Figure 140: (right) 'Hatupatu killing Kurangituku's pets' by Cliff Whiting (MFAT, 2018d).

Figure 141: Photo of Kate Lackey meeting room opposite reception (Author).

A further design feature in the reception area is the use of patterned motifs applied to the glass walls of the meeting rooms. The main glass wall of the Kate Lackey¹⁴⁴ meeting room has further visual references to the distinctive waewae pūkeko design originally inspired by tukutuku panels (Figure 141). These ‘waewae pūkeko’, are described as referring to the footprints of the New Zealand native bird called the pūkeko. It is interpreted by the Ministry as “representing the Ministry’s themes of communication and home-ties, very important for staff who travel the world on behalf of the New Zealand Government” (MFAT, 2019e). The waewae pūkeko design shown in Figure 141 illustrates the use of these tukutuku-inspired patterns by the Ministry through its use of art decals on glass, as shown in Figure 142.

My overall impression of the High Commission was of a chancery that, as a result of the 2017 remodelling, portrays New Zealand in a distinctive style through a combination of a chosen physical environment and choice of art and taonga. The building has accomplished

¹⁴⁴ Former New Zealand High Commissioner to Australia

one of the architect's key design principles provided by the Ministry, "to provide a sense of a New Zealand building in a New Zealand landscape" (MFAT, 2018d, p. 4).

Figure 142: Further illustration of the use of the waewae pūkeko pattern from Ministry's Visual Identity Guidelines illustrating the use of this pattern as part of "art for decals conceptualised from the pattern and colour palette", showing the similarity in the pattern used on the exterior walls of the Kate Lackey meeting room, (MFAT, 2019e).

The style achieved is one of a contemporary diplomatic working space that fully utilises a range of open spaces that all feature design points of reference and artworks to strategic effect. The design features include colours reflective of New Zealand's physical natural environment (including the timber veneer posts (Figure 128), New Zealand native tawa wood panelling used in the foyer area (Figure 130), the carpet colour and pattern (Figure 136) and the colour choice of furniture (Figure 141).

These features are complimented by three strong Māori carvings in prominent positions in the entrance way (Figure 129) and stairwell (Figure 134), the use of aspects of Māori design patterns – particularly those drawn from tukutuku panels (in the carpet of the reception area (Figure 136), wood panelling in the foyer wall (Figure 130) and the art decals used on the glass walls of the Kate Lackey meeting room (Figure 141). These colours and design features are then enhanced by the placement of key works of art by Māori artists, such as the 'Ariki' painting in the foyer (Figure 132), the korowai (Figure 137) and lino prints (Figures 139 – 140).

A reference to New Zealand's Pacific connections is made through the placement of the Feu'u work by reception (Figure 135).

These art and design choices symbolise the importance placed by the Ministry on portraying New Zealand in a style that makes multiple references to New Zealand's Māori heritage. This has been pursued through use of the more traditional carvings together with more modern expression of Māori imagery through the design features noted above and the tukutuku narrative, together with works of art by selected Māori artists. The overall impression left for a visitor to interpret is the importance of these bicultural expressions of identity to New Zealand's diplomatic presence in Canberra.

This strong bicultural focus is less dominant in the Ministry's positioning of how New Zealand's relationship with Australia is referred to in written materials. The relationship is characterised as one of "Pacific neighbours" in the art and design context, with Australia being described as:

...New Zealand's most significant relationship measured across multiple dimensions. Australia is our biggest trading partner, our principal ally and home to our largest diaspora. We enjoy a common heritage, embracing the bonds of ANZAC ¹⁴⁵ forged at Gallipoli and an intense sporting rivalry (MFAT, 2018d, p. 2).

This focus on historical and current links in the language is an example of a location specific narrative used by the Ministry to show the links between Australia and New Zealand to reinforce the wider diplomatic priorities between the two countries. Connections chosen centre on the ANZAC bonds, trade and sport, with reference also to the numbers of visitors and residents between each country.

Sydney

The New Zealand Consulate in Sydney moved to new premises in 2018. The reception has a striking design (shown in Figure 143) featuring a prominently displayed carving 'Pou pou' by Himi Taylor, (Figure 144) and an illuminated light in the ceiling and pounamu coloured line in the floor tiles, both leading to the reception desk. These contrast against angled white walls

¹⁴⁵ ANZAC is an acronym for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps, a grouping of several divisions created early in the Great War of 1914–18, (The ANZACs, 2020).

and black signage behind the reception desk displaying the New Zealand fern logo used by the Ministry and other New Zealand government departments.

The Ministry narrative for the Sydney consulate is that it “features modern New Zealand art and design, provides a vibrant base from which our whole-of-government team will continue to provide those services” (MFAT, 2018e, p. 2). A strong New Zealand identity is evoked through “materials, pattern, colour and unique art and design features” (MFAT, 2018e, p. 4). This is reinforced with the colours used and the resulting heavily Māori influenced space. The Māori oral narrative of Māui, for example is the design inspiration in the lobby, with use of:

...illuminated pathway on the ceiling, symbolising Māui’s fishing line, which leads into reception. Mirroring Māui’s fishing line, a green line along the floor evokes the seismic fault line beneath New Zealand, while the faceted walls represent our rugged mountains and the red floor discs Aotearoa New Zealand’s many volcanoes” (MFAT, 2018e, p. 4).

Figure 143: Photograph of New Zealand Consulate Sydney reception, illustrating the use of pou, the silver fern, pounamu detail in flooring and illuminated light beam in the ceiling (MFAT, 2018e).

This fishing line concept ends with “Māui’s fish hook – a piece of pounamu, a river stone from the South Island” (MFAT, 2018e, p. 4), which is characterised as “protecting

traditional Māori values in all ceremonies taking place in the Consulate” (MFAT, 2018e, p. 4).

As noted above, the Ministry has based its design choices for the visual presentation of the Sydney Consulate General around a core theme of the Māori oral narrative relating to Māui (Māui Tikitiki a Taranga). This oral narrative describes how Māui sailed from Hawaiki to Aotearoa New Zealand across Te Moana Nui a Kiwa (the Pacific Ocean or great ocean of Kiwa) and fished up a huge fish (Te Ika a Māui), now known as the North Island of New Zealand (Nelson, 1991). The South Island is referred to as Te Waka-a-Māui, or Māui’s canoe. Rakiura (Stewart Island) is the canoe’s anchor stone and it is said that Māui stood at the peninsula at Kaikoura (at the top of the South Island) while he hauled up his prized catch (Royal, 2005).

Figure 144: Photograph of “Pou Pou’ carving by Himi Taylor and red disc in flooring (MFAT, 2018e).

Further elements of the story of Māui fishing up the North Island are represented in the Sydney design through Māui’s hook (represented through a pounamu touch stone shown in Figure 145). Figure 146 illustrates the red floor discs embedded in the flooring design as part of the volcanic narrative of the New Zealand landscape (MFAT, 2018e, p. 4).

Figure 145: Photograph of Pounamu touch stone on display in Sydney reception (MFAT, 2018e).

Figure 146: Photograph of red disc used in the floor (MFAT, 2018e)

As is the case in Canberra, key items of furniture and lighting design are used throughout the Consulate “showcasing the innovation and excellence of our craftspeople” (MFAT, 2018e, p. 4). As seen in Figure 147, the various works of art by Māori artist by Johnson Witehira ¹⁴⁶ (including three digital prints ‘Tupoho’, ‘Hinengakau’ and ‘Tamaupoko’ (Figure 150), all 2013), which feature the colours red, white and black and are part of Witehira’s ‘Waharua Ko Awa’ series. These are described as part of “allowing Witehira to explore his whakapapa (genealogy). The title references his tribal area, the Whanganui River, and the three figures, representing prominent ancestors, recall the carvings of the distinct Whanganui style”

¹⁴⁶ Iwi affiliation: Tamahaki (Ngāti Hinekura), Ngāpuhi (Ngāi-tu-te-auru).

(MFAT, 2018e, p. 8). Figures 148 and 149 show inkjet prints ‘Seahorse’ and ‘Gull’ (both 2017 by New Zealand artist Richard Killeen), chosen presumably for “employing striking patterns that recall Pacific Island carving and tattoo motifs” (MFAT, 2018e, p. 14).

Figure 147: Photo of waiting room in Sydney showing green line representing Māui's fishing line, pounamu stone, and three prints by Johnson Witehira, together with related colour matching in the furniture (MFAT, 2018e).

Figure 148: (left) ‘Gull’; Figure 149: (centre) ‘Seahorse’ both by Richard Killeen and Figure 150: (far right) ‘Tamaupoko’ by Johnson Witehira, print on display in Sydney waiting room (all MFAT, 2018e).

A tiki inspired print ‘Pinky Winky Tiki’¹⁴⁷ (Figure 151) is displayed in the Consulate’s interview room. Paora Tiatoa’s modern interpretation of the tiki is contrasted in Figure 153 with an ancient tiki form in pounamu dated at between 1600 -1850. These two tiki images show a modern interpretation of the tiki by a Māori artist and a choice by the Ministry to portray this contemporary image as part of the visual landscape within the Sydney Consulate. Pinky Winky Tiki is also displayed in the New York official residence, where the Ministry describes Paora Tiatoa as:

...bringing an irreverent contemporary take to the hei tiki – a stylised human figure most commonly found in greenstone pendants...Hei tiki have become iconic emblems of both the Māori people and New Zealand. In the 1960s and 1970s, green plastic hei tiki¹⁴⁸ were given to passengers on New Zealand’s national airline (MFAT, 2015e, p. 19).

Figure 151: ‘Pinky Winky Tiki’, by Paora Tiatoa, Figure 152: ‘Red Herring III’ (2003), by Dick Frizzell, New Sydney Consulate (MFAT, 2018s). Zealand Chancery, Washington (MFAT, 2016b).

Figure 155 illustrates a further use of the tiki form in the New Zealand Chancery in Washington, where the Ministry describes this Dick Frizzell print as “merges New Zealand and American cultural influences. The stylised head is adapted from the ‘tiki’ form in Māori art, while the title references the celebrated New York-based graffiti and visual artist, Keith

¹⁴⁷ By Māori artist Paora Tiatoa (of Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Raukawa).

¹⁴⁸ As shown in Figure 154.

Haring (1958-90),” (MFAT, 2016b, p.12). Hamish Keith characterises Frizzell as “probably New Zealand’s most popular and commercially successful living artist” (Keith, cited in Stocker, 2010, p. 37). Frizzell (2009) describes his use of the tiki form as containing “not a hint of any traditional Māori art forms” (p. 163), noting also the “weird raft of cultural taboos – what you can and can’t do – and who can do it” as part of his investigation of tiki imagery in his work (Frizzell, 2009, p 163).

Figure 153: Hei tiki (pendant in human form) unknown carver (1600 – 1850) (Taonga Māori Collection, 1972).

The choices made by the Ministry to use the interpretative tiki forms in Figures 151 and 152 can also be viewed as indicating Māori were not consulted or involved in these decisions – given the offensive nature of these images to some Māori. Robinson (2013) explains how tiki were an “important element in the traditional built environment of Pacific cultures” (p. 701). Tiki were considered “as the momento (sic) of an ancestor or series of ancestors and as they were passed from generation to generation, they gained value through contact with those who had gone before” (Armstrong as cited in Robinson, 2013).

The use of Figures 151 and 152 to bring a Māori ‘look and feel’ to a room, could conversely be interpreted as reflecting more of a superficial knowledge by those involved from the Ministry of the wider cultural politics of misappropriation. Lai (2013) depicts such misappropriation as reflecting “the perspective of many Māori that certain uses of their cultural heritage are misappropriation according to their laws and customs” (p. 52). The

Ministry's use of artwork that incorporates an aspect of Māori cultural heritage (in this example the tiki) is:

not the first (example of Māori cultural heritage) to be used in modern art and there is a general problem that the dislocation of an aspect of a culture from its traditional cultural context strips away the meanings behind it, and can also be viewed as a colonisation of Māori art and design (Shand as cited in Lai, 2002).

A screen print by Robin White,¹⁴⁹ 'Hoopers Inlet', has also been chosen (Figure 155). It is displayed in the waiting room to show a New Zealand-inspired landscape of the tranquil Hoopers inlet, where "she has simplified the forms of the landscape, dramatising its sinuous rhythms and lush green hills" (MFAT, 2018e, p. 1).

Figure 154: Plastic Hei Tiki (Air New Zealand), (MOTAT, 1965).

¹⁴⁹ Iwi affiliation: Ngāti Awa

Figure 155: 'Hooper's Inlet', 1976 by Robin White on display in the waiting room, Sydney (MFAT, 2018e).

The red, white and black colours of the furniture and black colours within the pictures is further echoed in the conference room (Figure 156) including the choices of black chairs, a white table and black carpeting. Overall my impressions of the Consulate design in Sydney is that the “strong New Zealand identity – evoked through materials, pattern, colour and unique art and design features” (MFAT, 2018e, p. 4) described in the Ministry’s art and design book has been achieved; however, the New Zealand identity portrayed through the combination of all these art and design features is an identity very heavily influenced and representative of Māori culture. This is evident through the choices of artworks and taonga (including ‘Pou pou’ by Himi Taylor shown in Figure 157), the colours chosen (including the red floor discs in Figure 146) and the choice of the Māori oral narrative of Māui as the design inspiration.

Figure 156: Photo of conference room, Sydney illustrating use of Māori-themed art, use of red, white, black colour way and selection of furniture, rugs by New Zealand designers (MFAT, 2018e).

Figure 157: 'Pou Pou' by Himi Taylor, shown outside a meeting room, New Zealand Consulate Sydney (MFAT, 2018e).

All these choices prioritise Māori themes and artists. Artworks by non-Māori artists appear to have been chosen to support this dominant theme, through analogies to the connections between Māori and Pacific peoples (for example, the Pacific references in the Killeen inkjet prints (Figures 148 -149). This is also seen with the choice of lithographs by Niuean¹⁵⁰ artist John Pule (Figures 158-159). His two works 'Anywhere in the world' and 'In the evening', both 2012, are used in the Consulate's waiting area, and are described as "inspired by the patterns and concepts of hiapo (Niuean tapa cloth), which was traditionally used to tell stories of the Niuean people" (MFAT, 2018e, p. 10). The overall impression of the Sydney consulate is a heavily Māori influenced space, with clear and deliberate choices made to champion Māori art and culture. While there are significant numbers of Māori living in Australia there is no information to suggest that the narrative chosen for the Consulate by the Ministry is seeking to make a link between Māori in Australia and New Zealand.

Rather, the narrative chosen is linked to the broader policy objective of representing New Zealand through a lens that promotes Māori imagery and, in this case, uses the vehicle of the myth of Māui fishing up the North Island of New Zealand. The stated goal of this narrative

¹⁵⁰ Niue is a Pacific Island country which is a four hour flight from New Zealand. Niue is part of the Realm of New Zealand (and is self-governing in free association with New Zealand).

being to portray modern New Zealand art and design to provide a vibrant base for the New Zealand whole of government team (MFAT, 2018e).

Figure 158: (left) 'Anywhere in the World'; and Figure 159: (right) 'In the evening' both by John Pule (MFAT, 2018s).

The Māori connection with Australia is not new, with some Māori believing their tīpuna (ancestors) had pre-European contact with Aborigines, while in the decades following British settlement in Australia, hundreds of Māori made their way to Sydney to trade, acquire skills and learn new ideas (Hamer, 2007). Data from a sociodemographic profile completed in 2011 indicated 128,430 individuals living in Australia who identified as Māori by ancestry and at least one in six – and, more likely, one in five – Māori living outside of Aotearoa (Kukutai and Pawar, 2013). This could have been a unique narrative that resonated with this specific location to reinforce the links between Māori as the indigenous people of New Zealand and the historical links and indigenous status shared by Māori and Australia's indigenous people. As it stands, this direct connection between Māori in Australia and the dominant theme of Māori mythology references and art in the consulate are left to individual visitors to interpret or to perhaps make a personal connection with how New Zealand is represented in this location.

Chapter 9: Further examples from posts

Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates (UAE)

The reception area of the New Zealand Embassy in Abu Dhabi, UAE is striking with the prominent placement of the carving 'The Marakihau' (1997) by Māori master carver Kemera Wilson¹⁵¹ and the use of a distinctive patterned illuminated ceiling panel (Figure 160). The carving is described as "a sea monster in Māori mythology. Her in Abu Dhabi, he acts as a kaitiaki (guardian) of the New Zealand embassy" (MFAT, 2017d, p. 6). This guardian reference is seen across several New Zealand's diplomatic missions, including in Noumea (MFAT, 2017b). Paama-Pengelly (2010) describes Marakihau as having:

...dorsal fins, horn-like protrusions and seahorse tail, is considered to be a taniwha or sea creature residing in water. The Marakihau is presented with frontal face but profile body in a merman style with a tubular tongue, or ngongo, that was said to be able to suck up fish – or whole canoe (p. 134).

Figure 160: Photo of 'The Marakihau', by Kemera Wilson and illuminated ceiling panel in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates reception (Jasmax architects), (MFAT, 2017d).

¹⁵¹ Iwi affiliation: Ngāti Kahungunu, Ngāti Tuwharetoa and Ngāti Mahanga.

The New Zealand embassy in Abu Dhabi was opened in 2017, and features “contemporary New Zealand art and design, with a bow to Emirati culture and the UAE environment, is a fitting reflection of our relationship as it grows from strength to strength” (MFAT, 2017d, p. 2). Above ‘The Marakihau’ the illuminated feature ceiling panel aims to link the cultures of New Zealand and UAE, with the design inspired by Māori tukutuku panels and the geometric patterns of Emirati Mashrabiya (see Figure 161) patterns (MFAT, 2017d). These patterns are also used in a panel on the meeting room wall (Figure 167).

Figure 161: Image of Mashrabiya screen used as part of the architectural design of house in Saudi Arabia by Dom Arquitectura (Laylin, 2014).

The design goal for the Embassy is the same as that for the Consulate in Sydney – to “evoke a strong New Zealand identity through materials, pattern, colour, and unique art and design features” (MFAT, 2017d, p. 4). New Zealand furniture¹⁵² and lighting design¹⁵³ have been chosen to meet the same goal as in Sydney, to “showcase the innovation and excellence of our craftspeople” (MFAT, 2017d, p. 4). For this design, the colour palette chosen aims to “reflect the landscapes of both countries, with lush green evoking the New Zealand forest and Arabian desert oases. Saturated colours provide accents, and cherry timber surfaces add warmth and texture” (MFAT, 2017d, p. 4).

Work by Māori artists includes six gouache and pencil works by Jon Tootill¹⁵⁴ (‘Pioriori (preparatory sketches) 2014’) inspired by native birds and exploring “themes of identity, culture and belonging” (MFAT, 2017d, p. 14) is displayed in a meeting room together with a

¹⁵² For example, Agility folding table by Aspect furniture with cheery veneer top in conference room (Figure 167).

¹⁵³ For example, the ‘Manuka’ pendant by New Zealand designer David Trubridge (Figure 178).

¹⁵⁴ Iwi affiliation: Ngāi Tahu.

framed and encased harakeke, “Kahu tieke (saddleback¹⁵⁵ cape)’ by Māori weaver and artist Maureen Lander¹⁵⁶ (Figure 162).

Figure 162: ‘Kahu tieke (saddleback cape)’ by Maureen Lander, (MFAT, 2017d).

These works are joined by Māori themed works by New Zealand (Pākehā) artist Sue Tucker, whose two woven kete are framed and encased (Figure 165 is of ‘Kete patangaroa’¹⁵⁷ 2015). As background to these kete, the Ministry highlights “the importance of flax weaving in Māori society is illustrated by the proverb, “Atia te wahine i roto i te pā harakeke” (Marry the woman found in the flax plantation” (MFAT, 2017d, p. 18).

In addition, artworks demonstrating the colour palette and landscape themes described above are present, including David Murray’s cast glass form ‘Territory’, (2009) (Figure 166). Described in the Ministry’s art and design booklet, “the craggy forms of David Murray’s ‘Territory’ evoke the rugged mountain ranges of New Zealand” (MFAT, 2017d, p. 16), together with Neil Frazer’s work ‘Ice shelf’, (2007) (Figure 163) “brings a contemporary take to the tradition of landscape painting in New Zealand, playing on the tension between representation and abstraction, reality and illusion” (MFAT, 2017d, p. 12).

¹⁵⁵ The tieke is the native New Zealand saddleback bird, which is glossy black with a chestnut saddle (MFAT, 2017d).

¹⁵⁶ Iwi affiliation: Ngāpuhi.

¹⁵⁷ Featuring the patangaroa (starfish) pattern (MFAT, 2017d).

Figure 163: 'Ice Shelf' 2007 by Neil Frazer (MFAT, 2017d).

Abu Dhabi presents a heavily stylised design, especially in the reception area with the choice of a large and imposing carving, 'The Marakihau' as the core taonga in this area, which is the first image of New Zealand visitors see. This carving of Marakihau, was created in 1977, some 40 years prior to the Embassy in Abu Dhabi opening. It was not commissioned for the Embassy specifically, given this lapse of time, but chosen by Ministry staff specifically for display in this Embassy space.

The choice to incorporate the tukutuku designs together with those of the Emirati Mashrabiya in the illuminated feature panel is a striking and unusual piece. Whilst the goal is to "mark another milestone in the relationship between the United Arab Emirates and New Zealand" (MFAT, 2017d, p. 2) the design goes beyond that in my view to champion the patterns and concepts of tukutuku in a modern form. The decision to link these reference points with the geometric patterns of the Mashrabiya is a bold link to make as this seeks to highlight an Emirati art form not usually illustrated in this way, with those found within

tukutuku design from a different culture on the other side of the world. To present elements of these two art forms in this way implies that there was some permission space to use both art forms in this way, and that the use of Mashrabiya references in this way would be welcomed in UAE.

Beyond the reception, within the wider Embassy design there has been selective use of Māori artworks as part of a broader design narrative that seeks to link the shared landscapes of New Zealand and UAE to create a connection in this diplomatic space. Artworks including Maureen Lander's 'Kahu tieke' (saddleback cape) (Figure 162), Jon Tootill's 'Pioriori (preparatory sketches)' (Figure 164) and kete by Sue Tucker (Figure 165) sit within a colour palette that aims to "reflect the landscapes of New Zealand and UAE" (MFAT, 2017d, p. 4). The colours of green, blue, red and white are dominant as are light wood tones from the use of cherry timber.

Figure 164: One of the 'Pioriori (preparatory sketches)' by Jon Tootill (MFAT, 2017d).

Figure 165: “Kete” by Sue Tucker – Patangaroa (starfish) pattern (MFAT, 2017d).

The remainder of the artworks feature images of New Zealand landscape to depict New Zealand’s natural world. Works include Ann Shelton’s ‘Wintering, after a van der Velden study, Otira Gorge’ (2008) (Figure 169), which shows “a celebrated New Zealand landscape – the rushing torrents and forested mountain slopes of the Otira Gorge, deep in the heart of the Southern Alps” (MFAT, 2017d, p. 8); Neil Frazer’s ‘Ice shelf’ (2007) (Figure 163), a painting of an isolated mountain landscape; and David Murray’s cast glass form ‘Territory’ (2009) (Figure 166) of a mountain range. These three works all feature unpopulated natural spaces or forms as part of promoting an image of New Zealand’s unspoiled beauty.

Figure 166: Photo of ‘Territory’ by David Murray (MFAT, 2017d).

Figure 167: Photo of Conference Room, New Zealand Embassy Abu Dhabi, illustrating Agility folding table by Aspect Furniture with cherry veneer top, together with 'Ice Shelf' by Neil Frazer and further use of the tukutuku/Mashrabiya-inspired panel (MFAT, 2017d).

Figure 168: Photo of Visitors' Room, New Zealand Embassy Abu Dhabi illustrating further use of the colour palette, including feature lighting 'Manuka' pendant by New Zealand designer David Trubridge, and outline chairs by Simon James Design upholstered in New Zealand wool fabric (MFAT, 2017d).

The Ministry's commentary on the use of 'The Marakihau' interests me, with its description that:

...the art of toi whakairo (wood carving) plays a vital role in Māori society. Once a piece of timber is transformed into a carving, it takes on the properties of the figure it represents – a god, an ancestor or mythological creature" (MFAT, 2017d, p. 6).

Within the UAE design, 'The Marakihau' is the only visual reference to a person as such through the portrayal within this carving of the Marakihau sea monster. None of the artworks feature images of New Zealanders or other people in a direct sense. This may reflect a decision to respect:

...a conspicuous feature of art in the Islamic world is the limited use of naturalistic images of living beings. This is because Islam, like Judaism and in certain periods Christianity, practices a kind of prohibition against the making of images – though a prohibition that has always been interpreted in very different ways (The David Collection Museum, 2020).

It may also just reflect a need to place 'The Marakihau' in an Embassy environment and wider art and design choices for Abu Dhabi. The choice to display 'The Marakihau', the tukutuku panel references in the illuminated ceiling and wall panels and with art works championing further Māori art forms of the korowai, kete and those referencing Māori concepts around waiata and native birds (Figure 164 have the combined impact of symbolising the importance placed on Māori art and taonga as the key reference points for showcasing New Zealand in this Embassy context.

I also consider that the narrative around shared landscapes between New Zealand and UAE has been chosen to try and create a link for the Embassy in a UAE context where New Zealand is at the early stages of forging a relationship with the UAE. The opening of the Embassy is part of New Zealand symbolically growing this relationship (by showing a commitment to UAE through creating a physical space and sending New Zealand-based staff to Abu Dhabi to work in the Embassy). The geographical and political landscape in UAE is vastly different for New Zealand from the more usual narrative of shared links with the Pacific region, peoples and ocean as seen in the design narrative in the Cook Islands and Noumea.

Figure 169: 'Wintering, after a van der Velden study, Otira Gorge' by Ann Shelton, 2008 (MFAT, 2017d).

Specific use of taonga: Los Angeles, USA

The official residence of the Consul General in Los Angeles, United States of America has a distinctive carved door handle on the front door. It is described as “acting as kaitiaki (guardians), protecting New Zealand’s wairua (spiritual presence) and watching over all who come and go from the Residence” (MFAT, 2018f, p. 2). The carvings are also referred to as “providing a link back to Te Whare Aorere, the carved meeting house at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Wellington, New Zealand” (MFAT, 2018f, p. 2). The use of this carving in such a dominant position on the entrance is striking, with its dominant Māori imagery, which, due to its placement, will be seen by all visitors to the residence.

It is however concerning to me that this carving (Figure 170), which I understand was commissioned specifically for this residence, has been used in this way and affixed to the door to be used as a handle. To me this goes against the cultural view of Māori that toi Whakairo or carvings represent the tūpuna (ancestral) figure they seek to represent once they are created, for example, through embodiment in a carved tokotoko or talking/walking stick. Huia Publishers (2015) define tokotoko as a “stick used by an orator” (p. 52) and

describe how in pre-European times rakau whakapapa were used “a staff with raised parts that helped a speaker remember and recite genealogy” (Huia Publishers, 2015, p. 38).

Figure 170: Photo of ‘Carved door handles’ by Haami Te Aho, Los Angeles residence of New Zealand Consul General (MFAT, 2018f).

By nailing or affixing this carving to the residence door in Los Angeles this also contrasts with the Ministry’s own narrative around the use of toi whakairo used in other Embassy contexts,

such as the Abu Dhabi design, where the Ministry noted the importance of carving and that “once a piece of timber has been transformed into a carving, it takes on the properties of the it represents” (MFAT, 2017d, p.6). Following this belief or narrative through, by nailing this carving to the residence door in this way, the Ministry has nailed the tūpuna figure or mythological creature the tokotoko represents to the door. Ellis (2016) in her analysis of taonga *tuku iho*¹⁵⁸ depicts taonga as “often considered as living beings, part of the whakapapa and history of the land and the communities with which they are associated” (p. 443). Tapsell goes on to reflect that “in time, such taonga do not just represent ancestors, they *become* those ancestors” (Tapsell as cited in Ellis, 2016). This practice can also be viewed through a Māori cultural lens of tapu and the resulting offence to Māori when such tapu related to a tupuna such as the tokotoko is breached. Mead (2016) illustrates the Māori concept of tapu in relation to ‘things’, which would include tokotoko within this cultural framing. As such carved tokotoko are tapu, there are consequent “restrictions on human behaviour and interactions, with things, their human creators and place” (p. 75). The tapu of material culture accessories again is recognition of their social value (Firth as cited in Mead, 2016).

As a result, this act of nailing the tokotoko as a manifestation of a tupuna is culturally disturbing. When contrasted with the positive focus placed on using whakairo in other contexts (including, as described above, in relation to Abu Dhabi, Canberra and Sydney, which all feature carvings in prominent positions within their reception/public areas) is out of step with other use of carving by the Ministry.

Korea

This choice to affix tokotoko to residence doors as handles has also been used in Seoul (Figure 171). The works of art displayed at the New Zealand Embassy in Seoul (together with the residence) follow a similar pattern to other posts in relation to the use of taonga. Within the Ambassador’s residence, for example, there is a carved mere (Figure 172), a pounamu breastplate (Figure 173), by the same artist Chris Charteris as in Noumea, Figure 119), a papahou (feather box) (Figure 174), framed kete (Figure 175), and prints by Māori artists

¹⁵⁸ Defined by Ellis (2016) as ancestral treasures passed down from the ancestors through the generations (p. 443).

Ralph Hotere (Figure 176) and prints by Cliff Whiting (Figure 177) similar to those displayed in Canberra (Figures 139-140).

Figure 171: Photo of carved door handle, Seoul official residence of New Zealand Ambassador, Korea (MFAT, 2018m).

Figure 172: Photo of Mere, unknown artist, on Figure 173: Photo of 'Kouma Pounamu' breastplate by display in residence hallway, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m). Chris Charteris displayed in residence dining annex, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).

Figure 174: Photo of Papahou (feather box), unknown artist, displayed in residence hallway, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).

Figure 175: Kete (muriwai pattern) by Nigel How, displayed in residence formal entertaining area, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).

Figure 176 (left): Photo of 'Acre of Wounds, Black Rainbow' by Ralph Hotere, displayed in residence, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).

Figure 177 (right): Photo of 'Hatupatu and the birdwoman Kurangaituku' by Cliff Whiting, displayed in the residence, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).

Narrative of New Zealand

The story and expression of New Zealand's bicultural history and society is partnered in some locations with some more minor references to New Zealand's location in the Pacific. This is usually symbolised through the display of works of art by Pacific artists in Canberra, for example, the reception area has one print by Samoan artist Feu'u (Figure 135). This expression of New Zealand's place in the Pacific region and, in some instances, the cultural and genealogical links between Māori and some Pacific countries, is highlighted. This is especially the case in the Cook Islands, where specific references are made to these connections, both in the art chosen and the accompanying narrative used in Ministry publications, as discussed in Chapter 6.

In other locations far from New Zealand and the wider Pacific neighbourhood, the narrative or story chosen by the Ministry to connect a country with New Zealand differs. The case studies illustrated in this chapter demonstrate that each story chosen is location specific. In Abu Dhabi, for example, references are made to the shared landscape of New Zealand and United Arab Emirates. This connection is built upon with the colour choices of furniture, carpets and timber (Figures 167 - 168) to express "lush green evoking the New Zealand forest and Arabian Desert oases" (MFAT, 2017d, p. 4). This landscape connection plays a more

subdued role in comparison with the overarching expression of New Zealand's Māori heritage through the dominant placement of the carving 'The Marakihau' and the tukutuku-inspired illuminated ceiling panel (Figure 160).

Use of a bicultural narrative

The expression of this bicultural identity is expressed through the touchstone of New Zealand's bicultural origins. It is also supported by a Ministry policy framework, largely the work of art guidelines. These guidelines are interpreted and given expression through the decisions and actions of a small number of Ministry staff. Aspects of Māori culture, together with visual art forms by Māori artists, are specifically and routinely utilised to promote this identity globally. To reinforce the descriptive story told by the Ministry for each post location, different choices are made that select one or many Māori cultural objects, points of reference, and art or design features. Examples of taonga (or cultural objects with sacred meaning) that feature in these case studies or at other posts or in Wellington I have seen, include carvings by Māori artists (pou, mantels or tokotoko, together with waka huia and taiaha), mythological references, and sacred and spiritual objects such as pounamu (including Mauri stones and pounamu mere (Figure 178), jewellery, tiki or breastplates), together with forms of fibre art such as tukutuku, korowai, piupiu and kete.

In relation to the locations examined in this chapter, Table 6 details the Māori taonga used in each location, and key aspects of the post's architectural design (if relevant) and the use of artwork.

Figure 178: Photo of pounamu mere, unknown artist, on display in hallway of the New Zealand Embassy Tokyo (MFAT, 2019k).

Location	Taonga used (carving)	Taonga used (other form)	Architectural design	Art	Colour	Myth references
Abu Dhabi	‘Te Marakihau’ carving Reception Tokotoko residence	‘Kahu tieke’ cape Two kete Tiki in residence	Tukutuku and Mashrabiya references in illuminated ceiling panel	Works by Māori artists	Lush green (New Zealand forest) and Arabian desert oases. Colour accents and cherry timber for warmth	
Canberra	Two Poupou, foyer ‘Te Aka Aorere’, above stairwell to reception	Korowai in meeting room	Tukutuku references in wood panelling, carpet and glass of meeting rooms	Works by Māori artists	Muted palette of Brown and green New Zealand timber (Tawa)	
Los Angeles	‘Tokotoko’ as door handle, residence Poupou	Two kete, residence Wakahuia		Works by Māori artists		
Noumea	‘Te Aka Aorere’ carving reception	Pounamu breastplate Framed Korowai, residence Framed piupiu, residence Tukutuku panels Kete	Wave design in illuminated ceiling	Works by Māori artists	Blue, brown, red, range New Zealand timber (rewarewa)	

Location	Taonga used (carving)	Taonga used (other form)	Architectural design	Art	Colour	Myth references
Rarotonga	Untitled Carving in reception ‘Matariki Project’ Carvings ‘Tangaroa i te Titi’ and ‘Tangaroa i te Tata’ in official residence ‘Poupou’ in official residence	Framed kete in official residence ‘Whakamahara Matanga I and II’ ceramics Tukutuku panels in meeting room and official residence ‘Tiki’ ‘Wakahuia’ in Head of Mission office		Works by Māori artists including ‘Ra’		
Seoul	‘Tokotoko’ as door handle, residence	Mere, Papahou, Pounamu breastplate, Two kete Tiki Taiaha		Works by Māori artists		
Sydney	‘Pou pou’ carving, reception ‘Wakahuia’ In residence	Pounamu used to represent Māui fishing hook Kete ‘Pinky Winky Tiki’	Illuminated light in ceiling and pounamu coloured line within floor tiles	Works by Māori artists	Red, white black theme in art and furniture	Oral narrative of Māui provides the narrative driving design

Location	Taonga used (carving)	Taonga used (other form)	Architectural design	Art	Colour	Myth references
Washington	'Tarawhai' waharoa in entrance 'Tu Tangata canoe prow'	Korowai 'Canoe' ceramic 'Ipu XIV, XIII, XV' ceramics 'Takitoru' tukutuku panels Tiki image 'Kete muka (dressed with feathers) 'Ketepoutama'		Works by Māori artists Including 'Sista I', 'Sista II' and 'Sista III' 'Pass me my stick'		

Table 6: Table of taonga used in case studies and design and art references.

Figure 179: Photo of wakahuia feather box, unknown

Figure 180: Photo of wakahuia by Rangī Hetet, New artist, New Zealand residence, Tokyo, (MFAT, 2019k). Zealand residence Sydney (MFAT, 2018s).

This policy objective of expressing a bicultural identity as part of expressing New Zealand in the diplomatic space is also reinforced or accompanied in some locations by the use of chosen Māori cultural practices, principally karanga, pōwhiri, haka, whakatau, waiata and karakia. These practices are used on some occasions to welcome new staff and visitors; open meetings, conferences, new embassies or posts; bless food before partaking in a meal; or support speakers through song. Whether these practices will take place is largely dependent on whether there are suitably skilled Māori staff willing and available to lead these practices and if a decision has been taken to incorporate such practices as part of the occasion.

Figure 181: ‘Sista I’, ‘Sista II’ and ‘Sista III’ by Lonnie Hutchinson¹⁵⁹, New Zealand Chancery, Washington (MFAT, 2016b).

Commonalities or patterns emerge when reviewing a number of New Zealand’s posts as to how the Ministry is giving expression to New Zealand’s bicultural identity. As shown in Table 3, a similarity exists in how the visual composition of each post is constructed. Each includes a combination of artworks (predominantly featuring Māori artists or themes – for example Figure 181), usually a carving (Figure 182 provides an example from Port Moresby), another taonga (usually a framed korowai, framed kete or tukutuku references of some sort) and other art forms (for example glass or ceramic sculpture). These components, together with the traditional symbols of national identity of the New Zealand flag and coat of arms, sit alongside the New Zealand branding used in each post. Such branding (as shown in Figure 143 in Sydney) details the name of the post and features the New Zealand Government fern

¹⁵⁹ Iwi affiliation is Ngāi Tahu, Ngāi Waea, Ngāti Muruka, Ngāti Hamo.

logo. As this pattern is used across the post network in various combinations, all the posts have similar identifiers that identify them as of and representing New Zealand. In countries where there are many diplomatic missions (in key capitals, for example, such as London, Brussels and Washington), this helps to easily identify New Zealand and make it stand out (as far possible given New Zealand's small size) to visitors.

Figure 182: Photo of two carved panels by Tuti Tukaokao, on display at Port Moresby post entrance (MFAT, 2018l)

Use of whare and waharoa

A small number of New Zealand embassies (together with the Ministry's headquarters in Wellington, New Zealand) can also be identified through their use of whare whakairo (carved meeting houses), variations of such whare or through the use of prominent carvings displayed outside the embassy. The New Zealand embassy in Washington is a good example of the latter, with its prominent display of the waharoa 'Tarawhai' (Figures 183 – 184). This historic piece is named after an ancestor of the artists who carved it¹⁶⁰ and was carved in the early 20th century and was dedicated at a dawn ceremony marking the 50th anniversary of the New Zealand embassy in Washington in January 1992 (MFAT, 2016b).

¹⁶⁰ Master carvers Tene Waitere, Ana Te Rahui and Eramiha Kapua, of the Ngāti Tarāwhai tribe in Rotorua, who carved this waharoa in the 1920s (Templeton, 1993).

Figure 183: Photo of 'Tarawhai' by Tene Waitere, Ana Te Rahui and Eramiha Kapua, outside New Zealand Embassy in Washington, (MFAT, 2016b).

Figure 184: Photo of the waharoa 'Tarawhai', shown in location outside the front entrance of the New Zealand Embassy in Washington, (Schiller-Wine, 2015).

The embassy in Washington also features a carving of a canoe prow (Figure 185) commissioned by the New Zealand Department of Māori Affairs for the Washington post in 1979 (MFAT, 2016b). At the time of writing (2020) some 78 years have passed since the post in Washington was opened, showing a lengthy intention to display a specific Māori taonga as part of New Zealand's diplomatic representation in the USA.

Figure 185: Photo of 'Tu Tangata – canoe prow' by Rangi Hetet, 1979. New Zealand Embassy Washington (MFAT, 2016b).

The Ministry's head office in Wellington New Zealand incorporates a wharenuī concept in the reception area with the presence of the carved meeting room 'Aorere'. This is translated as 'Ao' meaning the world, and 'rere,' to fly, embodying the notion of travelling the world to represent the New Zealand Government (MFAT, 1999). Aorere has a collection of historical carvings and tukutuku panels displayed on two of the walls. There is some seating under these carvings, together with a large glass wall. Whare Aorere is used for pōwhiri, whakatau and for meetings with staff or visitors. Described as "the central enduring statement of biculturalism in the Ministry" (Templeton, 1993, p. 212) the wharewhakairo or carved room was created in the early 1980's by a number of Māori and wider staff.

Te Whare o Ngāti Aorere was blessed during a ceremony on 9 November 1982 in a "ceremony which broke new ground" (Templeton, 1993, p. 212). When the Ministry moved office buildings in 2002, the whare contents were transported to the new building and current location in a 25-storey office block on Lambton Quay, Wellington, New Zealand. Aspects of the carvings, for example that of the ancestor figure Aorere (Figure 186), are at times incorporated into Ministry publications. The Māori Engagement Strategy for example

features this carving as part of illustrating some of the concepts explored in this context. The prominent location of whare Aorere together with its routine use for pōwhiri or welcoming of key visitors, symbolises the importance the Ministry places on having this feature of Māori culture included as part of the Ministry's business.

Figure 186: Photo of Aorere pou (shown on the shoulders of Paikea), a central pou in Aorere (MFAT, 1999).

Other whare concepts are used by the Ministry in other locations, including in Japan (Tokyo – Figure 188), China (Beijing – Figure 189) and Papua New Guinea (Port Moresby – Figure 187). The marae established at the High Commission in Port Moresby is a place “where the expatriate Māori community who style themselves ‘Te Reo o Amokura’¹⁶¹ meet and where they support the High Commissioner and staff in holding pōwhiri and receptions, giving the life of the office a distinctive New Zealand character” (Templeton, 1993, p. 215). Te Amokura was opened in March 1992, to be:

...the place through which we can all maintain our links with our Tupuna and our heritage. For us, it stands as a symbol of Māori identity and culture in this land we have chosen as a home, far from New Zealand (Te Reo O Amokura, 1992, p. 1).

¹⁶¹ Te Amokura was named “from the mythical bird spoken of by our ancestors and noted by them for its brilliant red plumed tail feathers”, (Te Reo o Amokura, 1992, p. 1).

Figure 187: Photo of Te Amokura by Laurie Nicholas and carving team¹⁶², New Zealand High Commission Port Moresby (MFAT, 2018I).

Originally the idea of creating Te Amokura came from Te Reo O Amokura who wanted a focal point for Māori cultural activity in Port Moresby. This idea came to fruition in 1990 as part of the 150th Anniversary Celebrations for the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, when then High Commissioner John Hayes, offered to provide a site for a Marae on the grounds of the New Zealand High Commission (Te Reo O Amokura, 1992). At the time of writing (2020) some 28 years have passed since Te Amokura opened, showing another lengthy intention by the Ministry to display and utilise a specific Māori taonga as part of New Zealand’s diplomatic representation in Papua New Guinea. Interestingly, this association sprang from a decision by a Ministry official at a time in 1990 where the Treaty of Waitangi was being commemorated.

The Tomokanga in Tokyo was installed in November 2002 to mark 50 years of diplomatic representation by New Zealand in Japan. Media reports at the time noted the similarity between the Tomokanga as a “traditional gateway to a Māori marae or meeting area and to a torii at a Shinto shrine. The New Zealand Ambassador at the time, Phillip Gibson stated that “our embassy here in Japan is the New Zealand marae in Japan” (as cited in Ryall, 2002).

¹⁶² Media reports at the time of the opening describe Laurie Nicholas as the leader of a carving team which included; Blaine Te Rito, Lou Campbell, Tui Waretini and Chic Waretini (O’Connor, 1992).

Figure 188: Photo of Tomokanga (gateway) by Mihiroa marae, entrance of New Zealand Embassy Tokyo entrance, (MFAT, 2019k).

The New Zealand Embassy in Beijing has within its walls the whare ‘He Pakiaka’ (Figure 186), translated “as the seed of a plant – a reminder that nurturing a relationship relies upon frequent, high quality contact” (Wikaira, cited in MFAT, 2020). Described as at the heart of the Embassy and a special welcoming place for visitors, the stories embedded in the whakairo and tukutuku are a rich representation of New Zealand’s Māori people, culture and traditions – which resonate very much in China as reflecting New Zealand’s unique identity (MFAT, 2020). During the opening ceremony of the new embassy buildings (Figure 190), New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern described New Zealand’s new NZD\$50 million embassy in Beijing, as “one of our most significant diplomatic spaces” (as cited in Kirk, 2019).

Recent additions to the New Zealand built landscape in a diplomatic context have used an innovative process to give effect to these policy goals. The public narrative for each post is tailored to its wider geographical neighbourhood as part of making connections with the host government and people.

Innovative architectural design features and art choices illustrated through case studies of the designs in Noumea, Sydney and Abu Dhabi indicate that cultural stories or points of connection are also being used or interpreted in new ways to achieve these policy goals. These have been chosen by a small number of specific actors in the innovation process. This is significant when considering the status of these actors and whether they provide authentic representation to be a voice of authority for such significant decisions involving Māori culture.

Figure 189: Photo of interior of 'He Pakiaka' whare in the New Zealand Embassy, Beijing, illustrating the use of whakairo and tukutuku (MFAT, 2020).

Figure 190: Photo of opening ceremony of the New Zealand Embassy Beijing with Ambassador Clare Fearnley (left) and Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern (right). This photo also illustrates the use of the silver fern in the New Zealand Embassy signage and the tukutuku inspired window panels in the Embassy building at the rear of the photo (Kirk, 2019).

Decisions on use of cultural points of reference are also being taken by individual experts in the sphere of their own field of expertise (for example architectural interpretation of the Māori oral narrative relating to Māui in Sydney and the amalgamation of the Emirati Mashrabiya and Māori tukutuku in Abu Dhabi). Innovative processes that involve cultural knowledge, often of a deep cultural meaning to the people or culture to which they belong, implicitly raise a myriad of wider issues. Do the people making such decisions for example, have appropriate cultural permission space? Are taonga and art chosen and displayed in a suitable manner? and has appropriate spiritual care and responsibility for the use of taonga been incorporated in designs (for example of the pounamu used in Sydney). Caution and care need to be exercised as part of any such process. The current innovation process being followed carries inherent risks including attracting criticism for the selective use of aspects of New Zealand's bicultural identity in a manner that is not an authentic reflection of the Crown's relationship with Māori or the particular realities of Māori within the Ministry and wider New Zealand public service (Ngawati, 2019).

Conclusion

This chapter illustrates, through the use of case studies of New Zealand's diplomatic presence in Los Angeles, Seoul and United Arab Emirates, how the Ministry expresses aspects of New Zealand's national identity through the use of design and art. These expressions of identity sit alongside the standard use of the New Zealand flag and coat of arms as more traditional national symbols. The display of the New Zealand flag and coat of arms is used as part of all New Zealand diplomatic posts (and a large proportion of New Zealand government buildings generally). For posts with the physical space available to have an external flagpole, the flag is flown outside the New Zealand embassy or high commission. For those posts without such available space, the flag is displayed in a prominent space in the interior of the post on a stand.

A consistent theme that runs through all these case studies and my wider observations of Ministry practice is that New Zealand's national identity is heavily influenced and symbolised by a bicultural narrative. This bicultural narrative centres on New Zealand's indigenous Māori population and heritage as part of telling the story of New Zealand's identity and the choices that are made to give a visual expression of that story.

Chapter 10: Interview findings

A number of key findings emerged from each category or theme after I analysed the interview data. In this chapter I describe these findings by presenting them grouped in relevant themes. Where pertinent, findings will be further illustrated by using verbatim quotes from participants to illustrate these findings.

Expression of New Zealand's bicultural identity by Ministry

The interviews demonstrated that, while the value and necessity of the Ministry expressing New Zealand's bicultural heritage and origins is acknowledged, there are concerns with how the Ministry is demonstrating this identity. Participants were clear on why the Ministry should have a role in giving visual expression to New Zealand's bicultural identity. References were made to the Ministry's role as representing New Zealand overseas through the network of posts and the place of Māori as New Zealand's indigenous people, together with the place of the Treaty of Waitangi.

"We as New Zealand diplomats have to know ourselves, that the two major nations in New Zealand, the two major peoples, cultures and strands are Māori and Pākehā"
(P-1)

Concerns were raised that the Ministry's expression of identity can be tokenistic and ill considered.

"There's a real tension between tokenism and real commitment to tikanga Māori...I don't mind biculturalism not being celebrated as long as it's honest. It's the lack of honesty that bothers me" (P-3).

"The Ministry's attempts at biculturalism are pretty lightweight really" (P-8).

General impressions of the Ministry

The findings characterised Ministry efforts to recruit Māori as needing to change with improvements needed on recruitment practice, retention, development and progression of Māori staff. Outside the Ministry, participants noted the perception of the Ministry by many Māori is that it is not an option to work in the Ministry, with some Māori regarding the Ministry as an organisation that is 'Pākehā and elitist'. The demographic of the staff was

perceived as not representing the communities of New Zealand, especially Māori and people from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds (with most staff being perceived as being from wealthy backgrounds, from urban, city environments and a number from families with previous New Zealand diplomats). On joining the Ministry, some Māori staff described feeling culturally unsafe because of the Ministry's practices around pōwhiri, the low numbers of Māori staff and low levels of knowledge of Māori ways of working.

"if the Ministry fixes the class issue, they will fix the diversity issue. There are too many wealthy kids from cities" (P-3).

Participants who had worked in the Ministry for longer periods of time noted their concern at the lack of progress by the Ministry on issues relating to Māori over decades and the cyclic nature of efforts to engage on issues of concern to Māori staff. Issues mentioned included low numbers of Māori staff, inconsistent recruitment practices, the challenges of retaining Māori staff, lack of progression of Māori staff and low levels of engagement with Māori on policy issues. The slow rate of progression of Māori staff through the Ministry's ranks or job families was referred to by many participants as a problem. Māori staff who have left the Ministry were seen to have progressed much faster and into higher roles elsewhere on their exit.

"I've not seen a sign of concentrated effort from the Ministry to take this up and take things forward as we would have liked" (P-1).

"I think it's pretty depressing that we haven't progressed more in the last 20 years" (P-1).

The numbers of Māori staff in Te Pou Māori were described as always low, with participants describing how over the years the Ministry has lost many Māori staff (especially after periods of restructuring). This failure to retain staff was regarded as an indication by some that:

"The way the Ministry wants (Māori staff) to think is alien to Māori. We have talked about the same recruitment and retention issues for over 20 years" (P-1).

“The Ministry’s approach is to let Te Pou Māori tell us about the issues, because we don’t really need to make it a priority given there are some Māori in the building so we can tick that box” (P-11).

The interviews demonstrated the poor relationship between the Ministry and Māori (both Māori staff and Māori external to the Ministry). A disconnect was described between the value the Ministry places on relationships with Māori outside the Ministry especially at post and within the Ministry with Māori staff. This disconnect was also expressed as a tension between a dominant Pākehā world view and a Māori world view.

“In New Zealand there is a disconnect with how this is done with Māori staff. This is a contradiction not just about how Māori staff are treated but with the incorporation of a Māori world view” (P-7).

Value of Te Pou Māori and Whare Aorere

Participants described how the Whare Aorere and Te Pou Māori are important connectors when Māori staff are on posting making it easier to go away and then come back to the core group within Te Pou Māori. Members of Te Pou Māori are seen as change makers and change drivers within the Ministry. Conversely the potential for Māori staff to be negatively stigmatised for being active in Te Pou Māori was noted.

“The Ministry has in the past shown itself to not be responsive to Māori staff wanting to change things” (P-1).

Further findings indicated that Te Pou Māori plays an important role in connecting new Māori staff with current Māori staff and for members to provide support to each other. Some participants recounted the vital role Te Pou Māori has played for them at the Ministry.

“When I went to the first Te Pou Māori hui, I realised that I wasn’t alone” (P-3).

The findings indicated the high value of Māori staff to the Ministry with Māori staff seen as the Ministry’s greatest asset. This was balanced against the insight that the significant value of Māori staff (which is often seen when Māori staff are involved in external engagement with Māori) may not always be felt by Māori staff.

“You and I both know and have experienced the feeling of being used” (for example to organise a pōwhiri at the last minute (R-4), or being rung at 4pm and saying ‘can you give us an opinion for this particular policy? We need a Māori view. We need to tick a box’ (P-1).

Findings also related to some Māori staff feeling a lack of appreciation and taken advantage of when they are frequently asked to provide Te Reo Māori or cultural advice, with these skills and requests not being recognised in the Ministry’s formal performance appraisal system.

“The level of requests can be burdensome. What can the Ministry do to lift that burden from us?” (P-2).

The demographic

The interviews demonstrated high levels of concern at the low numbers of Māori staff especially in management levels (Tier 4 and above).

“It’s true there aren’t many Māori staff and those that are here don’t get very far. There is a brown ceiling. I’m junior and I can see that is part of my reality” (P-7).

Participants described the personal impact and frustration of the impact these low numbers had and the potential impact on the Ministry’s wider demographic. Some predicted that soon the numbers of staff identified as ‘Asian’ would outstrip the numbers of Māori staff. In turn, this was seen as potentially creating an interesting dynamic considering New Zealand’s international image, with these non-Māori officers needing to also be comfortable with Māori culture so they can represent Māori. Other findings related to the views of longer serving Ministry staff who had not experienced or observed any significant change in the numbers of Māori foreign policy staff in over 20 years of service.

“The numbers of Māori in the foreign policy stream are shamefully probably about the same twenty years ago as they are now”¹⁶³ (P-1).

¹⁶³ Referring to the time of interview in 2018.

Concern was also expressed over a further future scenario where if significant and meaningful action is not taken to improve the numbers of Māori staff in senior roles this could potentially lead to a situation of no Māori Heads of Mission.

“This would be an indictment on the public service, it would be appalling if there were no Māori left or no Māori HOMs. This would mean we were not representative of New Zealand. The Ministry needs to keep up with a changing New Zealand” (P-1).

“It would be a tragedy...so, if we didn’t have any senior Māori policy officers or Ambassadors in the future.... that’s not going to be representative of New Zealand. New Zealand is changing dynamically and the Ministry’s got to keep up with that change” (P-8).

Some participants were concerned at the uneven spread of Māori staff across the Ministry, in particular in the development focused divisions.

“Where if you are white you will be all right. A lot of the work was starting to look like colonisation which is quite a big criticism to have but it was one I feel passionate about because they’d come back (from travel) and be talking about other cultures in ways that I didn’t really appreciate” (P-10).

Building cultural capability within the Ministry

The interviews demonstrated that the Ministry is largely focused on developing the cultural capacity of non-Māori staff through its cultural passport programme. This has now been supplemented by the Mātauranga Māori programme and the Māori Engagement Strategy has some recommended actions under this theme. The findings illustrate that the Ministry’s main goal in this development of capacity is to enable non-Māori staff to be able to organise a pōwhiri, mihi whakatau, to kōrero Māori when needed or for ceremonial purposes at post and to assist with engaging with Māori.

Specific findings emerged on the need for Heads of Mission to receive compulsory training on Te Reo Māori and tikanga Māori before they depart for posting. Heads of Mission levels of competence and commitment was perceived as low with more effort being applied to learning the language of the country were Heads of Mission were posted and any effort to carry out a mihi properly seen as ad hoc and voluntary.

“There is not enough preparation of HOM’s before they depart New Zealand, HOM’s must have knowledge of Te Reo Māori, connections with the Pacific, know about Treaty of Waitangi settlements and whenua. The words are there, but the resources have not been put in” (P-1).

Patterns of representation at post

Some Māori participants described their service overseas on posting as based on the Treaty of Waitangi, with the iconography the Ministry uses through works of art as symbolic of that Treaty partnership.

“I have great pride in serving New Zealand overseas and explaining the art” (P-12).

The findings showed high levels of concern at the low numbers of Heads of Mission serving at posts who strongly identify as Māori. This reflected a wider Ministry pattern and the reality that when considering this issue from purely a numbers issue, the pool is small for those offshore roles. This is leaving aside wider issues that impact on Māori being appointed as Heads of Mission, including perceptions and experienced realities of gatekeeping and lack of support by non-Māori staff, bias – unconscious or otherwise, negative perceptions about Māori staff capability and the wider systematic impacts of the political aspects of appointments in the New Zealand system). As the number of Māori staff in senior roles is already small, there are flow-through impacts.

“You don’t see it happening offshore as it’s not happening onshore and so the pool of people that can be drawn on for those offshore roles in particular, those really senior roles. You are not seeing Māori in Tier 3 in particular, so you are not going to see Māori as Heads of Mission in those big roles” (P-5).

“I can’t think of any Māori ever being on the senior management team” (P-8).

A further finding related to the patterns of representation of Māori staff at post. Reference was made to previous reports where Māori staff were more likely to be posted to the Pacific or a hardship post in the Middle East or Africa. Participants acknowledged the cultural connections between Māori and some Pacific countries (especially in Polynesia), but commented that this cultural whakapapa and affinity should not be seen as influencing

posting decisions to such an extent that non-Pacific locations are not considered. Participants also described a further pattern of representation from their lived experience of serving at posts as a junior Māori diplomat with a Pākehā Head of Mission (or observing this combination). Concern was raised that this pattern is repeated so often that it must be noticed by host governments, who may question why this pattern is rarely reversed. This pattern is even more apparent in Pacific postings, where, despite the cultural connections noted above, Māori staff are still less likely to be appointed Head of Mission.

“The reality is there are few senior Māori diplomats and that is where this needs to be reflected...it is important with the senior Māori staff that the Ministry does have that the Ministry should be treasuring and supporting them” (P-8).

A further finding emerged that there has not been a Māori Head of Mission serving at any of the Ministry’s largest and most important posts. Posts typically described in this category include Beijing, Washington, Brussels, New York and London.

Use of Te Reo Māori and cultural identity at post

The interviews demonstrated the additional value of Māori staff to the work of the Ministry, both in New Zealand and internationally. Participants described this value as a comparative advantage.

“Māori staff are bicultural and have more skills in their kete. Being bicultural gives you more knowledge and makes it easier to carry out your diplomatic craft” (P-4).

Further findings show that this additional value is not always recognised by the Ministry as part of the formal performance management process, with Māori ways of working and the expression of Māori culture and values by Māori staff not always being accepted. Some participants raised how they had been specifically criticised by their managers for incorporating Māori values within their work. Others commented on the incompatibility between the Ministry’s ways of working and their own ways as Māori. Especially the requirement to lobby and be visible and vocal in meetings – in contrast with the Māori world view of being whakaiti (modest).

“It’s just not the way I like to do business. It’s not dignified.... It does not fit with the whole whakaiti ethos” (P-4).

“It’s not about Māoritanga or wearing a korowai or pounamu, it’s about a kanohi ki te kanohi approach and I don’t think they appreciated it was part of my culture” (P-3).

The interviews demonstrated the degree to which Te Reo Māori and forms of cultural practice are used in a posting environment is dependent on who the Head of Mission is and whether there are Māori staff at that post. With the numbers of Māori staff representing New Zealand overseas low, sporadic and in a smaller range of posts, some findings related to the risk of tokenism and poor practice. Other participants noted that for some non-Māori Ministry staff they may not have much familiarity with Te Ao Māori *“beyond artwork and what they have seen on television” (P-5).*

“It all comes down to the people at post and how they are representing Te Ao Māori. Not sure a strategy would help that. Can’t just be about people doing the haka all the time” (P-2).

Further findings focused on the Ministry outsourcing some cultural components when there was a business need to have a kapa haka performance, for example, and there were not enough Māori staff to assist. This outsourcing was described by some as often serving a dual purpose, to illustrate New Zealand’s point of difference, but also to draw people in (from the host country) so that subsequent discussion could be assisted on business.

Use of art and taonga

The interviews showed high levels of awareness of the works of art and taonga being used by the Ministry in New Zealand and at posts. Issues that arose included the strong emotional and spiritual connection some Māori staff have with specific taonga and works of art; the need for higher levels of care, appreciation and knowledge of the taonga being used and the negative impact on staff when non-Māori staff (especially Heads of Mission) show their lack of cultural understanding. Some participants described vivid recollections of their personal distress and the negative impact they felt when they had to stand up to their Head of Mission and request that inappropriate material¹⁶⁴ be removed from rooms where taonga were present.

¹⁶⁴ For example, in situations where taonga were displayed and the post was featuring inappropriate products (i.e.: food or alcohol, which can be viewed as culturally inappropriate by Māori)

“It causes me pain how Māori carvings and tukutuku are used at post...” (P-12).

Art displayed at post was portrayed by participants as making them feel more connected to New Zealand, as some of the symbols used are unique to New Zealand.

Findings told of how the combination of art, design and taonga are being used by the Ministry to portray a particular image of New Zealand.

“That service element (of being on posting) is very much grounded in the Treaty of Waitangi partnerships...so the fact that we have that reflected in our iconography, our art, is I guess the symbols of that partnership” (P-12).

“We want the art to look sharp, to show design that is confident, youthful and bicultural. This country knows what they are doing. Art is an expression of that” (P-13).

Findings illustrated that staff at post often had little or no knowledge on how to care for taonga, how to describe taonga to any interested visitors and the origins of taonga. While some advice was being prepared on how to care for taonga at post, this was seen as insufficient. Some participants recounted their embarrassment when visiting posts with kaumātua and post staff were unable to explain any details of taonga.

“If you do want to lay claim to those symbols of identity whether as a Ministry or as a person, then you need to be quite respectful about actually understanding what those symbols mean, that they are actually not just art – they have a cultural heritage and a sort of story and a history that sits behind them, so to me, I always get a slight concern that we appropriate those symbols for reasons of diplomacy” (P-5).

The findings confirm that art or taonga with a Māori dimension has been used in Ministry posts for some years, with historic practice being a predominant use of carving mainly in the post’s reception area.

“It’s in our Works of Art policy that we will feature Māori art.... At the very basic level, our Māori culture is what makes us unique. So, it’s a no brainer and I think that often we’ve paid lip service to that. It’s all very well having a Māori picture on

the wall but what does that mean throughout the organisation...we are an organisation that doesn't have a lot of Māori presence" (P-13).

"In my time, this art with the Māori dimension was always – there was a piece in reception for these people coming in of course. And a piece outside the Head of Mission's office or inside the office. Those were the places it was, and that was of course to make a statement – bicultural nation" (P-11).

Some participants were concerned that the Ministry's choices of art and taonga are not fully thought through and do not reflect the realities of the Ministry's relationships with Māori, both within and external to the Ministry. Some participants described the disconnect they felt when observing or experiencing the Ministry's art or design features, with some designs leaving participants 'cold'.

"I'm concerned about the cultural veneer of images and Māori art or design features especially overseas and especially when compared to the reality of the Ministry's work" (P-16).

"Whilst it's great we use Māori art, it's just a shame that there's nothing behind it. I wouldn't say it's tokenistic, but it's not authentic in terms of how the Ministry represents Māori values or a Māori world view through its work and people" (P-7).

"A Māori leader who went to one office, reported back to me that he was absolutely disappointed at the explanations he was given by local staff, about what this piece of carving meant. And he said he was so sad because it felt like it was just another picture on the wall, and there was nobody to tell it's story or to take care of it properly" (P-9).

Other findings centred on participants experience while serving at post and the impact it had on them that Heads of Mission were unable to explain the works of art or taonga. With this role being passed to them as they are Māori, some felt annoyed, suggesting that Heads of Mission and the wider Ministry need to *"do a lot more to understand what the works of art mean"* (R-12), and embrace the responsibility that accompanies having such works of art and taonga.

Others focused on the need for art to be connected to the location where it is being displayed and for art to not offend local populations at post. Examples were given of profiling artists or images that had no connection to the location or that caused offence to staff employed at post due to historic events¹⁶⁵ in their country.

“We need to have more alignment and less clumsiness” (P-1).

“I can recall numerous friends would go ‘what the hell is that painting?’ there was just no connection. It was a terrible painting to have there” (P-8).

The interviews showed some staff had vivid and long-lasting memories of individual works of art and taonga that had been part of their work environment while at post. This illustrated the impact works of art and taonga can have on staff, sometimes markedly for Māori staff on an emotional and spiritual level. Some described their process of carrying out important meetings in a post meeting room that featured tukutuku panels, by purposefully sitting with the panels behind them to draw strength from these.

“This piece here...that was specially commissioned...when you come into the foyer of the chancery it was right there and very striking. It was black, red and white. So, I mean it was a piece that people had commented on quite a bit and it did have a really clear Māori feel about it” (P-4).

Participants shared how works of art featuring Māori artists or taonga made a special connection for them when on posting overseas with New Zealand.

“We got the art it makes such a difference. It feels like home now” (P-13).

Other findings focused on the benefit of the Ministry using bicultural themed art and taonga to provide a point of difference for Aotearoa New Zealand. Participants emphasised that decisions on the placement of art and taonga need to be calibrated to the post’s location, with different posts and host governments having differing levels of interest in Māori identity or Treaty of Waitangi issues. Participants cautioned that not all government officials or local people they encountered at post related to expressions of Māori identity.

¹⁶⁵ For example, posts displaying works of art celebrating an aspect of New Zealand’s participation in a war, where people from the host government were the victims of this war.

“It’s hugely important in proving to the world we are not junior Australians or British colonisers” (P-1).

“At this particular post, they think they are fabulously exotic and are not at all interested in Treaty of Waitangi settlements” (P-1).

Use of cultural practice

The interviews demonstrated a range of views on the Ministry’s use of cultural practice, from caveated approval (expression of Māori culture needs to be done with a deep understanding of its meaning and importance), to concern at the level of dilution of Māori custom within the Ministry’s practices.

“If you are wanting to do tikanga Māori or kawa then should do it properly. I understand that we are a public organisation, but I think that if we are going to have watered down customs – don’t say it’s Māori and don’t say it’s a pōwhiri or whakatau” (P-2).

“We (Māori staff) are the kaitiaki of our tikanga ... there is a bar ... if we can’t get to that bar you shouldn’t be doing it at all ... if you want a pōwhiri don’t come along and try to organise one at the last minute to tick a box or whatever” (P-4).

“It was cultural it was who we are. This is how we are and what attracts people to us.... people get drawn in by the whole cultural thing. They think it’s an amazing culture.... I think you then draw people in and then you talk about the real stuff that you want to discuss or talk about like the trade or policy” (P-6).

The findings showed that Māori staff were concerned not only at how cultural practice is being used (specifically pōwhiri, mihi whakatau, karanga, waiata and Te Reo Māori) within the Ministry, but also felt their cultural capabilities were taken advantage of and under recognised.

“Some Ministry staff don’t think about the additional value they are getting from Māori staff” (P-4).

“Whilst it’s over and above my job, I would rather do it than have someone massacre the language” (P-4).

Other findings related to concern that senior non-Māori Ministry staff who took part in the expression of these forms of cultural practice (especially pōwhiri, mihi whakatau and waiata) were not sufficiently competent, which in turn raised the risk of giving a bad impression.

“We are meant to be the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and some of the (quality of) speeches are just like seriously? Is that it? You are meant to uplift the mana of the manuhiri and show respect” (P-4).

“It’s just not a good look to have the senior leadership team looking at their waiata words and awkwardly swaying not knowing the words” (P-7).

Further findings centred on the use of korowai by the Ministry as part of the presentation of credential ceremonies for new Heads of Mission or other ceremonial occasions. While it was clear most participants understood why the Ministry was using korowai – to represent New Zealand as a point of difference – findings illustrated concerns at how the korowai were being used and the risk of tokenism.

“Use of the korowai doesn’t sit well with me, you have to have appropriate mana to be able to wear it, some knowledge of tikanga Māori, otherwise it’s just window dressing” (P-3).

“Is this just a resource to send willy nilly to Ambassadors just to make it look like they are representing biculturalism or Māori?” (P-2).

Need for change

The interviews demonstrated a concern that historically the Ministry’s Senior Leadership team has not had a member who is Māori and the impact this has on seeking support for Māori issues and the overall morale for Māori staff.

“I recognise that I will probably not be around to see a Māori CEO of the Ministry and definitely not a female Māori Chief Executive – which is a sad realisation. But I hope that my children will” (P-10).

The findings indicated support for Ministry leaders to be more vulnerable and open in areas of Māori language and culture, their use of Te Reo Māori and in singing waiata at pōwhiri. Some participants described how some diplomats have learned multiple languages to assist

with their work overseas, but do not apply this same commitment and effort to learning Te Reo Māori.

“The Senior Leadership Team should be willing to be vulnerable as someone who in terms of Māori culture is less competent than a 6-year-old at kohanga reo” (P-5).

Interview observations

In this section I discuss my observations of the interview findings and how these findings relate to the research questions outlined in Chapter 2. In beginning this chapter, I noted participants were predominantly Māori staff who are or have worked at the Ministry in various roles over many years. I have sought to present the key findings in a way that acknowledges the depth of thought and meaning that went into the participants' contribution to this research. In reviewing the interview data, I was fully conscious of the responsibility I had to fully express these contributions to provide a voice to the participants to share their views and experiences of working at the Ministry within the context of this research.

All the participants had different perspectives to add and focused on different themes and issues during their interview. This was not surprising as it reflected their individual experiences, views and memories on the interview topics and themes. As shown in the findings and reinforced by the quotes provided, participants had clear views with often deeply personal or profound insights into the themes of this research. This illustrated the deep connection all shared to the kaupapa of representing New Zealand through the work of the Ministry, not only as people who have worked or are currently working for the Ministry, but as Māori. Participants shared their varied views on what this identity as Māori meant to them individually as members of various iwi, hapū, whānau groupings and communities.

As expressed through the findings, Māori participants, described the range of identities they have and operate in within their employment context and as part of the Ministry's work representing New Zealand. Reflecting the diversity of experience and backgrounds within the wider Māori population, some described their identity as situated within their whānau, hapū and iwi, while others framed their identity as a practical expression of living out the Treaty of Waitangi partnership as Māori working within a Crown environment. A predominant theme throughout the interviews was the expression of identity and connection Māori staff have to

Te Pou Māori. This relationship with Te Pou Māori and the whānau connections and support it offers to Māori staff from other Māori staff was a key enabler to Māori staff maintaining their employment at the Ministry. These bonds and relationships were described by many as vital to maintaining connections to New Zealand while serving at post overseas and extended past staff ending their employment at the Ministry, providing lifelong points of connection. Others focused on the value of Te Pou Māori as providing a safe learning space to grow their identity as Māori, their iwi connections, knowledge of Te Reo Māori and tikanga.

The value of Te Pou Māori was described in similar terms to a taonga, or a group that is profoundly precious to both current and previous Māori staff. Made up of individual Māori staff who come in and out of the group, depending on their level of interest in the kaupapa of the group or whether they are based in New Zealand, overseas or who have left the Ministry many participants recounted the importance of the group to them. This was not only as it provided access to the discussions and activities that the members engage in but also because of the support that members can provide to each other. This can often happen over many years, with deep friendships and points of connection possible.

Many noted the ability of Māori staff to operate biculturally, within Māori and non-Māori worlds, bringing their individual abilities and cultural skills to their work. This ability extended to the international sphere when Māori staff are posted, adding value to their relationships with host governments and contacts. These skills, contributions and abilities were also described as not being recognised or valued by the Ministry, either by individual staff, managers and leaders, both within a work context and the performance management system.

As a result, participants spoke of feeling taken advantage of, of being burdened and of the negative results on a personal level of not being recognised and largely ignored. Expressions of the various tensions at play emerged as Māori staff aimed to maintain cultural integrity within the expression of aspects of Māori cultural practice by the Ministry and the frustration when this does not happen. This tension and the level of responsibility felt by Māori staff took a personal toll in relation to an individual's cultural and spiritual safety.

The findings gave voice to the deep responsibilities participants expressed of representing New Zealand. Some have dedicated most of their working career to working at the Ministry

because of the depth of this commitment. Others interviewed have chosen to leave the Ministry due to the lack of progression into senior levels and other opportunities.

Deep and long-held frustrations were apparent, which for some participants was accompanied by *mamae*. This centred on the lack of progress and real change over decades on issues of key importance to Māori staff (recruitment, retention and progression) and the cyclic nature of attempts to change and the contributions Te Pou Māori continues to make. On more personal levels, others spoke of the *mamae* of being overlooked for promotion, opportunities and postings. More junior staff described their observations on the lack of senior Māori staff as influencing their views on the likelihood they would progress. Others spoke of their disappointment that Māori staff who have served overseas have not done so in key posts and continue to not be widely represented at the Head of Mission level.

Turning to the interview findings, the interviews confirmed that the Ministry does seek to express New Zealand's bicultural identity through Māori people, including staff and various advisers or performers (ranging from *kaumātua* or Māori businesspeople attached to trade missions to *kapa haka* performance groups). Some findings illustrated that some Māori staff saw this expression of New Zealand's bicultural identity as being represented through them individually. Māori expressed their identity as intrinsically bicultural or as physical manifestations of biculturalism through their ability to walk and work in both Māori and non-Māori worlds. The findings also confirmed that the Ministry seeks to express New Zealand's bicultural identity through the use of images and practices that largely draw on Māori-themed images and cultural practices. Participants shared specific comments or memories of works of art and *taonga* that have been part of their working experience at the Ministry, including while serving offshore or when stationed in New Zealand. Some detailed the long history of the Ministry expressing this identity through art and *taonga*, beginning with the first carvings commissioned for overseas posts, traversing through the period of the Ministry having a substantially high-value collection of works of art, to the present-day focus on targeting Māori artists and a wider pool of *taonga* (encompassing a more diverse range of forms including fibre arts such as *tukutuku* and *kete*). Expression of biculturalism through the use of *pōwhiri* and the wearing of *korowai* was canvassed in the findings, with many comments and aspirations expressed on the need for caution and adherence to Māori-centred practice that is authentic and meaningful.

The findings further illustrated the prevalent or dominant use of Māori art and taonga in the Ministry offices in New Zealand and overseas in comparison to other art forms. This was clearly described in the case studies, detailing the practices and design practices in the Ministry's built landscape in the Cook Islands, Noumea and Australia. Participants referred to the Ministry's purpose of showing the bicultural face and history of New Zealand as a point of difference to separate New Zealand out from other players in the diplomatic space (especially Australia and the United Kingdom) or to create connections with other governments (notably those connected to New Zealand by geographic location or culture especially in New Zealand's near neighbourhood – the Pacific region). This practice was also described as an enabler for the Ministry to use this expression of bicultural identity to pursue its core business and to assist with building relationship networks.

The findings confirmed that there are issues around the use and care of art and taonga by Ministry staff, with some participants detailing their experience of the consequences of there being limited guidance available to Ministry staff about art and taonga. Others spoke of the need for further guidance and specific training to be provided to staff so that they can adequately explain the works of art and taonga and appreciate the cultural connections and significance of these art works and taonga. Some also described their frustration at constantly being asked to explain works of art or taonga to visitors, because they were Māori and as their Head of Mission or other colleagues did not have this ability or willingness to learn. Further findings illustrated the negative impact this lack of cultural ability can have on Māori staff on a deep personal level, with some expressing personal pain and anguish at how some taonga have been treated or disrespected by other Ministry staff. Those participants who had had experience of working with the arts advisors or in managing works of art collections at post were aware that the expertise and purchasing decisions are centred in a very small number of Ministry staff.

The findings showed that the Ministry uses Māori cultural identity and practice as a key platform to express New Zealand's bicultural identity. Participants described the forms of symbolism used to portray this identity as including Māori-themed works of art (paintings, screen prints), taonga Māori (carvings, tukutuku, pounamu mauri stones, waharoa), aspects of cultural practice (pōwhiri, mihi whakatau, kapa haka, waiata, openings, blessings, karanga, use of karakia and use of selected Māori mythological references). Te Reo Māori is also

selectively used together with design features that incorporate aspects of bicultural architecture or design (including aspects of the Ministry's visual identity: logos, branding, internet profile, social media, stylised pictures or graphics, such as interpretations of tukutuku design used on glass panelling). Some aspects of visual identity are further incorporated into cultural designs from past environments such as Mashrabiya and tukutuku design references in the illuminated ceiling panel in Abu Dhabi (Figure 160).

The findings illustrated a range of issues that arise with how these cultural practices, art and taonga are utilised. These included concerns that cultural practices are not fully supported by attention to a wider Māori cultural context and the resulting consequences and responsibilities; the need for greater care and understanding to be applied; a need for higher levels of training to increase cultural competence and commitment; and much more thinking around the risks and perceptions of tokenism. Other concerns relate to the negative reactions and impact inappropriate use of cultural practice can have on Māori staff when the Ministry as an organisation or individual Ministry staff (managers, Senior Leadership Team, Heads of Mission) make decisions that are not fully thought through or informed by any depth of understanding of the wider Māori cultural context and layers of meaning.

Findings that related to the question of what is meant by this symbolism in a bicultural context are portrayed within a frame of bicultural symbolism. Reference was made to the Ministry's focus on portraying New Zealand as a bicultural nation, with the dominant use being bicultural symbolism implying that a high value is placed on Māori culture and identity. Some noted that this value proposition was at odds with the reality of how the Ministry looks after its Māori staff and engages with Māori outside of the Ministry. Clear themes emerged from the participants of the need for the Ministry to take better care of Māori staff, who are taonga. This would add value and be significant for Māori staff, and for others who engage with the Ministry both in New Zealand and internationally.

In this sense, the current expression of New Zealand's bicultural identity and use of symbolism was not considered adequate by participants. Many noted their perception of and the risk of tokenism by the Ministry's use of some aspects of Māori culture, identity or symbols. More thoughtful and informed discussion on these issues was called for, together with some further consideration to how these decisions on expression of identity are made and by whom. A number of participants noted the small number of Ministry staff making

these decisions on art, design and taonga, who are not necessarily engaging with Māori in the current processes.

The findings also addressed the position of Māori staff within the Ministry compared to the wider Ministry staff demographic and the broader New Zealand public sector. The interviews demonstrated that Māori within the Ministry are under-represented both within the Ministry and in comparison, to the wider public service. Issues with data accuracy were expressed in relation to inconsistent data availability and the lack of data sharing on the numbers of Māori staff within the various Ministry job levels above senior policy and management levels.

This demographic picture of Māori staff has resulting flow-on consequences for staff and the wider Ministry. The findings spoke of the impact on Māori staff, including limiting the pool of senior staff available to more recent staff as mentors; feelings of isolation in teams; not having the benefit of seeing likeness and shared cultural viewpoints from other Māori staff, the impact on the availability of senior roles on and offshore to Māori staff; and reinforcing perceptions of direct and indirect discrimination and a 'brown ceiling'. The flow-on consequences for the wider Ministry from the findings noted the small numbers of Māori staff available to provide cultural or advice on Te Reo Māori and the impact that repeated requests to Māori staff can have on individuals.

Interview findings confirmed the disconnect between the external imagery used by the Ministry and the internal reality of Māori staff with many participants describing the differences between their reality as Māori staff within the Ministry and the outward looking face of the Ministry. This disconnect was reinforced for many with the dominant use by the Ministry of Māori-centred art, taonga and design features throughout the Ministry's posts.

The interview findings did not point to the Ministry using any organisational frameworks that specifically address the dual worlds occupied by Māori staff as employees and Treaty partners.

Chapter 11: Insights and conclusions

After concluding the analysis of my interview data and the literature, I have a number of key insights to make.

Looking back – the journey of the Ministry

Materials available on the Ministry's origins indicate the rationale for the Ministry's establishment was the perceived need for separation from the United Kingdom. This was driven by the New Zealand Government wanting to forge a distinct identity from the United Kingdom in the 1940s. The legislation establishing the Ministry's predecessor organisation, the Department of External Affairs, was passed on 11 June 1943, prior to the end of World War Two in 1945. This was in the context of the United Kingdom previously having responsibility for New Zealand's foreign policy. Prior to this establishing legislation in 1926 a small Imperial Affairs Section was set up within the Prime Minister's Department to deal with International affairs of concern to New Zealand (MFAT, 2019f).

There was no apparent consideration of how New Zealand should be represented as having an indigenous Māori population, or noting the Government's obligations to Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. Limited focus emerged on any consideration of the symbolism of New Zealand's international identity in relation to New Zealand's visual representation and the beginnings of the overseas post network. The focus was more on New Zealand having a separate presence and overseas persona to the United Kingdom. It was less about what the New Zealand presence in the world would look like but more that it existed at all. The Parliamentary debate at the time of the various readings of the External Affairs Bill indicate the focus of then Prime Minister Rt Hon Mr Fraser in establishing a Department of External Affairs was for "New Zealand to follow the example set by Canada in 1912, by Australia in 1921 – Australia recognised the External Affairs Department in 1936 – and by South Africa in 1927" (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1943, p. 569). The aim of the new Department was to "cover the new functions the Department must perform in connection with the foreign relationships of the Government, which have grown extensively in recent years" (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1943, p.569). There was some discussion on the value to New Zealand of being able to "understand foreign countries" (through having appointed representatives overseas) and, conversely, that "people in foreign countries should be made

to understand New Zealand” (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1943, p. 619). There was value in overseas appointees being able to “fully explain the general outlook of New Zealand and make known to people overseas just what our way of life is, and the part we want to play in world affairs” (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1943, p. 619).

From what we do know about the early diplomats of the time and the shape of the New Zealand Government, I have assumed that this original decision to establish a stand-alone New Zealand diplomatic presence and how it was implemented was made by a small number of European, non-Māori diplomats and officials working within the then Department of External Affairs. From the information available, there was one Māori member of the Executive Council in 1943, Hon E. T. Tirikatene, who is described as “representing the Native race” (Statistics NZ, 1943), who while a member of the Executive Council was without a specific portfolio. As Hon Tirikatene was without any portfolio, I have assumed he had limited involvement in this legislative decision and was unable to provide any specific Māori input. I did not find any reference to any speeches by Hon Tirikatene in the historical Hansard record in relation to this particular Parliamentary debate (New Zealand Parliamentary Debates, 1943).

I did not find any suggestion that there was any need to consider a Māori perspective or bicultural viewpoint on firstly, the decision for New Zealand to have its own separate diplomatic identity and, secondly, the visual symbolism of how New Zealand would be represented. With a completely non-Māori diplomatic staff at that Department of External Affairs at the time and for many years to follow until the early Māori diplomats were appointed, I have also concluded that, at that time, there was no perceived need for Māori to be represented in the New Zealand diplomatic corps serving internationally or in New Zealand.

In the context of what is known of New Zealand society at the time the early Ministry was established, it is not surprising that there was no specific attention or consideration of Māori within the Ministry demographic or as part of the process of shaping the physical representation of New Zealand internationally. Available data indicates that in 1943 the New Zealand population was 1,573,810, including 82,326 Māori. The total number of public

servants was 12,827¹⁶⁶ and I found no data to show how many of this number were Māori. There were three non-Māori New Zealand Government representatives serving overseas in 1943¹⁶⁷ and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 was characterised as a “noteworthy event in the history of New Zealand” (Statistics New Zealand, 1943) and the point at which British ‘sovereignty’¹⁶⁸ was proclaimed. My assessment of the societal context of that time is that there was more comfort around a physical symbolism of Māori presence in New Zealand rather than Māori being part of decision making.

Evolution of practice

The Ministry’s practice concerning the use of Māori-themed art and taonga has evolved over time. The initial signs that the Ministry was choosing to use forms of Māori imagery or taonga as part of the visual representation of New Zealand offshore began with the first carvings commissioned or purchased. Māori carvings displayed in High Commission or Embassy reception areas was the predominant form of representation of Māori imagery from the early 1970s. This is described in Chapter 3 in relation to the installation of the Pouihi in New Zealand House, London, described as the first physical presentation of Taha Māori in an overseas mission (Templeton, 1993). This was at a time when the Ministry’s art collection largely featured high profile and major works of art, largely by non-Māori artists such as Colin McCahon, Frances Hodgkins and Don Binney. There was no focus on including a range of Māori art or taonga apart from carvings, which are largely a male expression of taonga.

This approach shifted in 2001 with the ‘homecoming’ of 59 major works of art held by the Ministry and its posts around the world, which were returned to New Zealand and donated to public art galleries and museums around New Zealand for public display. At the time, then Prime Minister Rt Hon Helen Clark signalled that “it will be replaced at MFAT’s posts with works by emerging artists who provide a distinctive statement of contemporary New Zealand culture” (Clark, 2001). One participant recalled this return of art as being motivated by cost:

“It became too expensive (to keep high value works of art at post)...we had artworks ..in the 1970’s like Colin McCahon that were worth a certain amount of money...and

¹⁶⁶ As at 1 April 1942 (Statistics NZ, 1943).

¹⁶⁷ Hon Walter Nash serving in Washington, Mr W. J. Jordan in London, Mr C. A. Berendsen in Canberra and a vacant position in Ottawa (Statistics NZ, 1943).

¹⁶⁸ See footnote 24.

in the end they became so valuable as the years went by a decision was taken by the asset management division to recall them...something about capital gains tax” (P-6).

From this early predominant use of carving in the public reception areas of New Zealand posts, the Ministry’s focus and narrative of how New Zealand is to be represented has evolved. Use of art within the post network is seen as an important tool in showcasing New Zealand’s distinct identity, culture and values. In 2018 there were 2063 works of art in the Ministry’s collection, with an approximate insurance value of NZD\$4.30m. These artworks were displayed in representational areas of 117 buildings offshore (MFAT, 2018u). Since 2019, the current pattern of expression largely centres on the use of art, taonga, aspects of cultural practice and visual imagery through architectural design that is anchored in a core goal of symbolising New Zealand’s unique identity, which in turn centres on aspects of Māori culture and expression. The value the Ministry places on the Māori dimension of its collection of works of art is reflected by its inclusion as one of the benefits of working at MFAT (MFAT, 2019g).

This focus on expressing New Zealand’s bicultural identity and the use of similar patterns of symbolism across the Ministry’s physical landscape has resulted in more standardisation across posts. As a result, as I illustrated in the case studies described in Chapters 6 – 8, the Ministry is now using more of a formulaic approach to symbolise New Zealand, through a combination of use of art, taonga and some aspects of cultural practice or ideology drawn from Māori culture. This is described in Chapter 6, where the ‘look and feel’ the Ministry seeks for each post is informed by a design narrative that is geographically linked to the post’s location. A particular combination of art, taonga and practice is then used to give effect to this design goal or narrative as illustrated in Table 7. After completing my case studies and consideration of design features in Chapters 5 – 9, I described the patterns of representation that have emerged, which represent how the Ministry is using patterns of bicultural symbolism to express New Zealand’s bicultural identity.

Table 7: Table to illustrate bicultural symbolism pattern

This bicultural symbolism is used by the Ministry to inform the narrative of how New Zealand is represented in the diplomatic spaces of New Zealand and throughout the Ministry's overseas post network. The predominant use of Māori art, taonga, design and practice imply to any visitor or observer that these forms of art, taonga and practice are important and meaningful to the Ministry and, in turn, the New Zealand Government. For those people who visit or interact with these New Zealand spaces, who have some knowledge of New Zealand history and people, there is also an implicit reaction that there is an equivalent valuing or understanding of Māori people and culture through this bicultural symbolism.

This connection is similar to how other countries use architectural symbolism to portray images or impressions of their countries in the diplomatic sphere. As described in Chapter 3, the United States of America, for example, routinely uses images of its seal and eagle alongside its flag to physically portray the United States of America throughout its post network.

In my view, this pattern of symbolism and extensive focus on expressing New Zealand's identity through a bicultural framing comes with an increased level of complexity and responsibility. As the New Zealand public service department responsible for the conduct of New Zealand's international engagement, the Ministry and its Chief Executive already have statutory and other wider obligations to fulfil.¹⁶⁹ There are additional responsibilities and wider matters to consider when considering the ramification of the patterns of bicultural symbolism outlined above. At the time of writing in 2020, it is clear that New Zealand's diplomatic effort is focused on portraying a New Zealand identity that is largely shaped by the touchstone of New Zealand's bicultural origins. Aspects of Māori culture (carvings, mythological references, sacred and spiritual objects such as pounamu, and forms of fibre art such as tukutuku and kete), together with visual art forms by Māori artists, are being actively promoted to promote this identity globally. It is also apparent that recent additions to the New Zealand built diplomatic landscape have used an innovative process to give effect to these policy goals. The public narrative for each post is

¹⁶⁹ Including being "responsible for delivering on the Government's foreign, international trade, development and climate change policy objectives, as well as contributing to New Zealand's broader security, economic and environmental objectives" (SSC, 2018a).

tailored to its wider geographical neighbourhood as part of making connections with the host government and people.

Innovative architectural design features and art choices illustrated through the case studies of the designs in Noumea, Sydney and Abu Dhabi indicate that cultural stories or points of connection are also being used or interpreted in new ways to achieve these policy goals. These have been chosen by a small number of specific actors in the innovation process. Decisions on use of cultural points of reference are also being taken by individual experts within their own field of expertise (for example, architectural interpretation of the Māori myth relating to Māui in Sydney and the amalgamation of the Emirati Mashrabiya and Māori tukutuku in Abu Dhabi). Innovative processes that involve cultural knowledge, often of a deep cultural meaning to the people or culture to which they belong, implicitly raise a myriad of wider issues. Caution and care need to be exercised as part of any such process.

When considering the issues raised in this research around bicultural symbolism, there are Treaty of Waitangi-centred risks in the New Zealand context for one party to the Treaty (in this case, the Crown, represented by the Ministry) making decisions without full and meaningful engagement with Māori as the other Treaty partner. My key argument is that New Zealand is employing bicultural symbolism but does not practice bicultural diplomacy.

Further risks can stem from the Ministry's portrayal of Māori through the heavy use of art, placement of taonga and selective use of aspects of cultural practice or belief (for example, use of Māori mythology as design reference points within overseas posts, use of mauri stones, or use of pōwhiri, mihi whakatau and waiata), being perceived as tokenistic or disingenuous. These risks are real when these physical portrayal of Māori through bicultural symbolism are compared against the Ministry's responsibilities as a Treaty partner and as an employer to Māori staff. In 2019, the Waitangi Tribunal identified four Treaty principles that relevant to state policy and services (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019) as described in Table 8. These principles indicate that the Ministry (as a Crown agency) has a number of active responsibilities to Māori, both within the Ministry (to Māori staff) and external to the Ministry (in relation to Māori with interests in the core policy work of the Ministry, for example in the trade space, environment, relations with indigenous peoples, international agreements and the different geographical areas, including, for example, the Pacific).

Partnership: this principle balances kawanatanga and tino rangatiratanga (see footnote 24).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • obliges both partners (Crown and Māori) to act towards each other reasonably and with the utmost good faith. • recognises the right of Māori to choose how they organise and express tino rangatiratanga. • requires the Crown to consult and partner with Māori to design and provide policy and social services.
Active protection: the Crown has an active responsibility to protect tino rangatiratanga.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Tribunal found this principle requires the Crown to keep itself informed of the relevant circumstances as they apply to Māori, including equity of access and how well Crown agencies are performing for Māori.
Equity: establishes an active responsibility on the Crown to positively promote equity.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Includes a responsibility to inform itself of any inequities • provide additional resources to address the causes of inequities where needed, including to overcome structural or historical disadvantage.
Options: this principle refers to the right of Māori to choose their own social and cultural pathways, with the right to live according to their tikanga Māori and world views, while participating in New Zealand society and culture as they wish.	

Table 8: The Treaty principles as identified by the Waitangi Tribunal in the 2019 Hau Ora report (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019).

They are also real when considering the levels of involvement of Māori with the Ministry's core policy work, in relation to issues where Māori have a known interest. Māori interests in the trade and economic arena (reflecting how a number of Māori individuals and companies are exporting overseas and hold key interests in what has been coined the 'Māori economy')¹⁷⁰ are one example, as are Māori interests in indigenous protection and rights in the United Nations context¹⁷¹ and in relation to the New Zealand government's interaction with other countries with indigenous or first nations peoples and in the Asia and Pacific regions where Māori have whakapapa links and connections. In March 2020, for example, the New Zealand and Australia governments signed a collaboration arrangement bringing the

¹⁷⁰ In June 2017 the Māori economy was valued at NZD \$50 billion with Māori expected to invest NZD1.5-2 billion per year over the next 10 years (MBIE, 2017).

¹⁷¹ Where a range of International Conventions are of interest to Māori, including Conventions on the Elimination Racial Discrimination, Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

two countries' indigenous peoples and policy makers together to promote economic, social and cultural advancement (Mahuta, 2020). The Ministry is aware it is obliged to consult with Māori on issues that may impact on their rights and interests under the Treaty of Waitangi, especially in the area of international treaty making. These responsibilities are set out in the 2001 Māori Engagement Strategy (MFAT, 2018o), which reflects the New Zealand Cabinet decision on 2 April 2001 approving the Strategy for Engagement with Māori on International Treaties (Cabinet Minute, 2001).

In his analysis of post-cold war New Zealand, Buchanan (2010) notes the impact at the political level of the "Labour Party's confirmation of its commitment to market orientated macroeconomic policy" (Buchanan, 2010, p. 265). As a result, Buchanan (2010) described:

...Māori political representation, traditionally channelled through the Labour Party, splintered in the early 2000s with the creation of the Māori Party. That had the effect of diminishing Māori input in foreign policy¹⁷² (nominally confined to issues of indigenous rights and environmental matters), as Māori politicians focused on domestic issues (p. 265).

The resulting strong bipartisan political support for foreign policy issues by the two main political parties¹⁷³ "allows Prime Ministers and the diplomatic corps considerable autonomy in charting the conduct of foreign affairs" (Buchanan, 2010, p. 265).

Looking inwards – the people

I have shown how Ministry officials represent New Zealand on and offshore in many contexts as part of the Ministry's core priority of "acting in the world to make New Zealanders safer and more prosperous" (MFAT, 2019h). Faizullaev's (2013) framework would consider New Zealand diplomats to be:

...sensible 'evidences' of the state. In other words, by seeing diplomats and embassies' buildings, cars and functions; by hearing diplomats' statements and remarks; by reading stories and reports on their activities; and by knowing about

¹⁷² This statement does not include the contribution of Winston Peters (Minister of Foreign Affairs from 2005-2008) and Te Ururoa Flavell (Maori Party Member of Parliament) who helped launch the Ainu Party in Japan, which aims to represent the rights and interests of indigenous people of the Hokkaido region (Cheng, 2012).

¹⁷³ Labour and National.

their conferences and negotiations, the observers somehow experience the states and their international affairs and make better sense of them (p. 94).

This representative nature of Ministry diplomats and officials work can be viewed through many lenses in addition to that of diplomatic symbolism (Faizullaev, 2013). Through the lens of representative bureaucracy described in Chapter 3 Ministry officials should represent the New Zealand public that they serve. This goal informs part of the narrative of the Ministry's diversity and inclusion strategy "to be a workplace that values and utilises diverse and inclusive thinking, people and behaviours. This means that our staff reflect the diversity of New Zealand and the countries we work in" (MFAT, 2018h, p.3), and the targets set for the recruitment and retention of Māori, Pasifika, Asian and other minority ethnic groups (MFAT, 2018h). This strategy and goals are in response to the Ministry's current lack of diversity across all groups in New Zealand society, including in relation to Māori. The challenges the Ministry has of recruiting and retaining Māori staff is not a new concept, with Ross (2018) commenting after the 'MFAT at 75' commemoration that "securing and retaining Māori has been challenging, and still is" (p. 5). Reflecting on his early years at the Ministry, former diplomat Witi Ihimaera describes how he had been "distrustful and suspicious" ahead of joining the Ministry; however, he was:

...pleased that the Ministry considers its Māori members are an asset to its presentation of New Zealand policy internationally. The lesson it still has to learn, however, is that we are highly motivated. We are articulate. For all our disabilities as traditional representatives of the people we are committed to programming Māori concerns into Foreign Affairs policy (Ihimaera cited in Ross, 2018, p. 5).

One of the limitations of seeking to use a diversity and inclusion approach to increase the numbers of Māori staff is that, within a diversity context, Māori are described as a target group in the same way as other 'ethnic groupings' such as Asian or Pacific staff. For example, the Ministry's current diversity and inclusion strategy includes a statement acknowledging the Treaty of Waitangi and has targets to recruit and retain Māori (in line with this Treaty obligation); however, this is presented in a way that is inconsistent, which groups Māori with "Pasifika, Asian and other ethnic minorities" (MFAT, 2018h, p. 11).

This approach is similar to the previous use of EEO frameworks to try and increase the numbers of Māori staff within the public service. These frameworks have had limited impact within the Ministry and wider public service to increase the numbers of Māori staff, especially at senior levels. The direction of the earlier EEO targets used by the Ministry (which included, for example, increasing the numbers of Māori employed by the Ministry) stem from the original EEO Policy launched in 1997 by the State Services Commission as part of “the Government's ongoing commitment to the implementation of EEO in the workplace” (SSC, 1997). This policy was reviewed in 2005, with the revised Equality and Diversity Policy continuing a commitment to Māori as one of the four ‘groups’ identified in the 1997 policy “in line with the good employer provisions of the State Sector Act, while extending the focus on other aspects of individual and group differences by using the language of equality and diversity” (SSC, 2008, p. 1). This is where the diversity and inclusion narrative surfaced, further weakening the position of Māori in the public sector context.

Responsibility for EEO leadership in the Public Service was also shifted from the State Services Commission to all chief executives, supported by the State Services Commission (Knowledge Institute, 2006). One of the goals was the employment of EEO groups (which, in this context, includes Māori) at all levels in the workplace. For the Ministry, this meant that the CEO or Secretary of Foreign Affairs had responsibility to achieve this goal of increasing the number of Māori at all levels (among other goals). Two relevant key findings from the 2006 review were that:

- there is unevenness across departments in relation to progress in achieving the objectives of the policy – some department have made good progress, others less so.
- there is a need to focus on the representation of key EEO groups in senior positions and in policy areas (Knowledge Institute, 2006).

Both diversity and inclusion and EEO frameworks fail to give adequate prominence to Māori through the lens of the Treaty principles outlined in Table 8. These principles recognise Māori as Treaty partners in conjunction with the Crown. A further theme emerged, reinforced from my observations of the value and expectation that some Māori have that the Ministry has Māori staff who are cognisant of their interests within international negotiations or events. Māori want to see Māori representing New Zealand internationally, as do other countries,

this is even more pronounced where there is an indigenous angle in the host country where the post is located.

The whakapapa relationship between Māori and Cook Islands Māori was outlined in Chapter 6 for example. A further example in the Taiwan context is the 2004 signing of an agreement to cooperate on indigenous issues between Taiwan's Council of Indigenous Peoples and New Zealand's Ministry of Māori Development (Hong, 2004). A further Ministry hosted event in 2017, “celebrated the vibrant cultural and economic relationship between Māori and the indigenous peoples of Taiwan” (MFAT, 2017j). Ministry posts also seek to utilise Māori artists and business owners as part of cultural diplomacy activities held in their location. In 2018, for example, the Guangzhou Consulate partnered with leading playwright and screen writer Briar Grace-Smith ¹⁷⁴ and a group of five Māori fashion designers led by designer Kiri Nathan¹⁷⁵ to participate in a range of cultural diplomacy and business activities. Including a fashion show as part of the ‘Tripartite Summit’ as part of a 2014 Tripartite Economic Alliance between Guangzhou, Auckland and Los Angeles. A key purpose of Nathan’s visit and the fashion show (see Figures 191 – 192) was to “put on a show as part of the Tripartite Summit, as well as increase opportunities for young Māori designers through access to the world’s largest fabric markets” (MFAT, 2018n. p. 1).

Figure 191: Photo of Māori Fashion Designers show at Guangzhou Fashion Week, showing Māori fashion designer Kiri Nathan (3rd from right) (Poutama New Zealand, 2018).

¹⁷⁴ Briar Grace-Smith’ iwi affiliation is to Ngāpuhi and Ngāti Wai (The Arts Foundation, 2020).

¹⁷⁵ Kiri Nathan’ iwi affiliation is to Ngāpuhi and Tainui (Kiri Nathan, 2020).

Figure 192: Photo of Kiri Nathan (designer) taken during Guangzhou Fashion Week, also showing the silver fern and Guangzhou Consulate branding in the background (Poutama New Zealand, 2018a).

Reactions to bicultural symbolism

A range of reactions by Māori and non-Māori staff to the use of bicultural symbolism by the Ministry have been detailed. Some Māori staff described their deep levels of spiritual, cultural and emotional connection to some of the art, taonga and design aspects used in the Ministry's physical environment.

“you know the artists, so they’ve made an impact on you.. .these guys (Ministry) have fantastic art” (P-11).

Others expressed more discomfort with the extensive use of Māori, taonga and aspects of Māori cultural practice, describing their concerns around tokenism, misappropriation, window dressing and deep hurt and concern when taonga were not cared for or cultural practices not performed correctly or respectfully.

These reactions span a spectrum of responses, depending on individual's experiences and connections as Māori to the Ministry's physical spaces, to the use of cultural practice and to imagery in art. They illustrate the cultural spirituality and sacredness embedded in taonga used by the Ministry for Māori (both within and external to the Ministry). They further signal that there are further responsibilities for the Ministry to acknowledge and care for these connections. There are also responsibilities to care for and respect the taonga used from a kaitiaki or guardianship perspective. I have observed and heard many accounts through this research journey of significant cultural taonga or art forms not being cared for on a spiritual

level, or of Ministry staff in New Zealand or serving at posts overseas not being able to describe or appreciate art or taonga selected by the Ministry. With the Ministry signalling it plans to establish guidelines to “care for our taonga Māori in consultation with Te Papa and Auckland Museum and provide training to help Posts represent taonga internationally” (MFAT, 2019i), there is a fresh opportunity to consider this issue more deeply with the benefit of advice from experts working on the curation of Māori taonga. There has always been the opportunity, and now there is a values framework, to include courage and manaakitanga, should the Ministry choose to apply these values to the care and development of Māori staff. This would begin to recognise the dual worlds Māori staff occupy and their skill in operating biculturally in a largely mono-cultural environment.

The Māori demographic

Considering the demographic of Māori staff within the Ministry, the low percentage of Māori staff in relation to non-Māori staff and low numbers in senior ranks of staff, there is a further risk of this demographic reality continuing to impact in the future. Notably on the low numbers of Māori staff who achieve senior positions within the Ministry’s management levels and in overseas high-level positions. Specifically, being appointed to lead overseas posts at the rank and level of Consul General, High Commissioner and Ambassador – including the larger posts where historically Māori diplomats have not been appointed (unless they are a political appointment)¹⁷⁶ to represent New Zealand.

While noting the Ministry’s return to promoting employment opportunities for young Māori university students from 2018 and the introduction of the Aorere intern programme, this focus at the front end of a person’s career is not likely to significantly impact on the demographic in the short-to-medium term. During this research process, I have frequently observed those few Māori staff in the mid-level ranks being overlooked for management-level appointments or high-level overseas positions in favour of non-Māori staff or political appointments. I have also noticed a further pattern of Māori staff at the more senior level choosing to leave the Ministry to pursue higher positions (and securing these often at much higher levels of seniority) elsewhere as a result.

¹⁷⁶ For example, former Governor General Sir Jerry Mateparae, Ibid 15.

The available statistics on the numbers and levels of seniority of Māori staff within the Ministry are limited and present in different forms. From what is available and from my own observations working at the Ministry, these statistics tell us that the numbers are low and become significantly lower higher up the Ministry ranks. It is also clear that in relation to the position of Māori staff across the New Zealand public service, the numbers of Māori staff in the Ministry are below the public service average.

In reality and practice the Ministry is not achieving sufficient or meaningful representation of Māori at all levels in its demographic. This demographic does not currently model a representative bureaucracy when considered against the New Zealand population or in a Treaty-based approach. The Ministry is actively using various aspects of diplomatic symbolism and bicultural symbolism in its physical spaces and environments in New Zealand and internationally. This use and expression of bicultural symbolism or references to the Treaty do not extend to the Ministry staff who work in these spaces.

After considering the information available, including that from the interviews I conducted, it is clear this pattern of representation has remained at this level for some years. A plateau has been reached that has not moved, despite various attempts over the years to shift it.

Intervention patterns

Various forms of intervention that have been used previously have not altered this situation. These have included EEO targets, university recruitment targeting Māori students and scholarship programmes targeting Māori university students. While these interventions may have helped increase some numbers in the junior diplomatic ranks, they have not altered the demographic in the more senior ranks that form the pool of staff chosen for key positions. Participants voiced a need for organisational change, describing the impact of multiple systemic challenges within the Ministry (as an organisation and negative beliefs held by non-Māori senior leaders) that prevent progress for Māori staff. Some also spoke of the cyclic and inadequate nature of the Ministry response to the issues of recruitment, retention and progression issues faced by Māori staff, shown in Figure 196.

Figure 193: Diagram showing cyclic nature of Ministry response

Looking forward

This reliance and focus on bicultural symbolism for what is largely the external facing aspect of the Ministry work results in two sets of challenges for the Ministry going forward. These are illustrated in Figure 194, which represents the Ministry’s dual challenges to the internal relationships with Māori staff (as Ministry employees and as Treaty partners) and the external relationships with Māori individuals, groups, iwi, urban authorities, companies, NGOs and civil society groupings.

These layers of responsibility are situated within both a domestic, New Zealand- centred context and an international context reflecting New Zealand’s position in the immediate Pacific region and its wider international pattern of relationships (both with other governments, countries, regional and international organisations). Within the New Zealand context, the Ministry faces the reality of its relationships (both internal and external) being influenced and shaped by wider factors in the Crown Māori relationship. Part of responding to these challenges will require a future focused approach that considers the existing and future operating environment in the New Zealand public and private sector landscapes.

Figure 194: illustration of future internal and external challenges and responsibilities of Ministry.

In relation to Māori for example, this will include the post-Treaty settlement environment, which Ruru (2018) describes as subject to debate on “whether the aim of the settlement process – ‘full and final’ settlement – is indeed possible. Though settlements are generally set out in legislation, the doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty entails that Parliament cannot bind its successors” (Ruru, cited in Reilly, et al. (2018) p. 303). It includes the kaupapa of Te Arawhiti, the Crown – Māori agency established in 2018 to oversee the Government’s work with Māori in a post-Treaty settlement era – including ensuring public sector capability is strengthened, the increasing number of kaupapa inquiries involving multiple Crown agencies such as the Ministry before the Waitangi Tribunal, the evolving legislative environment,¹⁷⁷ and wider engagement by Māori across the public sector. With its trade and economic focus and aspiration to engage more with Māori individuals, businesses, organisations and iwi involved in the ‘Māori economy’, it is useful to note this oft used phrase has been described as:

...masking the true diversity and complexity of what constitutes the way Māori participate in and make sense of economic activity. To date the Māori economy is articulated in a way that conforms to the dominant Western/capitalist rational

¹⁷⁷ Including the Public Service Legislation Bill 2019.

economic model, which is not reflective of the socio-economic realities that Māori live and experience and is in fact a multiplicity of economies (Amoamo, Ruwhiu & Carter, 2018, p. 67).

Public sector environment

Part of any response will be within the context of the core legislation informing the New Zealand state sector being reshaped through the changes proposed in the Public Service Legislation Bill¹⁷⁸ which was introduced to the New Zealand Parliament on 18 November 2019. Characterised as an omnibus bill, this would repeal the State Sector Act 1988 and make a few small changes to the Public Finance Act 1989. It is described as “providing a modern legislative framework for achieving a more adaptive and collaborative Public Service by expanding the types of agencies that comprise the Public Service, unified by a common purpose, ethos and strengthened leadership arrangements” (Parliament New Zealand, 2019). In relation to the Ministry’s responsibilities to Māori, the key goal of the Bill relates to “recognising the role of the public service to support the Crown in its commitment to its relationship with Māori” (Parliament New Zealand, 2019).

The Bill seeks to continue the ‘good employer’ requirements established under the State Sector Act 1988¹⁷⁹ and explicitly recognises the role of the public service in supporting the Crown in its relationships with Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi. In order to carry out that role, public service leaders (such as the Ministry’s CEO and Senior Leadership team) are “responsible for developing and maintaining the capability of the public service to engage with Māori and to understand Māori perspectives”, and in the State Services Commissioner, “in the development of the leadership strategy, must recognise the good employer requirements in relation to Māori” (Parliament New Zealand, 2019). The latter refers to the requirement in s 59 of the Public Service Legislation Bill “for the State Services Commissioner to develop and implement a leadership strategy (the leadership strategy) for the development of senior leadership and management capability in the public service in consultation with public service leaders” (Parliament New Zealand, 2019).

¹⁷⁸ Now the Public Service Act 2020.

¹⁷⁹ As described in s 56 (2) of the State Sector Act 1988.

As part of the public service role in supporting the Crown in its relationships with Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi,¹⁸⁰ the State Services Commissioner must recognise the matters shown in Table 9¹⁸¹ in developing the leadership strategy. Similarly, public sector Chief Executives must operate employment policies that also meet these requirements.

Chief executives of public service departments must operate an employment policy that complies with the principle of being a good employer; defined as an employer who operates an employment policy containing provisions generally accepted as necessary for the fair and proper treatment of employees in all aspects of their employment, including recognition of—

- (i) the aims and aspirations of Māori; and
- (ii) the employment requirements of Māori; and
- (iii) the need for greater involvement of Māori in the public service;

Table 9: Summary of s 71 (2) (d) of the Public Service Legislation Bill.

Conclusions

When I began this research, one of my primary concerns was that New Zealand’s current pattern of diplomatic representation does not reflect New Zealand’s bicultural heritage in a principled and meaningful way. Informed by experience as an insider researcher and Māori diplomat, I wanted to explore the disconnect between the outward face of the Ministry (in the physical posting context) and the inward realities (of the position of Māori staff and the way that the Ministry carries out its core policy work). My research aim was to contribute to the gap I found in the literature in relation to how Māori people, images and practices are used as part of New Zealand’s diplomatic practice. I wanted to ascertain what information is available on how decisions on New Zealand’s representation are made and the intended or likely meanings behind these decisions. The end goal was to have a greater understanding of the emerging issues, given the importance of how New Zealand

¹⁸⁰ s12 (1) of the Public Service Legislation Bill 2019.

¹⁸¹ Interestingly, these provisions relating to good employers and Māori in the public service are nearly an exact mirror of s 56 (2) (d) (i) (ii) and (iii) of the State Sector Act 1988, with the main difference being that the term ‘Māori’ has replaced ‘the Māori people’.

is represented internationally. At the core of this research was how New Zealand's Māori heritage and indigeneity is portrayed as part of that representation.

This research journey began with setting the scene – locating the research topic within the landscape that formed the background context. This landscape was informed by my experience and observations and by explaining the context of the Ministry's history, role, and place in the wider the New Zealand public sector. Practices used by the Ministry drawn from or influenced by Māori language and culture were detailed in relation to how New Zealand is represented and portrayed internationally. The results of a literature review were presented to illustrate the points of reference relevant to the research questions.

The literature was presented in two broad categories – scholarship relevant to New Zealand (use of korowai, Māori architecture, descriptions of whare, pōwhiri, accounts of New Zealand diplomats), and more generic literature (diplomatic symbolism, architectural diplomacy, representation). No specific literature on these questions was found. Drawing on the literature, research questions were presented which were used to evaluate the information from the case studies and the interview findings. Instead, the literature suggests that in the context of New Zealand new scholarship is needed to describe the research findings. It is my contention that what this research has shown is a situation I have termed as 'bicultural symbolism'.

Part of describing the landscape required an examination of how New Zealand is represented offshore, in relation to New Zealand's identity as a bicultural nation, with an indigenous Māori population. Two aspects of how New Zealand is depicted were explored – the physical portrayal of New Zealand (through an examination of aspects of the physical environment used and the use of art and design) and through the more human aspect of how Ministry staff (who are Māori) are used.

As part of considering how the Ministry utilises art and design in a posting context, two main case studies are included. The first (Chapter 6) considered how New Zealand is represented in the Cook Islands through the Ministry's property footprint, and the wider symbols evident in the Rarotonga landscape. The symbolic use of art featuring Māori and Pacific artists, together with Māori taonga, was examined as part of this case study's conclusion that the Ministry draws heavily on bicultural symbolism in this posting context

and has done for many years. The various aspects of bicultural symbolism used (Māori carvings, works of art, ceramics, kete, tukutuku) are used to reinforce the cultural and whakapapa connections between New Zealand and Cook Islands Māori. They are also used to reinforce the Ministry's narrative featuring the special links shared by New Zealand the Cook Islands as close Pacific neighbours.

The second case study illustrated a more modern interpretation of bicultural symbolism through the design and refit of the Consulate General of New Zealand in Noumea, New Caledonia (Chapter 7). In Noumea, the Ministry's narrative of New Zealand's connections with New Caledonia focus on the shared Pacific Ocean both countries share. This is symbolised through the use of an architectural design featuring the ceiling wave in the reception and meeting rooms. Again, aspects of Māori art and taonga are used as forms of bicultural symbolism in the public spaces at the Consulate (including the use of carving, pounamu, korowai, tukutuku and the drawing of cultural links with Pacific artists).

Further examples of bicultural symbolism are provided, showing patterns of Māori themed images and practices being used in New Zealand posts in Australia, United Arab Emirates, United States of America, China, Papua New Guinea, Japan and Korea. These case studies detail how the artwork and design features in the physical spaces owned and used by the Ministry use many aspects of bicultural symbolism to portray an image of New Zealand. Patterns of use of taonga and art are shown, together with the modern interpretative use of some traditional taonga. The images being portrayed draw heavily on aspects of New Zealand's indigenous Māori culture, both through the use of art by Māori artists and art featuring Māori-influenced images or themes or Māori taonga. Aspects of Māori culture are also routinely used to portray or represent New Zealand, shown through the use of korowai, pounamu, pōwhiri and waiata.

In my description of how decisions are taken by the Ministry on the purchase, use and commissioning of art and design choices, it was clear these decisions are made by a small number of specific actors in the design process. Decisions on use of cultural points of reference are also taken by individual experts within the sphere of their own field of expertise (for example, architectural interpretation of the Māori myth relating to Māui in Sydney and the amalgamation of the Emirati Mashrabiya and Māori tukutuku in Abu Dhabi). The overarching mandate for these choices is loosely informed by policy, allowing

for reliance on more informal preferences based on historic practice and subjective views by a few staff or paid experts.

In Chapter 3, I distilled a series of questions organised by key themes. These themes informed the data collection by means of interviews with respondents and the case study data obtained by observation and ethnographic means. Returning now to those questions - questions which by their nature go to 'gaps' in the existing literature – the research reported in this dissertation highlights both answers, and fruitful lines of further inquiry.

- **Use of symbolic representation/exploration of portrayal of national identity**

In answer to this question - the Ministry uses an extensive range of symbolic representation to portray New Zealand's identity domestically and overseas. The identity portrayed is focused on New Zealand's bicultural heritage, through a pattern of representation expressed using art, taonga and aspects of Māori cultural practice. Where willing and available the Ministry utilises its Māori staff as part of the expression of these practices, focusing on those with a 'performance' aspect (pōwhiri, waiata, karanga, Te Reo Māori). Māori staff are also called on to explain Māori art and taonga within a posting context. A range of responses were apparent from the interviews on this issue ranging from willing participant to those not wanting to participate due to their concerns over 'cultural dilution' of Māori cultural practice or tikanga, to those who described feeling burdened and unrecognised by these extra responsibilities. The literature is largely silent on the Ministry's history in relation to Māori staff and the shaping of this bicultural expression of identity. After reviewing the available literature described in Figure 37 and Chapter 3, I concluded that the literature on New Zealand's diplomatic practice focuses on the history of New Zealand's representation, the location of posts, and the gradual expansion of New Zealand's presence offshore and personal memoirs from retired diplomats. There is a gap in the literature pertaining to how Māori diplomats and Māori images and practices are used to signify a key point of difference for New Zealand to other nations.

This gap in knowledge is significant and impacts on being able to have a deep understanding and appreciation of the myriad of issues at play when considering New Zealand's representation offshore. If this gap in our current knowledge is not addressed, we will not fully understand the range of issues around how New Zealand's indigenous

people (Māori) and culture are reflected and contribute to New Zealand's diplomatic presence. This will allow the narrow view of Māori representation currently reflected in the available literature to continue, which will perpetuate the status quo. This is despite the importance of this issue (to contribute to an accurate representation of New Zealand's identity); the growing Māori demographic¹⁸² and economic presence¹⁸³ (in particular in the post-Treaty of Waitangi claim settlement¹⁸⁴ era); and the continued use of Māori imagery by the Ministry.

- **Use of art and taonga as image building diplomacy/symbols as sense makers**

The case studies, interviews and written materials confirmed that this bicultural identity is portrayed by the Ministry through the extensive use of art and taonga. All the posts considered (particularly the case studies) demonstrated the patterns and processes that are used to embed this bicultural identity. Figure 7 illustrated the range of carved taonga used, including traditional imagery of taonga to contrast this with some of the modern expressions used by the Ministry (for example the traditional wharenui in Figure 7, contrasted with the Tomokanga in Tokyo (Figure 188). Further examples of taonga consistently used were described in Figure 8 (including: kete; korowai; mauri stone/pounamu; piupiu and tukutuku). This research found that this range of taonga, together with an extensive use of art featuring Māori themes or by Māori artists is systematically used across posts, with Table 7 outlining the 'formula' identified by this research, summarised as:

Carving + other taonga + design feature + art + colour palette + myth (potentially)

= expression of New Zealand's bicultural identity

This is further developed in Table 7 as my key finding of the use of bicultural symbolism. This finding of bicultural symbolism illustrates in a new format the clear patterns of symbolism used by the Ministry to portray a particular image of New Zealand as part of New Zealand's international face and presence. The description of the use of art, taonga and cultural practice through the selection of posts chosen show clear patterns of

¹⁸² New Zealand's estimated Māori population was 744,900 at 31 December 2018 (Statistics New Zealand, 2018).

¹⁸³ Māori economy asset base estimated at \$42 billion in 2017 (MFAT, 2017f).

¹⁸⁴ Which follows on from the settlement of historical Treaty of Waitangi claims as between the Crown (New Zealand Government) and iwi or Māori groups or individuals.

bicultural symbolism that can be described as formulaic. The findings demonstrate the historic importance of how countries are symbolised overseas and how countries use diplomatic symbolism and aspects of architectural diplomacy to provide a point of difference for their country amid a sea of other countries trying to achieve the same goal in a crowded market.

- **Expression of visual identity as objectification of the state/bicultural symbolism**

This theme was explored through the specific examination of the use of korowai and pōwhiri by the Ministry. Historical context was presented as part of situating the importance of both cultural practices to Māori – both historically and in contemporary times. The interview findings signalled caution and concern around the use of korowai by the Ministry for Heads of Mission for credential ceremonies (including risks of tokenism, inappropriate use and care, and the reality that Māori staff are unlikely to be regularly appointed Heads of Mission as non-Māori staff are). Interviews expressed concern in relation to the dilution of tikanga around pōwhiri, with Māori staff bearing the brunt of this responsibility due to their cultural value system without being recognised in return.

- **Bureaucratic representation**

The written material examined for this research, together with interview findings confirmed Māori have not been part of the expression of New Zealand's diplomatic practice for an extended period. Numbers have routinely been small to marginal with systemic issues persisting around recruitment and retention challenges together with factors impacting on the perceptions by some Māori staff of a 'brown ceiling' preventing advancement. The statistics available on the Ministry's Māori staff together with the material presented in this research underscore the reality that it is rare for Māori to be appointed to senior roles and there has yet to be a Māori staff member appointed to lead one of the large and prestigious New Zealand posts. Meeting the Ministry's own diversity and inclusion targets will be challenging on multiple fronts.

The decisions on how a country is represented are shown to be important, not only to provide a point of difference to others but to show aspects of a country's culture or personality to the world. In my view, decisions on how New Zealand is represented overseas through the work and purpose of the Ministry are vitally important. They are also

decisions that are weighted with responsibility and the need to not only resonate with New Zealanders but also to equate with the reality of a country domestically.

- **Role of diplomats – wrapped meanings**

My review of the Ministry's written material relating to visual identity and branding showed there is a pattern of symbolic patterns used as part of presenting New Zealand's bicultural identity. Case studies detailing the use of 'waewae pukeko' design preferences drawn from tukutuku for example are extensive, together with a standardised approach to use of the silver fern and other recognisable forms of New Zealand identity, drawn largely from a Māori context. This includes use of aspects of Māori architecture and design through waharoa, aspects of marae/whare nui, use of pounamu mere, mauri stone and gifts. The findings illustrate that the Ministry uses a systematic approach to express bicultural symbolism through its diplomats (specifically through the use of korowai, some Te Reo Māori, use of waiata, haka and pōwhiri). These expressions of bicultural identity are used to provide a point of difference in the crowded diplomatic landscape internationally for New Zealand to stand out, be remembered and as part of wider diplomatic leverage.

- **Architectural diplomacy/bicultural architecture/Te Pou Māori and Whare Aorere**

This research provides an international context to the use of marae overseas on the diplomatic stage, to complement the available literature on the care of offshore marae (which largely focus on preservation or repatriation). Written material and cases studies showed the use of architectural symbolism to show points of connection with governments. Specific examples shown included the wave design in Noumea with its oceanic connection narrative and the fusion of tukutuku with Mashrabiya in Abu Dhabi. The profound importance of Te Pou Māori to Māori staff was a key interview finding, together with the points of cultural and interpersonal connection provided through the interaction of Māori staff with Whare Aorere.

- **Biculturalism, EEO and Diversity and Inclusion narratives**

These issues were explored within the Ministry internal context, through written material, interview findings and informed by a range of literature including my previous Masters

research. The external environment within which the Ministry is located was also detailed as part of summarising the future challenges and opportunities in this landscape (shown in Figures 198 and 199). A clear way forward is presented for the Ministry, should it choose to take a proactive approach which values the role and contribution of Māori staff – the Ministry's taonga.

This research showed a disconnect between how New Zealand is represented overseas through the extensive use of bicultural symbolism, and the reality of Māori representation within the Ministry. Interview findings showed the deep connection and importance of Māori staff to each other over their career journey. Participants recalled their pride in representing New Zealand as tangata whenua, and in their use of Māori language and culture as core components of their diplomatic skill set. Frustrations were also apparent at the cyclic nature of issues Māori staff have with the Ministry on topics such as recruitment, retention, progression and the Māori staff demographic (low numbers overall, low numbers of managers and Heads of Mission). Private opinions and experiences were shared by participants, drawing from their career journey at the Ministry. The findings illustrated inconsistencies between the Ministry's narrative of wanting to improve its relationship with Māori (as detailed in the Māori Engagement Strategy) and the realities experienced by Māori staff. Many concerns were expressed at the low numbers of Māori staff, especially in senior positions, the lack of understanding of Māori perspectives, ways of working, and the value Māori staff bring to their work, and by extension, to how New Zealand is represented to and with other countries.

The findings concerning Māori staff are significant as they give voice to the experiences of this group of Ministry staff for the first time in an academic sense. This is important for a range of reasons. The first is from a historical perspective of Māori staff having their views expressed, which has now provided a step forward to address this gap in the literature. The second is having these views recorded as part of this research, which could contribute to any future Ministry focus on the issues raised.

This thesis has made a clear contribution to the literature on New Zealand's diplomatic practice by providing for the first time a detailed account of how Māori people, images and practices are used in New Zealand's diplomacy. This research also confirms what the related symbolic aims. This contribution to the literature confirms the New Zealand

government, through the work of the Ministry uses a range of tools to promote bicultural symbolism through its head office and network of posts. These tools focus on promoting New Zealand as a bicultural nation, drawing heavily on Māori staff, art, design, mythological references, taonga and aspects of cultural practice (the use of korowai and pōwhiri was discussed). The bicultural symbolism used by the Ministry is reflected in its physical environment through patterns of use of art and taonga throughout its posting network, and through patterns of narrative and innovative design-focused patterns that are described as interpretive of some aspects of Māori culture and practice.

The findings have further significance accentuated through my own experience and narrative, combined with aspects of the interview findings, that there is a disconnect between the Ministry's extensive use of bicultural symbolism and the historical and current reality of the Ministry's interaction with Māori. The findings demonstrate the dual nature of the Ministry's obligation to Māori, as an employer and to Māori external to the Ministry. In both of these situations Māori within and external to the Ministry can be regarded as Treaty partners, with the range of responsibilities and obligations this incurs. These findings are significant in highlighting that the Ministry has not (yet) found a pathway forward that encompasses their dual responsibility as a Crown agency.

This research did not intend to present a full historical account of the Ministry's history or to detail the history of each Māori diplomat who has ever worked in the Ministry. Ultimately, those topics remain for others to take forward. This research covered the relatively short period of time in which the Ministry has had Māori staff and used Māori images, art and taonga. This research showed the use of bicultural symbolism through the diplomatic practice and various functions of the Ministry. There is further scope for others to consider the extension of the term bicultural symbolism into other domestic arenas (noting the Ministry is not the only government agency or organisation in New Zealand that uses bicultural symbolism to portray a bicultural image of New Zealand – whether in New Zealand or internationally through bicultural symbolism in a trade and product promotion sense). There is also the potential to consider the use of bicultural symbolism by other governments with indigenous peoples (for example the experience of Canada, Australia and Pacific nations).

The future

My research highlights points of disconnect and challenges centred on current expression of bicultural symbolism by the Ministry. It also points out the opportunities to change this narrative for the future. Going forward in 2020 (acknowledging the impact COVID-19 has had across the public sector) presents many levers to utilise in the Ministry's operating environment; the government's focus on diversity and inclusion, the potential for the Ministry as part of the public service to support the Crown in its relationships with Māori under the Treaty of Waitangi (most recently through the vehicle of the Public Service Legislation Bill 2019) and multiple opportunities for the Ministry to choose to play a key role in the development of the Crown – Māori relationship within its own workforce and with external partners. The Ministry is in the fortunate position of having a suite of internal tools available to assist with this process and take forward some of the findings from this research. Some of these are shown in Figure 198, including Te Pou Māori, who are Ministry taonga with specific cultural and personal expertise that represent a skill set unique to New Zealand, which is in short supply within the New Zealand public service.

Te Pou Māori staff (both current and previous alumni) have, in my observation and as raised by some participants, shown high levels of commitment to improving the Ministry in the areas of the Ministry's Māori responsiveness across a broad range of areas. This resilience and patience has extended over many cycles of Ministry response (Figure 196) over many decades, despite change being piecemeal and at times inconsistent. Te Pou Māori have shown high levels of engagement as staff and as Treaty partners. The future presents an opportunity for the Ministry to meaningfully recognise this contribution, address the issues raised in this research and respond in kind – both as an employer and a Crown agency with Treaty responsibilities.

There are a range of internal tools to draw on, described in Chapter 2. These include the various plans and strategies the Ministry has in its toolkit now, including in the area of values, diversity and inclusion, strategic frameworks, planning documents and Māori engagement. A further tool centres on the external links operated by the Māori Policy Unit and through such engagement tools such as Te Taumata. This resource could be further strengthened through additional resourcing, funding and clarity of mandate. Ministry staff are in

themselves an untapped resource, having a vested interest in ensuring the Ministry as a Crown agency can respond to these issues in a principled and Treaty-cognisant manner.

Figure 195: Diagram showing internal tools available to the Ministry

The choices available to the Ministry going forward are not decisions for Ministry managers to take alone in isolation. A range of external drivers and influencers will also shape this response. Some of these are shown in Figure 199, including what I have termed motivational drivers (the on-going Treaty discourse, the influence of the Māori economy, of Māori influencers, organisations, iwi and urban authorities – the impact of a post-settlement era, where future settlements could include specific responsibilities for the Ministry in the trade or representational space). The Ministry is also one of many public sector agencies that will be increasingly impacted by the growing number of kaupapa inquiries affecting Crown agencies.

The legislative environment is also changing, with Bills such as the Public Service Legislation Bill 2019 specifically including a role for the public service in supporting the Crown’s relationship with Māori (Table 9). The Ministry’s work is regularly reviewed by various external ‘assessors’ including the SSC (through the Performance Improvement Framework, reports on Māori staff numbers and diversity reporting), and the political influencers through

Ministers and the wider Parliament accountability. The Ministry's actions are also subject to international scrutiny both by diplomatic partners and through such international bodies as the United Nations (through reporting on New Zealand's compliance with a range of international conventions).

Figure 196: Diagram showing external drivers affecting the Ministry

Lastly, I suggest that given the range of internal tools and external drivers impacting on the Ministry, the future presents an opportunity for the Ministry to choose whether to change its narrative on bicultural symbolism and how Māori staff, people images and practices are used to represent New Zealand – to choose to lead in this space or to be led by the changing landscape. Stepping up to grasp this opportunity requires the sort of courage described by Foreign Minister Peters in 2019 when he challenged the Ministry when looking to the future to “take the risks required to grasp future opportunities, and the wisdom to face future adversity” (Peters, 2019a, p. 12).

List of works of art or taonga referred to in this thesis

All works of art or taonga are from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade Collection, unless stated.

Abu Dhabi

Figure 160: 'The Marakihau' by Kemera Wilson.

Figure 162: 'Kahu tieke' (saddleback cape) by Maureen Lander.

Figure 163: 'Ice Shelf' by Neil Frazer.

Figure 164: 'Pioriori' by Jon Tootill.

Figure 165: 'Kete' by Sue Tucker.

Figure 166: 'Territory' by David Murray.

Figure 179: 'Wintering after a van der Velden study Otira Gorge' by Ann Shelton.

Beijing

Figure 189: He Pakiaka Whare.

Buenos Aires

Figure 113: 'Te Aka Aorere' by Albert Te Pou.

Canberra

Figure 127: 'Cows' by Jeff Thomson.

Figure 129: 'Pou Pou' by Rangi Hetet.

Figure 131: 'Ariki Ora II' by Darryn George.

Figure 133: 'Te Aka Aorere' by Albert Te Pou.

Figure 135: 'Va I Moana, Respect for the Sea' by Fatu Feu'u.

Figure 138: 'Manākitanga' korowai by Te Ao Marama Ngarimu.

Figure 139: 'Hatupatu and the death of Kurangituku' by Cliff Whiting.

Figure 140: 'Hatupatu killing Kurangituku's pets' by Cliff Whiting.

Figure 145: 'Wood panels' by Hone Te Kauru Taiapa (National Gallery Australia)

Dublin

Figure 67: Korowai by Erenora Puketapu-Hetet.

Figure 69: 'Celtic piupiu' by Elizabeth Scott.

London

Figure 36: 'Pouihi' by Inia Te Wiata.

Los Angeles

Figure 170: Carved door handle by Haami Te Aho.

Mexico

Figure 115: 'Te Aka Aorere' by Albert Te Pou.

Noumea

Figure 70: 'Tui' framed korowai by Kohai Grace.

Figure 116 and 117: 'Te Aka Aorere' by Albert Te Pou.

Figure 118: 'Blessed again by the Gods' by Mahiriki Tangaroa.

Figure 119: 'Protector' by Chris Charteris.

Figure 122: 'Tumatakahuki tukutuku' by Emma Marino.

Figure 123: 'Taranaki kete' by Matthew McIntyre Wilson.

Figure 125: 'Ika Mana' by Fatu Feu'u.

Figure 126: 'Ika' by Tracey Tawhiao.

Port Moresby

Figure 182: Two carved panels by Tuti Tukaokao.

Figure 187: 'Te Amokura' by Laurie Nicholas and carving team.

Rarotonga

Figure 76: Untitled carving by Derek Lardelli.

Figure 77: Tukutuku panels by Marae Orakei.

Figure 78: Bust of Brett Graham, necklace from series 'Tatau my Tatau' by Sofia Smith.

Figure 79: 'As the wind danced on the horizon' by Mahiriki Tangaroa.

Figure 80: 'Tivaevae fruit salad' by Sylvia Marsters.

Figure 81" Tivaevae quilt by Mere Tapaeru Tereora (Te Papa Collection, 2002)

Figure 82: 'Tiki' by Rangi Kipa.

Figure 83: 'Hei Tiki' by Rangi Kipa

Figure 84: 'Whakamahara Matanga I and II' by Wi Taepa.

Figure 85: 'Speargrass in the Hooker Valley' by Craig Potton.

Figure 86: 'Wakahuia' by Gray Nicol.

Figure 87: 'Ra' by Tawai Williams.

Figure 88: The Residency Ngatipa by Craig Elsdon Water Hart (Hart, 1917)

Figure 92: Tukutuku panel by Karmen Thomson.

Figure 93: 'Evoke' by Cerisse Palalagi.

Figure 94: 'Merging Flight' by David Teata.

Figure 95: 'Kete, whetu po 1' by Jill Fleming.

Figure 96: 'Floral Pop Tiki' by Aroha Lewin.

Figure 97: 'Poupou' by Greg Whakataka-Brightwell and 'Tangaroa i te Titi' by Stormy Kara.

Figure 98: 'Mountains and lakes' by Mark Wooller.

Figure 100: 'Te Arawa' by unknown artist.

Santiago

Figure 114: 'Te Aka Aorere' by Albert Te Pou.

Seoul

Figure 171: Carved door handle, unknown artist.

Figure 172: Mere, unknown artist.

Figure 173: 'Kouma' breastplate by Chris Charteris.

Figure 174: 'Papahou', unknown artist.

Figure 175: 'Kete' by Nigel How.

Figure 176: 'Acre of Wounds, Black Rainbow' by Ralph Hotere.

Figure 177: 'Hatupatu and the birdwoman Kurangaituku' by Cliff Whiting.

Figure 178: Pounamu mere, unknown artist.

Figure 179: Wakahuia feather box, unknown artist.

Sydney

Figure 147: Pounamu touch stone

Figure 148: 'Gull' by Richard Killeen.

Figure 149: 'Seahorse' by Richard Killeen.

Figure 150: 'Tamaupoko' by Johnson Witehira.

Figure 151: 'Pinky Winky Tiki' by Paora Tiatoa.

Figure 152: Red Herring III' by Dick Frizzell (Frizzell, 2009).

Figure 153: 'Hei Tiki' (Taonga Māori Collection, 1972).

Figure 154: Plastic Hei Tiki (MOTAT, 1965).

Figure 155: 'Hooper's Inlet' by Robin White.

Figure 157: 'Pou Pou' by Himi Taylor.

Figure 158: 'Anywhere in the world' by John Pule.

Figure 159: 'In the evening' by John Pule.

Figure 180: Wakahuia by Rangi Hetet.

Tokyo

Figure 188: 'Tomokanga' by Mihiroa marae.

Figure 179: 'Wakahuia feather box', unknown artist.

Washington

Figure 66: 'Korowai' by Rangimarie Hetet.

Figure 181: 'Sista I', 'Sista II' and 'Sista III' by Lonnie Hutchinson.

Figure 183: 'Tarawhai', by Tene Waitere, Ana Te Rahui and Eramiha Kapua.

Figure 184: 'Tarawhai' (Schiller-Wine, 2015).

Figure 185: 'Tu Tangata' canoe prow by Rangi Hetet.

Wellington

Figure 4: 'Whare Aorere', carvings by various artists and tukutuku panels by Te Pou Māori staff.

Figure 186: Aorere pou.

List of figures

Figure	Description	Page
1	Photo of Ngāti Rānana performing in support of the New Zealand Embassy in Belgium at a celebration of 50 years of diplomatic relations between New Zealand and Romania (NZ Embassy Belgium, 2020).	24
2	Photo by Tom Honan from the <i>Irish Times</i> of the pōwhiri for the opening of the New Zealand Embassy in Dublin, Ireland (Edwards, 2018).	25
3	Photo of former Māori diplomats Hekia Parata and Witi Ihimaera presenting a greenstone gift Te Wai Pounamu to the Metropolitan Museum, New York, June 1986 (MFAT, 1986).	26
4	Photo of Pare (door lintel) of Aorere, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Wellington, New Zealand (MFAT, 1999).	29
5	Photo of Rob Taylor (Divisional Manager, Europe Division of the Ministry) and Ms Paola Pampaloni (Deputy Managing Director of the Asia and Pacific Department of the European External Action Service) signing a Partnership Agreement on Relations and Cooperation between the European Union and New Zealand in Whare, 2 March 2018 (MFAT, 2018p).	31
6	Example of informal coding framework used for interview data.	38
7	Examples of taonga used by the Ministry and referred to in this research.	39 - 40
8	Examples of other taonga used by the Ministry and referred to in this research.	41 - 42
9	Ministry at a glance diagram showing the post network and staff details (MFAT, 2019i)	43
10	Details of Ministry's Safetravel website.	46

Figure	Description	Page
11	Photo of reception area, New Zealand Embassy Beijing showing use of tukutuku panels (left) and architectural sculpture (suspended from the ceiling) together with New Zealand flag (MFAT, 2020).	48
12	Photo of 'Te Hono ki Waitangi: Tent Embassy 1990' by Diane Prince with the words 'Racism reigns in Aotearoa' (City Gallery, 1990).	49
13	Image of Silver Fern used by the Ministry and other government departments. Illustrating image from Ministry website homepage (MFAT, 2020a).	52
14	Photo of two patterns used by the Ministry as part of its visual identity. The top one is the 'waewae pūkeko' pattern and the bottom one is 'niho taniwha pattern' (MFAT, 2015d).	53
15	Photo of exterior section of New Zealand Embassy Beijing illustrating the use of tukutuku inspired patterned glass – shown in the windows of the right of this image (MFAT, 2020).	54
16	Poutama (steps) pattern from Ministry's Visual Identity Guidelines illustrating the similarity to pattern used in Figure 15 (MFAT, 2019e).	54
17	Photo of Charles Moihi Bennett and Elizabeth May Bennett (Bennett, 1957).	58
18	Photo of former High Commissioner Tia Barrett (Ngāti Maniapoto) first Māori career diplomat to be appointed to a Head of Mission role (Adams and Meredith, 2005).	58
19	Photo of Deborah Panckhurst (Ngāti Porou) former High Commissioner of New Zealand to the Solomon Islands, taken at the Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons Conference at the Hague 4 December 2014 (NZ Embassy the Hague, 2014).	59
20	Our Values (MFAT, 2019h).	60
21	Ministry Values diagram (MFAT, 2019i).	61

Figure	Description	Page
22	Principles of the Pacific Reset (MFAT, 2018b) Merrett, Joseph Jenner, 1815 - 1854 [Merrett, Joseph Jenner] 1816? – 1854: [The Hobson album]. A native chief dress in a dog's skin mat, with a weapon called wahanoghi. [ca 1843]. Ref: E-216-f-045. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand/records/22696958.	64
23	Literature map on themes relevant to research.	74
24	Example of a Presidential invitation from former US President Obama and Mrs. Obama showing the seal of the United States of America (Obama Food, 2012).	78
25	Example of a New Zealand Head of Mission Business Card template (MFAT, 2019e).	79
26	Example of a standard A6 invitation from the Ministry's Secretary of Foreign Affairs (MFAT, 2019e).	79
27	Photo of New Zealand Embassy Beijing as an example of a large diplomatic building designed to symbolise aspects of New Zealand as described in the text (MFAT, 2020).	79
28	Example of a Māori-themed gift. This shows an image of a pounamu mere by Al Brown (Kura Gallery, 2020).	80
29	Example of a Māori-themed gift. Photo of a glass waka by Cre8tive Glass (Kura Gallery, 2020).	81
30	Example of a Māori-themed gift. Photo of paua cufflinks (ArikiNZ, 2020).	81
31	Example of a Māori-themed gift. This photo shows an image of an 'Aotearoa Māori tie' (Zazzle, 2020).	81
32	Example of diplomatic flag on official car (Flagpoles, 2020).	82
33	Photo of Walter Nash, New Zealand Minister to the United States and his wife Lotty, at the front door of their home in Washington DC with a Cadillac in the driveway (Nash, 1942).	82
34	Photo of US Embassy London UK (Saarinen and Korab, 1955-60).	85
35	Photo of Australian Embassy, Bangkok, Thailand (Gollings, 2018).	85

Figure	Description	Page
36	Photo of Pouihi carved by Inia Te Wiata in the foyer of New Zealand House London, United Kingdom (New Zealand Places, 2019).	87
37	Photo of New Zealand Flag (Whitfield, 2020).	89
38	Image of Niuean coin (2016) depicting imagery from <i>Star Wars: The Force Awakens</i> (Amazon, 2019).	89
39	Photo of interior of Futuna Chapel, Wellington, New Zealand designed by John Scott (Futuna Trust, 2019).	92
40	Photo of Futuna Chapel in 1961 (exterior) by John Scott (Futuna Trust, 2019).	92
41	Photo of the visitor centre for the Waitangi National Trust designed by John Scott (Martin, 2007).	92
42	Photo of exterior view of Te Papa Tongarewa Museum of New Zealand showing entrance way (Ministry of Culture and Heritage, 2017).	93
43	Photo of the exhibition 'Treaty of Waitangi: Signs of a Nation', displayed on Level 4 of Te Papa Tongarewa (Photo: Great Journeys of New Zealand, 2019).	94
44	Photo of Ōtiria marae, one of the marae visited by Muru, Robin and Sam Walters (2014), (Ōtiria Marae Memorials, 2020).	95
45	Photo of Hinemihi wharehau in Clandon Park, Surrey, UK (Photo by J. Martinez, Ancient Origins, 2020).	96
46	Photo of Ruatapu II, Field Museum of Chicago (Pacific Anthropology, 2020).	96
47	Poster from 1940 "showing carved human figures" Māori Art, New Zealand (King, 1940).	97
48	Poster for New Zealand Government Tourist Department shows older Māori person in traditional dress (Bridgman, 1947).	97
49	Bella. A Māori guide sitting at edge of Rotorua Geysers 121 (Jackson, 1895).	97

Figure	Description	Page
50	Photo of Air New Zealand Airbus 320 departing Dunedin airport, showing use of koru and silver fern in Air New Zealand branding (Jacquiry as cited in Hartley, 2016).	109
51	Photo of New Zealand Māori All Blacks Rugby team performing the haka (Palmer, 2017).	109
52	Photo of New Zealand Black Ferns Rugby team performing the haka (Photosport New Zealand, 2017).	110
53	A bicultural continuum of bicultural goals (Durie, 1994).	114
54	A bicultural continuum of structural arrangements (Durie, 1994).	115
55	Photo of group performing Māori songs at New Zealand High Commission Malaya, Waitangi Day 6 February 1961. Taken by an unidentified photographer during the Malayan Emergency (1948-1960) (Department of Internal Affairs, 1961).	118
56	New Zealand Embassy branding showing use of Silver Fern (MFAT, 2020a).	120
57	Photo of Silver Fern displayed on New Zealand House, London (Kiwi kids abroad, 2020).	121
58	Image of Tiaki promise (The Visual Library, 2020).	121
59	Merrett, Joseph Jenner, 1815-1854. (Merrett, Joseph Jenner) 1816?-1854 (The Hobson album). A native chief dressed in a dog's skin mat, with a weapon called whanoghi (ca 1843). Ref: E-216-f-045. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand/record/22696958.	132
60	Photo of Sophia Hinerangi seated on the paepae-kai-awa (threshold beam) of the porch at Te Rauru meeting house in the model village at Whakarewarewa (Rotorua, New Zealand), taken circa 1900-1909 by William Beattie & Co. Sophia wears a korowai (tag cloak). Ref PAColl-8839. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand (Jones, C S, active 20 th century).	133
61	Head and shoulders portrait of Tamati Waka Te Puhi, probably photographed by the Foy Brothers of Thames between 1872- 1886,	134

Figure	Description	Page
	Shows a man with a moko in three quarter profile. He wears a tag cloak. Ref 1-0-22707. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.	
62	Photo of Māori medical students celebrating their graduation from Otago University, New Zealand. A number are wearing korowai in addition to their academic robes to symbolise the importance of the occasion to them and their whānau. Photo: Sharron Bennett (University of Otago, 2016).	134
63	Former Ambassador of New Zealand to the Netherlands, Janet Lowe (wearing a Ministry korowai) with President Sauli Niinistö of Finland after presenting her credentials on 4 December 2014 (New Zealand Embassy The Hague, 2014).	135
64	Photo of New Zealand Minister of Foreign Affairs Rt Hon Winston Peters and New Zealand Ambassador to Ireland Brad Burgess (wearing a Ministry korowai) shaking hands over a Mauri stone at the opening of the New Zealand embassy, Dublin, Ireland (MFAT, 2019d).	137
65	Photo of King Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands and the New Zealand Ambassador Lyndal Walker (wearing a Ministry korowai) at her credentials ceremony (Zimbio, 2017).	137
66	Korowai by Dame Rangimarie Hetet c. 1973, on display at the New Zealand Embassy Washington, USA (MFAT, 2016b).	138
67	Korowai by Erenora Puketapu-Hetet, c 1987, on display at the New Zealand Embassy Dublin, Ireland (as also shown in Figure 68) (MFAT, 2019d).	139
68	Korowai by Erenora Puketapu-Hetet, c. 1987, on display at the New Zealand Embassy Dublin, Ireland – shown in situ at the Embassy (MFAT, 2019d).	139
69	Celtic piupiu by Elizabeth Scott, on display at the New Zealand Residence, Dublin, Ireland (MFAT, 2019c).	140
70	Photo of ‘Tui’ framed korowai displayed in residence of New Zealand Consul General Noumea, New Caledonia (MFAT, 2017b).	141

Figure	Description	Page
71	Photo of Ministry pōwhiri held in Whare Aorere welcoming EU negotiators for EU-New Zealand Free Trade Agreement negotiations, 7 October 2018 (MFAT, 2018q).	142
72	Photo of pōwhiri (official welcoming ceremony) at Te Aute College, Waipawa District, New Zealand. Henry Whitehead Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library (Whitehead, 1920s 1930s).	143
73	Map of the Cook Islands (World Atlas, 2020).	156
74	Photo of entrance to the New Zealand High Commission, Rarotonga, Cook Islands (Author).	161
75	Photo of stairs to reception of New Zealand High Commission, Rarotonga showing the Lardelli carving at the top right at the top of the stair rail (Author).	162
76	Untitled carving. Derek Lardelli, New Zealand High Commission foyer, Rarotonga, Cook Islands (Author).	163
77	Photo of Marae Orakei Tukutuku panels for meeting house displayed in the New Zealand High Commission meeting room Rarotonga, Cook Islands (Author).	165
78	Photo of bust of Brett Graham, necklace from series Tatau my Tatau (foreground). Sofia Smith: (Author).	165
79	Photo of Mahiriki Tangaroa 'As the wind danced on the horizon', by (Author).	166
80	Photo of Sylvia Marsters 'Tivaevae Fruit Salad', by in the reception area (Author).	167
81	Tivaevae (quilt) by mere Tapaeru Tereora (Cook Islands), 1980 (Te Papa Collections, 2002).	168
82	Photo of 'Tiki', by Rangi Kipa, displayed in the reception (Author).	169
83	'Hei Tiki' by Rangi Kipa (Auckland Art Gallery, 2019).	169
84	Photo of Wi Taepa 'Whakamahara Matanga I and II, ceramic works displayed in the New Zealand High Commission conference room (Author).	170

Figure	Description	Page
85	Photo of Craig Potton 'Speargrass in the Hooker Valley, with Aoraki/Mt Cook beyond, Mt Cook National Park' (Author).	171
86	Photo of Gray Nicol Wakahuia carving (Author).	171
87	Photo of Tawai Williams 'Ra' painting in High Commissioner's office (Author).	172
88	Craig Elsdon Water Hart, The Residence Ngatipa photo early 1900s (Hart, 1917).	173
89	Photo of Ngatipa pavilions from driveway (Author).	174
90	Photo of entrance to Ngatipa (Author).	175
91	Photo of entrance to Ngatipa entertainment area (Author).	176
92	Photo of Karmen Thomson Tukutuku panel, affixed to lectern in Ngatipa entertainment area. This lectern is used by the High Commissioner and some visitors to deliver speeches (Author).	177
93	Photo of Cerisse Palalagi 'Evoke' (Author).	177
94	Photo of David Teata 'Merging Flight' (Author).	178
95	Photos of Jill Fleming 'Kete Whetu po 1' (Author).	178
96	Photo of Aroha Lewin 'Floral Pop Tiki' (Author).	96
97	Photos of Stormy Kara 'Tangaroa i te Titi' (left), and Greg Whakataka-Brightwell 'Poupou' (right) both in the entertainment area (Author).	179
98	Photo of Mark Wooller 'Mountains and lakes' (Author).	180
99	Photo of Ngatipa entertainment area showing seven Matariki carvings on far wall (Author).	181
100	Photo of 'Te Arawa', Matariki Project carving (Author).	182
101	Photo of Avana passage sign (Author).	183
102	Photo of Avana memorial circle and stone (Author).	183
103	Photo of Pou and Pu at rear (Author).	184

Figure	Description	Page
104	Photo of Pu (Author).	185
105	Photo of Returned Services Association memorial sign (Author).	185
106	Photo of World War One Cenotaph, Rarotonga (Author).	185
107	Photo of text from World War One Cenotaph, Rarotonga (Author).	185
108	Photo of Commemorative stone and plaque, Punanga Nui market, Rarotonga (Author).	186
109	Photo of commemorative plaque, Punanga Nui market, Rarotonga (Author).	186
110	Photo of Commemorative stone and plaques, Punanga Nui market, Rarotonga (Author).	188
111	Photo of reception of the previous Noumea property (MFAT, 2011).	195
112	Photo of Noumea Consulate reception area (MFAT, 2017b).	198
113	Photo of 'Aorere 1988' by Albert Te Pou, New Zealand Embassy Buenos Aires, Argentina. Aorere is described as the Ministry's figurehead. Reference is also made to the kō (customary digging tool) to "signify the strong agricultural, technological and environmental connections between Argentina and New Zealand". (MFAT, 2019a).	199
114	Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' carving by Albert Te Pou in New Zealand embassy Santiago, Chile (MFAT, 2018t).	200
115	Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' carving by Albert Te Pou in New Zealand Embassy, Mexico City, Mexico (MFAT, 2018t).	200
116	Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' carving by Albert Te Pou in New Zealand Embassy Buenos Aires, Argentina (reception) (MFAT, 2018t).	201
117	Photo of 'Te Aka Aorere' carving by Albert Te Pou in New Zealand Embassy Buenos Aires, Argentina (MFAT, 2018t).	201
118	Photo of 'Blessed again by the Gods' by Mahiriki Tangaroa (MFAT, 2017b).	202
119	Photo of 'Protector' by Chris Charteris (MFAT, 2017b).	203

Figure	Description	Page
120	Photo of meeting room showing wave formation in ceiling, Noumea (MFAT, 2017b).	204
121	New Zealand images used as part of Noumea design 219 schematic (Opus, 2016).	206
122	Photo of meeting room in the New Zealand Consulate Noumea, showing tukutuku panels – Tumatakahuki – binding stitch by Emma Marino (MFAT, 2017b).	207
123	‘Taranaki’ kete by Matthew McIntyre Wilson, displayed in visitor lounge, Noumea (MFAT, 2017b).	210
124	Photo of New Zealand Consul residence, Noumea showing display of korowai ‘Tui’ by Kohai Grace (MFAT, 2018t).	212
125	Photo of ‘Ika mana’ by Fatu Feu’u. Displayed in the residence living room (MFAT, 2018t).	212
126	Photo of ‘Ika’ by Tracey Tawhiao, sculpture displayed in 225 the residence dining room (MFAT, 2018t).	212
127	‘Cows’, sculpture by Jeff Thomson (MFAT, 2018d).	215
128	Photo of entrance pathway to New Zealand High Commission Canberra (Author).	216
129	Photo of ‘Poupou’, Te Whānau-ā-Apanui style, and ‘Poupou’, Ngāti Porou style, carvings by Rangi Hetet (Ngāti Tuwharetoa, Ngāti Maniapoto), c. 1980 (Author).	216
130	Photo of foyer entrance showing wood panelling in waewae pūkeko design, (Author).	217
131	Photo of ‘Ariki Ora II’, by Darryn George (MFAT, 2018d).	218
132	Photo of ‘Ariki Ora II’ by Darryn George in foyer (Author).	218
133	Photo of ‘Te Aka Aorere’ carving by Albert Te Pou, (previous reception) Canberra (MFAT, 2018d).	219
134	Photo of ‘Te Aka Aorere’ by Albert Te Pou displayed above stairwell in new building (Author).	220

Figure	Description	Page
135	Photo of 'Va I Moana, Respect for the Sea' by Fatu Feu'u (MFAT, 2018d).	220
136	Photo of reception area showing Feu'u painting and poutama step patterns on the carpet (Author).	221
137	Photo of interior of Sir Carl Berendson meeting room, Canberra showing framed korowai 'Manākitanga' by Te Ao Marama Ngarimu and two prints by Cliff Whiting (MFAT, 2018d).	222
138	Photo of 'Manākitanga', korowai by Te Ao Marama Ngarimu (MFAT, 2018d).	223
139	Photo of 'Hatupatu and the death of Kurangituku' by Cliff Whiting (MFAT, 2018d).	223
140	Photo of 'Hatupatu killing Kurangituku's pets' by Cliff Whiting (MFAT, 2018d).	223
141	Photo of Kate Lackey meeting room opposite reception, (Author).	224
142	Further illustration of the use of the waewae pūkeko pattern from Ministry's Visual Identity Guidelines illustrating the use of this pattern as part of decals applied to windows or glass, showing the similarity in the pattern used on the exterior walls of the Kate Lackey meeting room, (MFAT, 2019e).	225
143	Photograph of New Zealand Consulate Sydney reception, illustrating the use of pou, the silver fern, pounamu detail in flooring and illuminated light beam in the ceiling (MFAT, 2018e).	227
144	Photograph of 'Pou pou' carving by Himi Taylor and red desk in the flooring (MFAT, 2018e).	228
145	Photograph of Pounamu touch stone on display in Sydney reception (MFAT, 2018e).	229
146	Photograph of red disc used in the floor (MFAT, 2018e).	229
147	Photograph of waiting room in Sydney showing green	230

Figure	Description	Page
	line representing Māui's fishing line, pounamu stone and three prints by Johnson Witehira together with related colour matching in furniture (MFAT, 2018e).	
148	'Gull' by Richard Killeen (MFAT, 2018e).	230
149	'Seahorse' by Richard Killeen (MFAT, 2018e).	230
150	Photo of 'Tamaupoko' by Johnson Witehira, print on display in Sydney waiting room (MFAT, 2018e).	230
151	Photo of 'Pinky Winky Tiki' by Paora Tiatoa (MFAT, 2018s).	231
152	'Red Herring III' (2003) by Dick Frizzell, New Zealand Chancery Washington (MFAT, 2016b).	231
153	Hei Tiki (pendant in human form) by unknown carver (1600 – 1850) Taonga Māori Collection, 1972).	232
154	Plastic Hei Tiki (Air New Zealand) (MOTAT, 1965).	233
155	'Hooper's Inlet, 1976' by Robin White on display in the waiting room, Sydney (MFAT, 2018e).	234
156	Photo of conference room, Sydney illustrating use of Māori-themed art, use of red, black and white colour way and selection of furniture and rugs by New Zealand designers (MFAT, 2018e).	234
157	Photo of 'Pou Pou' by Himi Taylor, shown outside a meeting room, New Zealand Consulate Sydney (MFAT, 2018e).	235
158	Photo of 'Anywhere in the world' by John Pule (MFAT, 2018r).	236
159	Photo of 'In the evening' by John Pule (MFAT, 2018r).	236
160	Photo of 'The Marakihau' by Kemera Wilson and illuminated ceiling panel in Abu Dhabi, United Arab Emirates reception (Jasmax architects) (MFAT, 2017d).	237
161	Image of Mashrabiya screen used as part of architectural design of house in Saudi Arabia by Dom Arquitectura (Laylin, 2014).	238
162	'Kahu tieke' (saddleback cape) by Maureen Lander (MFAT, 2017d).	239

Figure	Description	Page
163	Photo of 'Ice Shelf' by Neil Frazer, 2007 (MFAT, 2017d).	240
164	One of 'Pioriori' (preparatory sketches) by Jon Tootill (MFAT, 2017d).	241
165	'Kete' by Sue Tucker – Patangaroa (starfish) pattern (MFAT, 2017d).	242
166	Photo of 'Territory' by David Murray (MFAT, 2017d).	242
167	Photo of Conference Room, New Zealand Embassy Abu Dhabi, illustrating Agility folding table by Aspect Furniture with cherry veneer top, together with 'Ice Shelf' by Neil Frazer and further use of the tukutuku/Mashrabiya-inspired panel (MFAT, 2017d).	243
168	Photo of Visitors' room, New Zealand Embassy Abu Dhabi illustrating further use of the colour palette, including feature lighting 'Manuka' pendant by New Zealand designer David Trubridge and outlined chairs by Simon James Design upholstered in New Zealand wool fabric (MFAT, 2017d).	243
169	'Wintering after a van der Velden study Otira Gorge' by Ann Shelton, 2008 (MFAT, 2017d).	245
170	Photo of 'carved door handles' by Haami Te Aho, Los Angeles residence of New Zealand Consul General (MFAT, 2018f).	246
171	Photo of carved door handle, Seoul official residence of New Zealand Ambassador, Korea (MFAT, 2018m).	248
172	Photo of Mere, unknown artist on display in residence Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).	248
173	Photo of 'Kouma Pounamu' breastplate by Chris Charteris displayed in residence dining annex, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).	248
174	Photo of Papahou (feather box), unknown artist, 264 displayed in residence hallway, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).	249
175	Kete (muriwai pattern) by Nigel How, displayed in residence formal entertaining area, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).	249
176	Photo of 'Acre of Wounds, Black Rainbow' by Ralph Hotere, displayed in residence, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).	250

Figure	Description	Page
177	Photo of 'Hatupatu and the birdwoman Kurangaituku' by Cliff Whiting, displayed in residence, Seoul (MFAT, 2018m).	250
178	Photo of pounamu mere, unknown artist on display in hallway of the New Zealand Embassy, Tokyo (MFAT, 2019k).	251
179	Photo of wakahuia feather box, unknown artist, New Zealand residence, Tokyo (MFAT, 2019k).	254
180	Photo of wakahuia by Rangi Hetet, New Zealand residence, Sydney (MFAT, 2018s).	254
181	'Sista I', 'Sista II' and 'Sista III' by Lonnie Hutchinson, New Zealand Chancery Washington (MFAT, 2016b).	255
182	Photo of two carved panels by Tuti Tukaoka, on display at Port Moresby post entrance (MFAT, 2018l).	256
183	Photo of 'Tarawhai' by Tene Waitere, Ana Te Rahui and Eramiha Kapua, outside New Zealand embassy in Washington (MFAT, 2016b).	257
184	Photo of the waharoa 'Tarawhai' shown in location outside the front entrance of the New Zealand Embassy in Washington (Schiller-Wine, 2015).	257
185	Photo of 'Tu Tangata – canoe prow' by Rangi Hetet, 1979, New Zealand Embassy Washington (MFAT, 2016b).	258
186	Photo of Aorere pou (shown on the shoulders of Paikea), a central pou in Aorere (MFAT, 1999).	259
187	Photo of Te Amokura by Laurie Nicholas and carving team, New Zealand High Commission Port Moresby (MFAT, 2018l).	260
188	Photo of Tomokanga (Gateway) by Mihiroa marae, New Zealand Embassy Tokyo (MFAT, 2019k).	261
189	Photo of interior of 'He Pakiaka' whare Beijing in the New Zealand Embassy, Beijing, illustrating the use of whakairo and tukutuku (MFAT, 2020).	262
190	Photo of opening ceremony of the New Zealand Embassy Beijing with Ambassador Clare Fearnley (left) and Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern (right). This photo also illustrates the use of the silver fern in the New	262

Figure	Description	Page
	Zealand Embassy signage and the tukutuku-inspired window panels in the Embassy building at the rear of the photo (Kirk, 2019).	
191	Photo of Māori Fashion Designers show at Guangzhou Fashion Week, showing Māori fashion designer Kiri Nathan (3 rd from right) (Poutama New Zealand, 2018).	293
192	Photo of Kiri Nathan (designer – right) taken during Guangzhou Fashion Week, also showing the silver fern and Guangzhou branding in the background (Poutama New Zealand, 2018a).	294
193	Diagram showing cyclic nature of Ministry response.	297
194	Illustration of future internal and external challenges and responsibilities of Ministry.	298
195	Diagram showing internal tools available to the Ministry.	310
196	Diagram showing external drivers affecting the Ministry.	311

List of tables

Table	Description	Page
1	Cook Islands facts and figures	156-157
2	Snapshot of New Zealand High Commission, Cook Islands	157-158
3	New Caledonia facts and figures	192
4	Snapshot of New Zealand Consulate Noumea	193
5	Australia facts and figures	214-215
6	Table of taonga used in case studies and design and art references	252-254
7	Table to illustrate bicultural symbolism pattern	286
8	Treaty Principles as identified by the Waitangi Tribunal in the 2019 Hau Ora report (Waitangi Tribunal, 2019)	289
9	Summary of s 71 (2) (d) of the Public Service Legislation Bill 2019	300

Reference list

- Abele, F. & Rodon, T. (2007). Inuit diplomacy in the global era: The strengths of multilateral internationalism. *Canadian Foreign Policy*, 13(3), 45-63.
- Adams, T. T. & Meredith, P. (2005). Ngāti Maniapoto – The coming of the Pākehā. Retrieved from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/photograph/959/tia-barrett>.
- Adds, P. (2012). E Kore Au E Ngaro: Ancestral connections to the Pacific. In S. Mallon, K. Mahina-Tuai, & D. Salesa (Eds), *Tangata o Le Moana: New Zealand and the people of the Pacific* (pp. 17-36). Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.
- Amazon. (2019). Image of 2016 Niue Star Wars coin: The Force Awakens. Retrieved from <https://www.amazon.com/2016-Niu%C3%A9-Star-Wars-Uncirculated/dp/B017B2W070>.
- Amoamo, M., & Thompson, A. (2010). (re) Imaging Māori tourism: Representation and cultural hybridity in postcolonial New Zealand. *Tourist Studies*, 10(1), 35–55. Retrieved from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468797610390989>
- Amoamo, M., Ruwhiu, D., & Carter, L. (2018) *Framing the Māori Economy – the complex business of Māori business*. MAI journal (Online), 2018; v.7 n.1:p.66-78. Retrieved from http://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/sites/default/files/MAIJrnl_7_1_FramingTheMāoriEconomy.pdf
- Amundsen, D. (2018). Decolonisation through reconciliation: The role of Pākehā identity. *MAI Journal*, 7(2), 139-154. <https://doi.org/10.20507/MAIJournal.0218.7.2.3>.
- Ancient Origins. (2020). Image of Hinemihi. Retrieved from <https://www.ancientorigins.net/ancientplaces-australia-oceania/te-wairoa-village-new-zealand-0010637>.
- Anholt, S. (2007). *Competitive identity: The new brand management for nations, cities and regions*. Basingstoke (England) UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Appleton, M. (2018). An eye, an ear, a voice: 75 years of New Zealand in the world. The Spinoff. <https://thespinoff.co.nz/politics/28-10-2018/an-eye-an-ear-a-voice-75-years-of-new-zealand-in-the-world/>
- Architecture Now (2020) Opus Architecture-Wellington. Retrieved from <https://architecturenow.co.nz/organisations/opus-architecture-wellington/>.
- Ariki NZ. (2020). Image of paua cufflinks. Retrieved from <https://www.arikinze.com>.
- Auckland Art Gallery (2019). 'Hei Tiki' image. Retrieved from <https://www.aucklandartgallery.com/explore-art-and-ideas/artist/6373/rangi-kipa>.
- Austin, M. (2003). Biculturalism and architecture in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *National Identities*, 5(1), 39-52. DOI: 10.1080/14608940307116.
- Austrade (2020). Benchmark Report, July 2020. Retrieved from www.austrade.gov.au/international/invest/why-Australia/resilient-economy.

- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2016). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander population. <https://www.abs.gov.au/ausstats/abs@.nsf/>
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2020). <https://www.abs.gov.au/>
- Australian Government (2020). Our country. <https://info.australia.gov.au/about-australia/our-country>
- Barclay, K., Liu, J., & James, H. (2003). Who gets voice? (Re)presentation of bicultural relations in New Zealand print media. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 32(1), 3-12.
- Bargh, M. (2011). Te Tiriti o Waitangi in international relations and trade. In V. M. H. Tawhai, & K. GraySharp (Eds), *"Always speaking": The Treaty of Waitangi and public policy* (pp. 49-64). Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.
- Beatson, P., & Beatson, D. (1994). *The arts in Aotearoa New Zealand: Themes and issues*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Sociology Department, Massey University.
- Beier, Marshall, J. (Ed.). (2009). *Indigenous diplomacies*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Bell, A. (1996). 'We're just New Zealanders': Pākehā identity politics. In P. Spoonley, D. Pearson, & C. Macpherson, *Ngā Patai: Racism and ethnic relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (pp. 144-158) Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Bennett, C. M., & Bennett, E. M. (1957). New Zealand Free Lance: Photographic prints and negatives. Ref: PAColl-6203-26. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/22824273](#)
- Berendsen, S. C. (2009). *Mr Ambassador: Memoirs of Sir Carl Berendsen*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Bergman (2016). Blessed again by the gods exhibition. Retrieved from <https://bergmangallery.co.ck/exhibitions/exhibition-mahiriki-tangaroa/>
- Blackley, R. (2018). *Galleries of Māoriland artists: Collectors and the Māori world, 1880–1910*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Bleiker, R., & Butler, S. (2016). Radical dreaming: Indigenous art and cultural diplomacy. *International Political Sociology*, 10(1), 56-74. <https://doi-org.helicon.vuw.ac.nz/10.1093/ips/olw004>
- Boston, J., Martin, J., Pallot, J., & Walsh, P. (1996). *Public management: The New Zealand model*. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.
- Bradbury, M. & Keogh, J. (2011). Representative bureaucracy: Assessing the evidence on active representation. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 41(2), 157-167.
- Brady, A-M. (Ed.) (2019). Small states and the changing global order: New Zealand faces the future. Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-03018803-0>.

- Briar, C. (1994). Tracing the patterns: The development of EEO policies in New Zealand and overseas. In J. Sayers & M. Tremaine (Eds.), *The Vision and the reality: EEO in the New Zealand workplace* (pp. 25-44). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Brown, D. (2009). *Māori architecture from fale to wharenui and beyond*. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Group.
- Brown, D. (2019) Open your eyes to the future of Māori architecture. Retrieved from <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/@ideasroom/2020/01/03/965328/open-your-eyes-to-the-future-of-Māori-architecture>
- Brown, N. and Nicholas, G. (2012). Protecting indigenous cultural property in the age of digital democracy: Institutional and communal responses to Canadian First Nations and Māori heritage concerns. *Journal of Material Culture*, 17(3), 307–324.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1359183512454065>
- Buchanan, P. (2010). Lilliputian in fluid times: New Zealand foreign policy after the Cold War. *Political Science Quarterly*, 125(2), 255-279. <https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1538-165X.2010.tb00675.x>
- Burnard, P., Gill, P., Stewart, K et al. (2008) Analysing and presenting qualitative data. *British Dental Journal*, 204 pp 429-432.
- Cabinet Minute (2001) Cabinet Minute of Decision: International Treaties: Strategy for Māori Engagement, Wellington, New Zealand. New Zealand Cabinet Office.
- Capie, D. & McGhie, G. (2005). Representing New Zealand: Identity, Diplomacy and the Making of Foreign Policy. In J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh, & T. Teaiwa (Eds.), *NZ identities: Departures and destinations* (pp. 471-496). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Cassel, S. H. & Maureira, T. M. (2017). Performing identity and culture in indigenous tourism – a study of indigenous communities in Québec, Canada. *Journal of Tourism and Cultural Change*, 15(1), 1-14. DOI: 10.1080/14766825.2015.1125910.
- Cerulo, K. (1993). Symbols and the world system: National anthems and flags. *Sociological Forum*, 8(2), 243-271.
- Chapman, K. & Watkins, T. (2012). MFAT restructure causes 'irreparable damage'. Retrieved from www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/6944762/Mfat-restructure-causes-irreparable-damage.
- Cheng, D. (2012). Kiwi MP helps launch new Ainu party in Japan. *New Zealand Herald*. <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/kiwi-mp-helps-launch-new-ainu-party-in-japan/GW27VJYZOBi3ULCZMC5GUE3FBY/>
- Cheu-Jey, G.L. (2012). Reconsidering constructivism in qualitative research. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 44(4), 403-412.
- City Gallery (1990) *Mana Tiriti: The Art of Protest and Partnership*. Retrieved from <https://citygallery.org.nz/exhibitions/mana-tiriti-the-art-of-protest-and-partnership/>
- Clark, Helen Rt Hon. (2001). Government brings artworks home to New Zealand. Retrieved from <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/feature/govt-brings-artworks-home-new-zealand>

- Clarke C. (2018). Dressing for the camera: Queen Victoria's Māori subjects and the Māori party tour of England, 1863. *New Zealand Journal of History*, 52(1), 90-114.
- Costley, C., Elliott, G., & Gibbs, P. (2010). *Doing work based research: Approaches to enquiry for insider researchers* (pp. 1-8). London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Craig, Elsdon Walter Grant. (1900s). The Residency, Ngatipa, Rarotonga. 1917–1980: Photographs. Ref: PA1-o-1239-072. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22708450
- Craik, J. (2001). Tourism, culture and national identity: Policies, publics and programs. In T. Bennett & D. Carter (Eds.), *Culture in Australia* (pp. 89-113). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Cresswell, J. W. (2009). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Los Angeles, CA. USA: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Curchin, K. (2011). Pākehā women and Māori protocol: The politics of criticising other cultures. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 46(3), 375-388. DOI: 10.1080/10361146.2011.595386
- De Costa, R. (2009). A revolution within a revolution: Indigenous women's diplomacies. In M. J. Beier (Ed.). *Indigenous diplomacies* (pp. 61-78). New York, NY, USA: Palgrave MacMillan.
- De La Maza, F. (2018). Tourism in Chile's indigenous territories: The impact of public policies and tourism value of indigenous culture. *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies*, 13(1), 94111. DOI: 10.1080/17442222.2018.1416894
- Denscombe, M. (2010). *The Good Research Guide for small scale social research projects* (4th Ed.). Berkshire, UK: Open University Press.
- Denzin, N. (2007). Qualitative methodology. In C. D. Bryant & D. L. Peck (Eds), *21st century sociology* (pp. 98- 107). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, Inc. doi: 10.4135/9781412939645.n9.
- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (2005) *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (3rd ed). Thousand Oaks, Thousand Oaks, CA. Sage Publications.
- Department of Corrections. (2020). Prison facts and statistics – March 2020. Retrieved from www.corrections.govt.nz/resources/research_and_statistics/quarterly_prison_Statistics
- Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019). Australian data on Cook Islands. Retrieved from <https://dfat.gov.au/trade/resources/Documents/cook.pdf>
- Department of Internal Affairs. (1961). Photo of group performing Māori songs at New Zealand High Commission, Malaya, Waitangi Day 6 February 1961. New Zealand Department of Internal Affairs. War History Branch occupation of Japan, Korean War, and Malayan Emergency. Ref: PA1-f-119-07-2. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22731354.
- Diversitas Ltd. (2017). Diversity and inclusiveness (D & I) review: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, A high level current state analysis of diversity and inclusiveness as at June 2017. Auckland, New Zealand: Diversitas.

- Dixon-Woods, M., & Bosk, C.L. (2011). Defending rights or defending privileges? *Public Management Review*, 13(2), 257-27.
- Duncan, L. (2018). The evolving role of the New Zealand diplomat. In R. G. Patman, I. Iati, & B. Kiglics (Eds.), *New Zealand and the world: Past, present and future* (pp. 411-417). Singapore: World Scientific.
- Duncan, S. & Rewi, P. (2018), Ritual today: Pōwhiri. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Ratima, & P. Rewi, P. (Eds), *Te Kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 121-136). Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Durie, M. (1994). *Whaiora Māori health development*. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press, New Zealand.
- Durie, M. (1995). Tino Rangatiratanga: He Pukenga Korero. In R. Maaka & A. Fleras (Eds), *The politics of indigeneity: Challenging the state in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand* (pp. 66-82). Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press.
- Eco, U. (1979). *A theory of semiotics*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
- Edgar, F. (2001). Equal employment opportunity: Outcomes in the New Zealand public service. *New Zealand Journal of Industrial Relations*, 26(2), 217-226.
- Edwards, E. (2018). Brexit vote prompts NZ to open embassy in Ireland. Retrieved from <https://www.irishtimes.com/news/ireland/irish-news/brexit-vote-prompts-new-zealand-toopen-embassy-in-ireland-1.3695497>
- Ellis, N. (2016). Te Ao Hurihuri o nga taonga tuku iho: The evolving worlds of our ancestral treasures. *Biography (Honolulu)*, 39(3), 438–460. <https://doi.org/10.1353/bio.2016.0053>
- Embassy of France. (2018). Information on France in Pacific. Retrieved from www.ambafrance.org
- Evans, M., Ngarimu, R., Heke, N., Toi Māori Aotearoa, & Creative New Zealand. (2005). The art of Māori weaving: The eternal thread – te aho mutunga kore. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia.
- Faizullaev, A. (2013) Diplomacy and symbolism. *The Hague Journal of Diplomacy*, 8, 91-114.
- Fepulea'i, J. (2002). *"Neither Fish nor Fowl": The Cook Islands, New Zealand and the Politics of Free Association*. Thesis (PhD--Political Studies) --University of Auckland, 2002.
- Flagpole (2020). Magnetic car flagpole "SteelEx". Retrieved from https://www.flagpoles.se/Magnetic_diplomat_car_flags_and_funeral_car_flags_pole.htm
- Ford, H., J. (1924). Representative government. New York: Henry Holt & Co.
- Fraenkei, J. (2018). Resetting New Zealand's Pacific policy. Retrieved from www.incline.org.nz.
- Frizzell, D. (2009). *Dick Frizzell: The painter*. Random House New Zealand.
- Futuna Trust (2019). The Chapel. Retrieved from <http://www.futunatrust.org.nz/the-chapel/>.

- Gallop, A. (1998). *The house with the golden eyes: Unlocking the secret history of "Hinemihi" – the Māori meeting house from Te Wairoa (New Zealand) and Clendon Park (Surrey, England)*. Middlesex, England, United Kingdom: Running Horse Books.
- Geonet. (2011). Details of 2011 Christchurch, New Zealand earthquake. Retrieved from www.geonet.org.nz
- Gergen, K., & Gergen, M. (2007). Social construction and research methodology. In W. Outhwaite & S. P. Turner (Eds), *The SAGE handbook of social science methodology* (pp. 461-479). London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Gibson, A. ((2017). Pacific artist Michael Tuffery creating a memorial to Rarotonga's 'Forgotten 43'. Retrieved from https://www.nzherald.co.nz/travel/news/article.cfm?c_id=7&objectid=11797517.
- Glendinning, M. (2004). "Una lezione di civiltà": New Zealand House, the British Embassy in Rome, and the modernist architecture of post-colonial diplomacy. *Fabrications*, 14(1-2), 83-101. DOI: 10.1080/10331867.2004.10525195.
- Goff, P. (2004). Goff welcomes Cook Islands Māori curriculum. Retrieved from www.beehive.govt.nz/release/goff-welcomes-cook-islands-Māori-curriculum
- Goldsmith, M. (2017). Diplomatic rivalries and cultural one-upmanship: New Zealand's long quest to become more Pacific than Australia. *The Round Table*, 106(2), 187-196. DOI: 10.1080/00358533.2017.1296708
- Gollings, J. (Photographer), (2018). Australian Embassy Bangkok, Thailand [Photograph]. Retrieved from <https://architectureau.com/articles/australian-embassy-bangkok/#>.
- Gow Langsford Gallery. (2019). Commentary on the work of artist Darryn George. Retrieved from <https://www.gowlangsfordgallery.co.nz/artists/darryn-george>
- Great Journeys of New Zealand. (2019). Photo of interior of Te Papa Tongarewa. Retrieved from <https://www.greatjourneysofnz.co.nz/packages/te-papa-national-museum-3/>
- Grossman, J., and Lees, A. (2001). *Towards Excellence in Aid Delivery: a Review of New Zealand's Official Development Assistance Programme*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2001. Print.
- Hakiwai, A. T. (1996). Māori society today: Welcome to our world. In D. C. Starzecka (Ed.), *Māori art and culture* (pp. 56-57). Auckland, New Zealand: D. Bateman.
- Hakiwai, A., & Smith, H. (2008). *Toi ora: ancestral Māori treasures*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.
- Hamer, P. (2007). *Māori in Australia Ngā Māori i Te Ao Moemoeā*: Te Puni Kōkiri, Griffith University, & Brisbane College of Advanced Education. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Puni Kōkiri.
- Hansen, D. (2019). Māori markings: Ta Moko. Retrieved from <https://www.australianbookreview.com.au/abr-arts/101-arts-update/5394-Māori-markings-ta-moko-national-gallery-of-australia?>

- Hartley, S. (2016). Air NZ profit not as robust from competition, currency. Retrieved from <https://www.odt.co.nz/business/air-nz-profit-not-robust-competition-currency>
- Hatfield, G., & Steur, P. (2003). *Dedicated by blood [renaissance of Ta Moko]*. The Hague, Netherlands: Hunter Media, Liesbeth Verharen.
- Henderson, J., & Dan Long Memorial Library. (1990). *Towards a Pacific Island community: Report of the South Pacific Policy Review Group*. Wellington, New Zealand: South Pacific Policy Review Group.
- Heneghan, T. (2018) Diplomatic metaphor: Australian Embassy Bangkok. Retrieved from <https://architectureau.com/articles/australian-embassy-bangkok/#>
- Henrikson, A.K. (2013). Sovereignty, diplomacy and democracy: The changing nature of international representation – from state to self. *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 37(3), 111-140.
- Herzfeld, M. (2008). Mere symbols. *Anthropologica*, 50(1), 141-155. doi: 10.2307/25605395.
- Hibbs, S. (2006). The uniquely female art of karanga. *Social Work Review (Newton, Auckland, N.Z.)*, 18(2), 3–8.
- Hill, R. S. (2009). *Māori and the State: Crown–Māori relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950–2000*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Hollowell J (2004) Intellectual property protection and the market in Alaska Native arts. In: Riley M (ed.) *Indigenous Intellectual Property Rights: Legal Obstacles and Innovative Solutions*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 55–98.
- House of Representatives Practice, 7th edn, Department of the House of Representatives, Canberra, 2018. Retrieved from https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/House_of_Representatives/Powers_practice_and_procedure/00_-_Infosheets/Infosheet_20_-_The_Australian_system_of_government
- Huia Publishers (2015). *Māori carving: the art of preserving Māori history*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.
- Ihimaera, W. (1991). The long dark tea-time of the South: New Zealand's search for a Pacific identity. In R. Thakur (Ed.), *The South Pacific, problems, issues & prospects* (pp. 133-144). London, United Kingdom: Macmillan in association with the University of Otago Press.
- Jackson, W. H. (Photographer). (1895). Bella, a Māori guide sitting at edge of Rotorua geysers. New Zealand Rotorua, 1895. [Photograph] Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/item/2004707871/>.
- Jeyaratnam, E. (2018). Twelve charts on race and racism in Australia. Retrieved from <https://theconversation.com/twelve-charts-on-race-and-racism-in-australia-105961>
- Johnson, P., Toffolo, J., Dorment, R., Parker, C., Renton, A., & George, A. (2011). *Art, Power, Diplomacy: Government Art Collection - The Untold Story*, Scala Publishers Ltd, London.
- Jones, D., Pringle, J., & Shepherd, D. (2000). Managing diversity meets Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Personnel Review*, 29(3), 364-380.

- Jones, C. S. (1900-1909). William Beattie & Company: Photograph of Māori guide, Sophia Hinerangi, at Te Rauru meeting house, Whakarewarewa. Ref: PAColl-8839. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22777475.
- Katz, J. (1997). Ethnography's warrants. *Sociological Methods and Research*, 25(4), 391-423.
- Kelly, R. M., & Duerst-Lahti, G. (1998). *Gender power, leadership, and governance*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.
- King, M. (1940). Māori art, New Zealand. New Zealand, 1940. [New Zealand: Publisher not identified, s] [Photograph] Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/item/2015647601/>.
- Kiri Nathan (2020). Our Story. Retrieved from <https://www.kirinathan.com/pages/our-story>.
- Kirk, S. (2019). New Zealand's new Embassy in China is a 'significant diplomatic' space. Retrieved from <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/111675940/new-zealands-new-embassy-in-china>
- Kiwi Kids Abroad. (2020). Image of New Zealand House London. Retrieved from <https://kiwikidsabroad.com/new-zealand-house-haymarket-london/>
- Kleiner, J. (2009). Diplomatic practice: Between tradition and innovation. <https://ebookcentralproquest-com.helicon.vuw.ac.nz/lib/vuw/detail.action?docID=1681241>.
- Knowledge Institute Ltd. (2006). Review of EEO Policy to 2010. Retrieved from <https://ssc.govt.nz/resources/summary-review-eeo-2010/>
- Krlev, N. (2018). Diplomats are made not born. The New York Times. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/01/opinion/diplomats-training-foreign-policy.html>.
- Küchler, S., & Eimke, A. (2010). *Tivaivai: the social fabric of the Cook Islands* (1st New Zealand ed.). Te Papa Press. Wellington, New Zealand.
- Kukutai, T., & Pawar, S. (2013). A socio-demographic profile of Māori in Australia, NIDEA Working Papers No. 3. University of Waikato, New Zealand: National Institute of Demographic and Economic Analysis.
- Kura Gallery. (2020). Images of Māori-themed gifts. Retrieved from <https://www.kuragallery.co.nz/category/works/gift-shop>
- Lai, J. (2013). Bicultural art: offensive to the Māori or acceptable freedom of expression? Wai 262, the ICCPR and NZBORA. *Australian Journal of Human Rights*, 19(2), 47–91. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1323-238X.2013.11882126>
- Laidlaw, C. (2005). Cultural evolution in New Zealand: People, identity and the land. *Ara (Museums, Aotearoa)*, 30(1), 4-9.
- Laylin, T. (2014). Four houses find shade from Saudi sun with sliding Islamic shutters. Retrieved from www.greenprophet.com

- Liu, J. (2005). History and identity: A system of checks and balances for Aotearoa/New Zealand. In J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh & T. Teaiwa (Eds), *NZ identities: departures and destinations* (pp. 129-164). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Liu, J. H., McCreanor, T., McIntosh, T., & Teaiwa, T. (Eds). (2005). *NZ identities: Departures and destinations*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Loeffler, J. (1990). The architecture of diplomacy: Heyday of the United States embassy-building program, 1954–1960. *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 49(3), 251-278. Doi:10.2307/990518
- Loeffler, J. (1998). *The architecture of diplomacy: Building America's embassies*. New York, NY: Princeton Architectural Press.
- Maaka, R., & Fleras, A. (2005). *The politics of indigeneity: Challenging the state in Canada and Aotearoa New Zealand*. Dunedin, New Zealand: University of Otago Press.
- Mallon, S., Mahina-Tuai, K., & Salesa, D. (Eds) (2012). *Tangata o Le Moana: New Zealand and the people of the Pacific*. Wellington, New Zealand: Te Papa Press.
- Mansbridge, J. (2003). Rethinking representation. *The American Political Science Review*, 97(4), 515-528.
- Māori Dictionary (2019). Retrieved from www.Māoridictionary.co.nz
- Mark, S. L. (2010). Rethinking cultural diplomacy: The cultural diplomacy of New Zealand, the Canadian Federation and Quebec. *Political Science*, 62(1), 62-83.
- Mark, S. (2018). New Zealand's Pacific Reset: the case for cultural diplomacy. Retrieved from <https://www.stuff.co.nz/national/politics/opinion/106227005/new-zealands-pacific-reset-the-case-for-cultural-diplomacy>
- Marshall, J. B. (Guest Editor) (2007). Introduction: Indigenous diplomacies. *Canadian Foreign Policy Journal*, 13(3), 9-11.
- Martin, C. (2007). Visitor Centre: Waitangi. Retrieved from https://www.johnscott.net.nz/pages/waitangi_visitor_centre.html
- Matravers, D. (2001). *Art and emotion*. Clarendon.
- McCreanor, Tim (2005). Sticks and stones may break my bones... Talking Pākehā Identities. In J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh & T. Teaiwa (Eds), *NZ identities: departures and destinations* (pp. 52-68). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- McCully, M. (2008). McCully names new High Commissioner to Cooks. Retrieved from <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/mccully-names-new-high-commissioner-cooks>.
- McCully, M. (2010). McCully names new High Commissioner to Cook Islands. Retrieved from <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/mccully-names-new-high-commissioner-cook-islands>.
- McCully, M. (2014). McCully to visit Cook Islands. Retrieved from www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA1402/SOO280/mccully-to-visit-cook-islands.htm

- McDonald, C. (2018). *Decolonisation and Free Association: The Relationships of the Cook Islands and Niue with New Zealand*. Thesis submitted to the Victoria University of Wellington in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand.
- McDonald, G. (2013). Aboriginal art and cultural diplomacy: Australia, the United States, and the Culture Warriors exhibition. *Journal of Australian Studies*, 38(1), 18-31. DOI: 10.1080/14443058.2013.859168
- McGibbon, I. (2018). Gallipoli, national identity and new beginnings. In R. G. Patman, I. Iati, & B. Kiglics (Eds), *New Zealand and the world: Past, present and future* (pp. 39-54). Singapore: World Scientific.
- McGruer, Nikita. "Māori Lived Experience of Osteoarthritis: a Qualitative Study Guided by Kaupapa Māori Principles." *Journal of primary health care* 11.2 (2019): 128–137.
- McIntosh, T. (2005). Māori identities: Fixed, fluid, forced. In J. H. Liu, T. McCreanor, T. McIntosh & T. Teaiwa (Eds), *NZ identities: departures and destinations* (pp. 38-51). Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- McIntosh A.J., Hinch, T. and Ingram, T (2002) Cultural identity and tourism. *International Journal of Arts Management*, vol 4 (no.2) Winter 2002, pp 39-49.
- McIntyre, D. W. (2012). 'Self-government and independence - Crown colony', Te Ara - the Encyclopaedia of New Zealand. Retrieved from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/zoomify/32914/appointinggovernor-grey>.
- McKinnon, D. (1996). New High Commissioner to the Cook Islands. Retrieved from www.beehive.govt.nz/release/new-high-commissioner-cook-islands
- McKinnon, M. (1993). *Independence and foreign policy New Zealand in the world since 1935*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- McIntosh A. J., Hinch, T., & Ingram, T. (2002). Cultural identity and tourism. *International Journal of Arts Management*, 4(2), pp 39-49.
- Mead, S., & Colon-Rios, J. (2014). Protecting popular constituent power: Examining New Zealand's role in the constitution-making episodes of the Cook Islands and Niue. Thesis. Research Archive. Victoria University of Wellington School of Law. Wellington: New Zealand.
- Mead, S. (2016). *Tikanga Māori: living by Māori values*. Huia Publishers.
- Meier, K. (1993). Representative bureaucracy: A theoretical and empirical exposition. In J. Perry (Ed.), *Research and public administration* (pp. 1-35). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
- Meier, K. J., & Hawes, D. P. (2009). Ethnic conflict in France. *The American Review of Public Administration*, 39(3), 269-28.
- Meier, K., & Nicholson-Crotty, J. (2006). Gender, representative bureaucracy and law enforcement: The case of sexual assault. *Public Administration Review*, Nov/Dec, 850-60.

- Merrett, Joseph Jenner (c. 1843). A native chief dressed in a dog's skin mat, with a weapon called wahanoghi. [c. 1843]. Ref: E-216-f-045. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22696958
- Miles, M. B., & Huberman, A. M. (1994). *Qualitative data analysis: An expanded sourcebook* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage. (2017). External view of Te Papa at dusk is courtesy of Te Papa. Retrieved from <https://mch.govt.nz/te-papa-tongarewa-named-top-25-museums-world>.
- Ministry for Culture and Heritage. (2019). What do the markings on the New Zealand Flag stand for?. Retrieved from <https://mch.govt.nz/nz-identity-heritage/flags/answers-common-questions>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (1986). Image of Hekia Parata and Witi Ihimaera. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/mfat75/te-Māori/>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (1998). *Māori Elements in the Ministry Identity* [unpublished memo].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (1999). *Te Whare o Ngāti Aorere (Whare Whakairo at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade)* [unpublished booklet].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2001). Joint centenary declaration on the principles of the relationship between the Cook Islands and New Zealand. Retrieved from www.mfat.govt.nz.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2003). *Māori Works of Art: Nga Taonga o Manatū Aorere* [unpublished memo].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2004). High Commission opening ceremony in Rarotonga. Retrieved from <http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO0406/S00161.htm>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2008). Post-Election Brief – November 2008. Public Diplomacy and Outreach. Retrieved from https://www.beehive.govt.nz/sites/default/files/MFAT_BIM_2.pdf.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2011). Photo of reception area, New Zealand Consulate General Noumea. Retrieved from MFAT intranet.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2013). Annual report 2013/14, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Wellington. Retrieved from <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/media-andpublications/Publications/Annual-Report/0-Ministry-at-a-glance-.php>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2013a). *Works of Art (WOA) Policy and Guidelines* [unpublished booklet].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2013b). Singapore Chancery: Art and design booklet. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2014). Statement of Intent: 2014–2017, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Wellington. Retrieved from <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/media-andpublications/Publications/documents>.

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2014a). Briefing to the Incoming Minister, 6 October 2014. Retrieved from <http://www.mfat.govt.nz/Media-and-publications/Publications/index>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2014b). *Eastern Korowai* [unpublished booklet].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2014c). Shanghai Chancery artworks. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2014d). Bridgetown Chancery: Art and design booklet. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2015). New Zealand United Nations Security Council 2015–6. Retrieved from <http://www.nzunsc.govt.nz/what-we-say-news>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2015b). The New Zealand Aid Programme Strategic Plan 2015–2019. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/Aid-Prog-docs/ASEAN/New-ZealandAid-Programme-Strategic-Plan-2015-19.pdf>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2015c). Te Pouihi at New Zealand House. Retrieved from <http://www.nzembassy.com/united-kingdom/about-the-high-commission/about-the-highcommission-building-0>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2015d). Visual Identity Guidelines. Wellington, New Zealand: MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2015e). New York: Official Residence: Design and art booklet. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2015f). Taipei: Official Residence art and design booklet. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2015g). Honolulu Consulate General art and design booklet. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2016). Ngatipa Guiding Principles document. Wellington, New Zealand: MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2016b). Washington Chancery artworks. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2016c). *Northern Korowai* [unpublished booklet].
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017). Matariki press release Rarotonga, Cook Islands, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017b). Art and Design, Noumea: New Zealand Consulate General Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017c). Representing New Zealand through texture, pattern and colour in Noumea. Retrieved from MFAT intranet.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017d). Art and Design booklet, Abu Dhabi: New Zealand Embassy. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017e). Our People Strategy, Human Resources Group. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017f). PACER Plus factsheet Te Moana Nui a Kiwa and Māori Development Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017g). *Design brief information* [unpublished booklet].

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017h). Māori Engagement Strategy. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/mfat-annual-reports/mfat-annual-report-20172018/Māori-engagement-strategy>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2017i). *Ministry Pōwhiri guidelines* [unpublished booklet].

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018). Cook Islands. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/pacific/cook-islands/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018b). New Zealand in the Pacific. Retrieved from https://www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/OIA/Redacted-Cabinet-Paper-for-web-publicationNew-Zealand-in-the-Pacific-_.pdf.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018c). New Caledonia. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/pacific/new-caledonia/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018d). Art and design booklet, Canberra: New Zealand High Commission.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018f). Art and design booklet, Los Angeles: Official Residence. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018g). Māori Engagement Strategy Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018h). Diversity and Inclusion Strategy. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018i). Annual Report 2017/2018. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018j). Retrieved from <https://www.safetravel.govt.nz/>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018l). Works of art checklist for Port Moresby. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018m). Works of art checklist for Seoul. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018n). *Cultural Diplomacy Activities in Guangzhou*. Retrieved from <http://teaka/AMAG.Asia/BEI/publishing/Pages/Cultural-Diplomacy-Activities-inGuangzhou>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018o). *Ararua Two Pathways Guidelines for Engagement with Māori*. [Unpublished booklet].

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018p). Inaugural Meeting of the EU-NZ Partnership Agreement on Relations and Cooperation. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/media-and-resources/news/inaugural-meeting-of-the-eu-nzpartnership-agreement-on-relations-and-cooperation/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2018q) @MFATNZ (2018, October 7). [Tweet]. Ministry pōwhiri held in Whare Aorere welcoming EU negotiators for EU New Zealand Free Trade Agreement Negotiations. Retrieved from <https://twitter.com/MFATNZ/status/1049126916676972544> on 18 April 2020.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018q). Works of art checklist for Noumea. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2018r). Works of art checklist for Sydney. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019a). Art and design book, Buenos Aires New Zealand Embassy. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019b). Our development cooperation in the Cook Islands. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/pacific/cookislands/our-development-cooperation-in-cook-islands/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019c). Art and design booklet, Dublin: New Zealand Official Residence. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019d). Art and design booklet, Dublin: New Zealand Embassy. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019e). Our Visual Identity, Version 5.1, undated Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019f). Our people our early leaders. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/our-people/our-early-leaders/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019g). Benefits of working at MFAT, workplace art. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/work-with-us/benefits-of-working-at-mfat>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019h). Strategic intentions 2019–2023, MFAT Wellington. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/About-us/MFAT-Strategic-Intentions-20192023.pdf>.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019i). Annual Report 2018/2019, MFAT Wellington. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/mfat-annual-reports/mfat-annual-report-201819>

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019j). Briefing for incoming Associate Minister for Trade and Export Growth. Retrieved from https://www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/Corporate/BIM-July-2019AMTEG_for-public-release.pdf
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019k). Tokyo works of art checklist. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019l). 75 Our Story. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/mfat75/75-our-story/>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019m). Suva works of art checklist. Wellington, New Zealand, MFAT.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2019n). New Zealand's Universal Periodic Review 2019. Retrieved from www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/Uploads/New-Zealand-Third-National-UPR-Reportas-submitted-to-UN.pdf
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2020). Our place in Beijing. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/north-asia/china/new-zealandembassy/our-place-in-beijing>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. (2020a). Image of Silver Fern used in New Zealand Embassy signage. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/logos/#embassylogo>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2020b). Image of Silver Fern used by the Ministry and other government departments. Illustrating image from Ministry website homepage. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2020c). Australia fact sheet. <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/countries-and-regions/australia/>
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (2020d). Our Story. <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/en/about-us/mfat75/75-our-story/>
- MBIE (Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment), (2017). Māori economy investor guide He Kai Aku Ringa. Retrieved from <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/assets/7ec02ea964/strategy-to-2040Māori-economic-development-panel.pdf>.
- MIT Architecture. (2019). Project Mashrabiya. Retrieved from <https://architecture.mit.edu/art-cultureand-technology/project/mashrabiya>
- Mosher, F. (1968). *Democracy and the public service*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Mulgan, R. (1989). *Māori Pākehā and democracy*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Murphy, E., & Dingwall, R. (2007). The ethics of ethnography. In P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, & L. Lofland (eds), *Handbook of ethnography* (pp. 1-23). London, United Kingdom: Sage.
- MOTAT (Museum of Transport and Technology). (1965). Plastic Hei Tiki (Air New Zealand). Retrieved from <https://www.nz museums.co.nz/collections/3031/objects/626128/plastic-hei-tiki-airnew-zealand>

- Nash, W. (1942). New Zealand Minister to the United States, and his wife, at their house in Washington DC. New Zealand. Department of Internal Affairs. Ref: PAColl-5547-050. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/22889262.
- National Gallery of Australia. (2019b). Description of "The Arts of Polynesia" in exhibition area. Canberra, Australia, National Gallery of Australia.
- Nelson, A. (1991). *Nga Waka Māori Canoes*. Wellington, New Zealand. IPL Books.
- New Zealand Fernmark Licence programme, downloaded from <https://www.fernmark.nzstory.govt.nz/silver-fern> on 26 July 2019
- New Zealand Embassy The Hague. (2014). Photo of Ambassador Lowe. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/NZthehague/photos/a.1492869434335119/1511714762450586/?type=3&theater>.
- New Zealand Embassy The Hague. (2014). Facebook image. Retrieved from <https://www.facebook.com/NZthehague/photos/deborah-panckhurst-unit-managerinternational-security-and-disarmament-at-new-ze/1502584006696995/>.
- New Zealand Embassy Belgium (2020). Facebook image. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/pg/nzembassybelgium/photos/?tab=album&album_id=1884721048338728&ref=page_internal.
- New Zealand Parliamentary Debates. (1843). Extract from 50th session, 27th Parliament, for period February 24 to June 24, 1943. Wellington, New Zealand: Government Printer. Retrieved from <https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/hansard-debates/historical-hansard/>
- New Zealand Places. (2019). Photos from NZ House London. Retrieved from <https://nzplaces.nz/place/new-zealand-house-london>
- New Zealand Story. (2014). What is New Zealand Story. Retrieved from <http://www.nzstory.govt.nz/what-is-nz-story>.
- Ngāi Tahu. (2020). Photo of Waihopai marae. Retrieved from <https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/marae-eventwaihopai/>
- Ngawati, N. (1996). *EEO (Māori) and a bicultural public sector: A problematic relationship?* (Published Master of Public Policy (MPP) thesis). Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Ngawati, N. (2014). Unpublished pilot study. Wellington, New Zealand: GOVT603.
- Ngawati, N. (2019, Jan). *Art and Design innovation to express public policy goals through diplomacy*. Paper presented at the 4th PUBSIC (Innovation in Public Services and Public Policy) Conference, Milan, Italy.
- Nicholas G and Hollowell J (2006) Intellectual property issues in archaeology: Addressing the needs of a changing world through negotiated practice. Plenary Address. Cultural Heritage & Indigenous Cultural & Intellectual Property Rights Conference, 5th World Archaeological Congress Intercongress, 8–10 June 2006. Canberra, Australia.

- Obama Food. (2012). Obama invitation. Retrieved from <http://obamafoodorama1.blogspot.com/2012/12/the-obamas-2012-holiday-cardsfeature.html>
- O'Brien, T. (2018). National identity and New Zealand foreign policy. In R. G. Patman, I. Iati, & B. Kiglics (Eds), *New Zealand and the world: Past, present and future* (pp. 55-66). Singapore: World Scientific.
- Orange, C. (2004). *An illustrated history of the Treaty of Waitangi* (2nd ed). Wellington: Allen & Unwin.
- Oxford dictionary (2014). Diplomacy. Retrieved from <http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/diplomacy?q=diplomacy>
- Palmer, G. (2013). *Reform: A memoir*. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.
- Parliament NZ. (2019). Public Service Legislation Bill. Retrieved from https://www.parliament.nz/en/pb/sc/make-a-submission/document/52SCGA_SCF_BILL_93134/public-service-legislation-bill
- Patman, R. G., Iati, I., & Kiglics, B. (Eds). (2018). *New Zealand and the world: Past, present and future*. Singapore: World Scientific.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Payani, H. (1992). *Representative bureaucracy: The place of Māori in NZ bureaucracy* (Masters Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington). Retrieved from https://viewer.waireto.victoria.ac.nz/client/viewer/IE921331/details?dps_dvs=1578446466673~425
- Pendergrast, M. (1996). The fibre arts. In D. C. Starzecka (Ed.), *Māori art and culture* (pp. 114-146). Auckland, New Zealand, D. Bateman.
- Perkins, E. J. (1991). Diversity in United States diplomacy. *The Bureaucrat*, Winter 1991, p 31.
- Peters, W. (2006). New High Commissioner to the Solomon Islands. Retrieved from <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PA0604/S00248.htm>
- Peters, W. (2018). Te Akaitiki: The Evolving Cook Islands–New Zealand Relationship. Retrieved from <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/te-akaitiki-evolving-cook-islands-new-zealandrelationship>.
- Peters, W. (2018b). Shifting the dial. Retrieved from <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/speech/shiftingdial>.
- Peters, W. (2018c). Pacific diplomatic footprint. Retrieved from <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/pacific-diplomatic-footprint>.
- Peters, W. (2019). Foreign Ministers to lead Ministerial Consultations in Cook Islands. Retrieved from www.beehive.govt.nz/release/foreign-minister-lead-ministerial-consultations-cook-islands.
- Peters, W. (2019a). MFAT at 75. *New Zealand International Review*, 44(1), 10-12.

- Petersen, N., & Sanders, W. (1998). Introduction. In N. Peterson & W. Sanders (Eds), *Citizenship and indigenous Rights*. Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1-34.
- Peters, B., Schröter, E., & von Maravić, P. (2015). Politics of representative bureaucracy: Power, Legitimacy and Performance.
- Piripi, H. (2011). Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the New Zealand public sector. In V. M. H. Tawhai & K. Gray Sharp (Eds), *“Always speaking”: The Treaty of Waitangi and public policy* (pp. 229-244). Wellington, New Zealand: Huia.
- Pitkin, H. F. (1967). *The concept of representation*. California, CA: University of California Press.
- Poata-Smith, Te Ahu, Evan S. (1996). He Pokeke Uenuku I Tu Ai': The Evolution of Contemporary Māori Protest. In P. Spoonley et al (eds.), *Nga Patai*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 97116.
- Pomeroy, A., & White, L. (2011). The portrayal of indigenous identity in Australian tourism brand advertising: Engendering an image of extraordinary reality or staged authenticity? *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 7(3), 165-174.
- Poutama New Zealand (2018). Māori Fashion Designers show at Guangzhou Fashion Week. Retrieved from <https://poutama.co.nz/Māori-fashion-guangzhou/>
- Poutama New Zealand (2018a). Kāhui Māori Fashion Collective – China Hīkoi. Retrieved from <https://poutama.co.nz/kahui-Māori-fashion-collective-china-hikoi/>.
- Race Relations Conciliator. (1982). *Race Against Time*, Wellington, New Zealand: The Human Rights Commission.
- Ratuva, S. and Brady, A. (2019). Neighbors and Cousins: Aotearoa-New Zealand's Relationship with the Pacific. In *Small States and the Changing Global Order* (Vol. 6, pp. 145–163). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-18803-0_9
- Reilly, M., Duncan, S., Leoni, G., Paterson, L., Carter, L., Ratima, M., & Rewi, P. (2018). *Te Kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world*. Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Report of the South Pacific Policy Review Group. (1990). Towards a Pacific Island community. Wellington, New Zealand: SPPRG.
- Rewi, A. (2015). Global Mana. *Te Karaka*, 66, 34-38.
- Riessman, C.K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA Sage Publications.
- Riessman, C.K. (2005). *Narrative, memory and everyday life*. Huddersfield, United Kingdom: University of Huddersfield, Huddersfield.
- Roberts, I. (2009). *Satow's diplomatic practice*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Robinson, J. (2013). Flight of the Tiki. *International Journal of Arts & Sciences*, 6(2), 697-707.
- Rosenblum, N. L. (1997). The politics of presence. *The American Political Science Review*, 91(3), 729.
- Ross, K. (2018). MFAT at 75: Tales to be told. *New Zealand International Review*, 43(6), 2-5.

- Royal, T. A. C. (2005). First peoples in Māori tradition – Māui. Retrieved from <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/first-peoples-in-Māori-tradition/page-3>
- Rozental, A., & Buenrosto, A. (2013). "Bilateral Diplomacy." *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Diplomacy*. Oxford University Press, 2013. Web. DOI: 10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199588862.013.0013.
- Ruël, H., Lee, D., & Visser, R. (2013). Commercial diplomacy and international business: Inseparable twins? *AIB Insights*, 13(1), 14-17.
- Ruhanen, L., Whitford, M., & McLennan, C. (2015). Indigenous tourism in Australia: Time for a reality check. *Tourism Management*, 48, 73-83. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2014.10.017>
- Ruru, J. (2018). Te Tiriti me Ōna Whakatau: The Waitangi Tribunal and Treaty Settlements. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Ratima, & P. Rewi, P. (Eds), *Te Kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 285-287). Auckland, New Zealand: Auckland University Press.
- Ryall, J. (2002). Kiwi embassy fetes ties in true Māori tradition. Retrieved from <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2002/11/23/national/kiwi-embassy-fetes-ties-in-trueMāori-tradition/#.XuSN1cJ7noo>
- Saarinen, E., & Korab, B. (Photographer) (c. 1955–1960). United States Embassy, London, -60. Exterior. Retrieved from <https://www.loc.gov/item/2018673276>
- Sachdeva, S. (2018). Peters plans Pacific reset. Retrieved from <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2018/03/01/93439/peters-plans-pacific-reset>
- Salmond, A. (1975). *Hui: A study of ceremonial gatherings*. Auckland, New Zealand: Reed Books.
- Saltzstein, G. (1979). Representative bureaucracy and bureaucratic responsibility: Problems and prospects. *Administration & Society*, 10(4), 465-475.
- Sayers, J., & Tremaine, M. (Eds) (1994). *The vision and the reality: EEO in the New Zealand workplace*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Schrag, B. (2009). Piercing the veil: Ethical issues in ethnographic research. *Science and Engineering Ethics*, 15(2), 135-60.
- Schubert-McArthur, T. (2019). *Biculturalism at New Zealand's national museum: An ethnography of Te Papa*. Retrieved from <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.helicon.vuw.ac.nz>
- Schwalger, C. (2018, February 21). Diversity, Inclusion and The Will to Change [Blog post]. Retrieved from <http://teaka/homepagetabs/slt/blog/Lists/Posts/Post.aspx?ID=106>.
- Schwimmer, E. (Ed.) (1968). *The Māori people in the Nineteen Sixties: A symposium*. Auckland, New Zealand: Longman Paul.
- Sharp, P. (1997). Who needs diplomats? The problem of diplomatic representation. *International Journal*, 52(4), 609.
- Shore, C. (2017). "100% Pure New Zealand": National Branding and the Paradoxes of Scale. In Hannerz U. & Gingrich A. (Eds.), *Small Countries: Structures and Sensibilities* (pp. 47-66). Philadelphia. University of Pennsylvania Press. Retrieved June 12, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv2t4dh9.4.

- Sibley, C. G., Robertson, A., & Kirkwood, S. (2005). Pākehā attitudes toward the symbolic and resource specific aspects of bicultural policy in New Zealand: The legitimizing role of collective guilt for historical injustices. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 34(3), 171-180. <http://search.proquest.com.helicon.vuw.ac.nz/docview/212438642?accountid=14782>.
- Siems, M. (2019). The law and ethics of "cultural appropriation." *International Journal of Law in Context*, 15(4), 408–423. <https://doi.org/10.1017/s1744552319000405>
- Sissons, J. (1995). Tall trees need deep roots: Biculturalism, bureaucracy and tribal democracy in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Cultural Studies* 9(1), 61-73.
- Smale, A. (2008). Ta Moko: A living tradition. *New Zealand Geographic*, 091(May–June) no page as online. <https://www-nzgeo-com.helicon.vuw.ac.nz/stories/ta-moko/>
- Smith, A. L., (2019) *The Urgent Versus the Important: How Foreign and Security Policy is Negotiated in New Zealand*, Chapter 2 in Brady, Anne-Marie (Ed) (2019) *Small States and the Changing Global Order: New Zealand Faces the Future*, Springer International publishing.
- Smith, H. (2011). Taonga Tuku Iho: Cultural and heritage landscapes. In V. M. H. Tawhai & K. Gray-Sharp (Eds), *"Always speaking": The Treaty of Waitangi and public policy* (pp. 65-78). Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.
- Smith, L. (2012). *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples* (Second edition.). Zed Books.
- Smith, R. (2011, Oct). *Australia: Representative Bureaucracy in a Post-Colonial, Multicultural Society*. Paper presented at the Contemporary Challenges of Politics Workshop, Coogee Beach, Coogee, NSW, Australia. Retrieved from <https://apo.org.au/node/28972>.
- Smits, Katherine (2014) The Neoliberal State and the Uses of Indigenous Culture, Nationalism and Ethnic Politics, 20:1, 43-62, DOI: 10.1080/13537113.2014.879764
- Spelman, A. C. (2013). A Relationships Framework for Organisational Responsiveness to Te Tiriti/Treaty of Waitangi in the Work of Groups and Organisations in the Community and the Public Sector of Aotearoa New Zealand (Thesis, Master of Philosophy (MPhil)). University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/10289/8319>
- Spoonley, P. (1993). *Racism and ethnicity in New Zealand*. Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.
- Spoonley, P., Pearson, D., & Macpherson, C. (1996). *Ngā Patai: Racism and ethnic relations in Aotearoa/New Zealand*. Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Stahler, G. J., & Cohen, E. (2000). Using ethnographic methodology in substance abuse treatment outcome research. *Journal of Substance Abuse Treatment*, 18(1), (pp. 1-8). [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0740-5472\(99\)00029-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0740-5472(99)00029-X).
- Starzecka, D. C. (Ed.) (1996). *Māori art and culture*. Auckland, New Zealand: D. Bateman.
- State Services Commission (SSC). (1997). EEO policy to 2010: Future directions of EEO in the New Zealand public service. Retrieved from <https://ssc.govt.nz/resources/summary-review-eeo2010/>

- State Services Commission (SSC). (2008). Equality and Diversity: Guidance for applying the new Public Service EEO Policy. Retrieved from <https://ssc.govt.nz/resources/guidance-applyingpolicy/?e281=1890-background-to-this-policy>.
- State Services Commission (SSC). (2010). What is the performance Improvement framework? Retrieved from <https://ssc.govt.nz/resources/what-is-the-performance-improvement-framework/>
- State Services Commission (SSC). (2017). Public service workforce data, human resource capability survey, State Services Commission, Wellington. Retrieved from <http://www.ssc.govt.nz/sites/all/files/public-service-workforce-data-2017-v3.pdf>
- State Services Commission (SSC). (2017a). Performance improvement framework, Review Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade June 2017. Retrieved from <https://www.mfat.govt.nz/assets/Corporate/ministry-foreign-affairs-trade-pif-2017.pdf>.
- State Services Commission (SSC). (2018). Diversity and inclusion. Retrieved from www.ssc.govt.nz/resources/public-service-workforce-datahrc-diversity/
- State Services Commission (SSC). (2018a). Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Trade appointed press release, 18 December 2018. Retrieved from <https://ssc.govt.nz/resources/secretary-foreignaffairs-and-trade-appointed/>
- State Services Commission (SSC). (2019). Workforce data. Retrieved from <https://ssc.govt.nz/ourwork/workforce-data/>
- State Services Commission (SSC). (2019a). Diversity and inclusion in the public sector. Retrieved from www.ssc.govt.nz/our-work/diversity-and-inclusion/
- Statistics New Zealand. (1943). The New Zealand Official Year Book, 1943. Retrieved from https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1943/NZOYB_1943.html?_ga=2.261592527.35588599.1592002991-851663582.1574988633
- Statistics New Zealand. (2013). National ethnic population projections 2013–2038. Retrieved from http://archive.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/population/estimates_and_projections/NationalEthnicPopulationProjections_HOTP2013-2038.aspx#gsc.tab=0
- Statistics New Zealand. (2020). National population estimates: As 31 March 2020, infoshare tables. Retrieved from www.stats.govt.nz/information-releases/national-population-estimates-at31-March-2020
- Stewart, G., Tamatea, K., & Mika, C. (2015). Infinitely welcome : <http://link.galegroup.com/helicon.vuw.ac.nz/apps/doc/A11865952/ITOF?u=vwu&sid=ITOF&xid=7fcb5776>.
- Stocker, M. (2010). Dick Frizzell – The Painter by Dick Frizzell, with foreword by Hamish Keith, *Art Book*, 17(2). Blackwell Publishers, May 2010.
- Sully, D. (2007). *Decolonising conservation: Caring for Māori meeting houses outside New Zealand*. Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.
- Syme-Buchanan, F. (2004). Article on the kawanga whare ceremony, published source unknown.
- Szászy, M. (1993). *From Me Aro Koe Ki Te Ha O Hine-Ahu-One*. In W. Ihimaera (Ed.), *Te Ao Marama: Regaining Aotearoa: Māori writers speak out* (pp. 287-291). Auckland, New Zealand: Reed Books.

- Tamati Waka Te Puhi (1872-18860. Ref: PA1-o-227-07. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/22311412](#).
- Taonga Māori Collection. (c. 1500). Pou tokomanawa (carved centre post). Unknown carver. Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/213198>.
- Taonga Māori Collection. (c. 1800–1900). Korowai (cloak). Unknown weaver. Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/190102>.
- Taonga Māori Collection (1905). Kete whakairo (patterned bag). Unknown, Hawkes Bay. Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/63840>.
- Taonga Māori Collection (c. 1900–1910). Photo of Māori carving, Muir and Moodie studio, 1900–1920. Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/308420>.
- Taonga Māori Collection. (1918). Tokotoko (ceremonial staff). Bequest of Mrs. E. H. Blair in memory of her late husband, Archibald Anderson Watt, 1918. Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/15321>.
- Taonga Māori Collection. (1921). Waharoa at Whakarewarewa. Unknown photographer 1921–1922. Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/435317>.
- Taonga Māori Collection. (1930). Piupiu. James McDonald photographer. Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/69402>.
- Taonga Māori Collection. (1972). He Tiki (pendant in human form). Purchased in 1972. Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/55399>.
- Taonga Māori Collection. (2020). Kohatu pounamu (nephrite boulder). Unknown carver and unknown acquisition. Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/116576>
- Tautai Guiding Pacific Arts. (2019). Tautai org website. Retrieved from <http://www.tautai.org/artist/sylvia-marsters/>
- Tawhai, V. M. H., & Gray-Sharp, K. (Eds) (2011). *“Always speaking”: The Treaty of Waitangi and public policy*. Wellington, New Zealand: Huia Publishers.
- Te Papa Collections (2002) Tivaevae (quilt) by Mere Tapaeru Tereora (Cook Islands). Retrieved from <https://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/object/789273>.
- Te Pou Māori. (2016). *Te Pou Māori career ministry recommendations and G-10 proposals for discussion at 1 September 2016 hui* [unpublished memo].
- Te Puni Kokiri. (2013). He Kai Aku Ringa – The Crown Māori Economic Growth Partnership: Action plan 2012–2017. Māori Economic Development Panel, November 2012, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Teddlie, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2009). *The foundations of mixed methods research: Integrating qualitative and quantitative techniques in the social and behavioural sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Templeton, M. (Ed.) (1993). *An eye, an ear and a voice: 50 years in New Zealand’s external relations*. Wellington, New Zealand: Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade.
- Terrell, J. E., Wisse, D. C. J., & Philipp, C. J. (2007). Ruatēpupuke II, the Field Museum Chicago: The past and possible future. In D. Sully (Ed.), *Decolonising conservation: Caring for Māori meeting houses outside New Zealand* (pp. 89-110), Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press.

- The Anzacs, (2020). ANZAC Day. URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/anzac-day/the-anzacs>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 9-Apr-2020.
- The Arts Foundation (2020). Briar Grace-Smith. Retrieved from <https://www.thearts.co.nz/artists/briar-grace-smith>.
- 'The Rarotongan Company' (2019) URL: <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/war/pacific-islandersnzef/rarotongans>, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 4-Apr-2019
- Tonnaer, A. (2010). A ritual of meeting: 'Sharing culture' as a shared culture in Australian indigenous tourism. *La Ricerca Folklorica*, 61, 21-31. www.jstor.org/stable/41548464.
- Tourism New Zealand (1999). About Tourism New Zealand. 100% Pure campaign. Retrieved from <https://www.tourismnewzealand.com/about/>.
- Tourism New Zealand (2020). What we do. 100% Pure New Zealand. Retrieved from <https://www.tourismnewzealand.com/about/what-we-do/campaign-and-activity/>.
- Townend, A. (2003). The strange death of the Realm of New Zealand: the implications of a New Zealand Republic for the Cook Islands and Niue. *Victoria University of Wellington Law Review*. Vol 34 (3), 571–607. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.26686/vuwlr.v34i3.5768>
- Tremaine, M. (1994). Different ways of making a difference: EEO Māori and Tino Rangatiratanga in public sector organisations. In J. Sayers & M. Tremaine (Eds), *The vision and the reality: EEO in the New Zealand workplace* (pp. 72-86). Palmerston North, New Zealand: Dunmore Press.
- Tuaine, G. (2017). Listen to our past – remembering our WW1 Soldiers. *Escape Magazine*, 24, 50-52.
- Tyler, M. C. (2016). Diversity and diplomacy. *Australian Journal of International Affairs*, 70(6), 695709. DOI: 10.1080/10357718.2016.1220497.
- University of Otago. (2016). Māori medical student graduates create history. Retrieved from <https://www.otago.ac.nz/otago-connection/otago629296.html>
- Vale, L. (2008). *Architecture, power and national identity*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Routledge.
- Waaka, L. (1990). A report on EEO (Māori) and a bicultural approach to government. Rotorua, New Zealand: Waaka Consultancy.
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2019). Hauora: Report on stage one of the Health Services and Outcomes Kaupapa Inquiry. Retrieved from https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_152801817/Hauora%20W.pdf
- Walker, R. (1982). Capitalism v Tangata Whenua. *Listener*, 24 July, 62-3.
- Walters, M., Walters, R., & Walters, S. (2014). *Marae – Te Tatau Pounamu: A journey around New Zealand's meeting houses*. Auckland, New Zealand: RHNZ Godwit.
- Walzer, M. (1967). On the role of symbolism in political thought. *Political Science Quarterly*, 82(2), pp 191-204.
- Waters, A. (2005). Indigeneity, self-determination and sovereignty. In B. Hocking (Ed.), *Unfinished constitutional business? Rethinking indigenous self-determination*. Canberra, Australia: Aboriginal Studies Press.

- Weir, J. (2011). *Eat, drink and be wary: A New Zealand diplomat looks back*. Wellington, New Zealand: Dunmore Publishing.
- Wendt, A. (1999). *Social theory of international politics*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Wendt, A. (2004). State as a person in international theory. *Review of International Studies*, 30(2), 289-316.
- Werry, M. (2011). Introduction: Toward a performance theory of the state. In *The tourist state: Performing leisure, liberalism, and race in New Zealand* (pp. ix-xl). Twin Cities, MN. University of Minnesota Press. Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/10.5749/j.ctts7cr.4
- Whitehead, H. N. (c. 1920-1930). Photo of Pōwhiri (official welcoming ceremony) at Te Aute College, Waipawa District Henry Whitehead Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library.
- Whitfield, D. (2020). Photo of New Zealand Flag. Retrieved from <https://www.pexels.com/photo/newzealand-flag-2030683/>
- Wikipedia (2019). Mashrabiya. Retrieved from www.en.wikipedia.org
- Wood, J. (2009). The craft of diplomacy: John Woods reflects on the role of New Zealand's overseas representatives in the modern world. *New Zealand International Review*, 34(2), pp 11-16. Retrieved from <http://web.b.ebscohost.com/helicon.vuw.ac.nz/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=2&sid=80f75ee5-6305-49ca-8379-011d91fd6c68%40sessionmgr103>
- World Atlas. (2020). Map of the Cook Islands. Retrieved from <https://www.worldatlas.com/webimage/countrys/oceania/ck.htm>
- Workman, K. (1995). Biculturalism in the Public Service – Revisiting the Kaupapa. Presentation to the Department of Internal Affairs Māori Staff National Hui, Tapu Te Ranga Marae, Wellington 27 April 1995.
- Yakin, H. S. M., & Totu, A. (2014). The semiotic perspectives of Peirce and Saussure: A brief comparative study. *Procedia – Social and Behavioural Sciences*, 155, 4-8.
- Zazzle. (2020). Aotearoa Māori tie. Retrieved from https://www.zazzle.co.nz/aotearoa_Māori_tie151894453351570380.
- Zimbio (2017). Photograph of King Willem-Alexander of the Netherlands receives the New Zealand Ambassador Lyndal Walker. Retrieved from <https://www.zimbio.com/photos>.

Proofreading Acknowledgement

A professional editor, Madeleine Collinge, provided copy-editing and proofreading services in accordance with the Editorial Advice Policy of Victoria University of Wellington.

Appendix A: Information sheet for participants

Use of Māori (people, images and practices) in New Zealand's diplomacy: an examination of symbolism.

INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

Thank you for your interest in this project. Please read this information before deciding whether or not to take part. If you decide to participate, thank you. If you decide not to take part, thank you for considering my request.

Who am I?

Tena koe. Nga mihi ki a koe. Ko Nicola Ngawati ahau, Ko Ngapuhi te iwi, ko Ngāti Hine te hapū. He kaimahi kei roto i te Manatū Aorere. Tihei Mauriora.

Greetings. My name is Nicola Ngawati of Ngapuhi/Ngāti Hine descent. I am currently employed as a senior policy adviser at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT).

I am researching the use of Māori (people, image and practices) in New Zealand's diplomacy. I am a Doctoral student in the Doctor of Government (PhD) programme within the School of Government at the Victoria University of Wellington. This research project is work towards my doctoral dissertation. Given my current employment, this dual role as researcher and practitioner provides an opportunity to investigate where practice and theory meet. Although I am an employee of MFAT, I am engaged in this project, not as an employee of MFAT but as a student.

This information sheet is designed to help you decide if you wish to take part in the study. It is to be read in conjunction with the attached consent form.

What is the aim of the project?

This project will consider how Māori people (including diplomats), images and practices are used as part of New Zealand's diplomacy. I am particularly interested in how these aspects of New Zealand's diplomacy are used and what is intended or understood by the symbolism inherent in their use. This project will examine how Māori are represented through the work of MFAT, through people (primarily, but not limited to Māori staff) and the selective use of objects (including artwork) of cultural or emotional significance in the context of the wider physical environment used. The research considers these issues through the lenses of diplomatic symbolism and representation.

This research has been approved by the Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Committee [approval number 0000022596].

How can you help?

I have identified you as someone with a suitable level of experience, knowledge and standing who could contribute valuable insights to this study. If you agree to take part, I will interview you in a suitable place that you are comfortable with (for example, a meeting room or in a public place if you prefer, such as a café). I will ask you questions about your views on how Māori people, images or practices are used as part of New Zealand's diplomacy.

The interview will take approximately 45 minutes. I will record the interview and write it up later. I may also use a transcription service to assist me with the write up. You can stop the interview at any time, without giving a reason. You can withdraw from the study up to four weeks after the interview. If you withdraw, the information you provided will be destroyed.

What will happen to the information you give?

This research is confidential. I will not name you in any reports, and I will not include any information that would deliberately identify you. It is my intention that participants will be referred to by role or association with an organisation rather than by their name. No information on your personal characteristics (such as name, age) will be collected or used in any way (unless you refer to such details in the interview). I will endeavour to ensure descriptions or details will be reported in a way that would not allow a reader to identify you. That said, given the small number of possible participants, the small nature of the New Zealand diplomatic service and wider public sector in New Zealand, a knowledgeable observer may be able to guess the identity of a participant.

All of the research will be kept securely in my office or in password-protected computers until the conclusion of the doctoral dissertation and only available to my supervisors or me. The information will then be securely stored for an additional 5 years, in accordance with standard practices to ensure the integrity of subsequently published research.

Only my supervisors and I will read the notes or transcript of the interview. The interview transcripts, summaries and any recordings will be kept securely and destroyed 5 years after the research ends. A copy of the report will be supplied to MFAT.

What will the project produce?

The information from my research will be used in my doctoral dissertation. I may also use the results of my research for conference presentations, and academic reports.

If you accept this invitation, what are your rights as a research participant?

You do not have to accept this invitation if you don't want to. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to:

- choose not to answer any question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study up until four weeks after your interview;
- ask any questions about the study at any time;
- receive a copy of your interview recording (if it is recorded);
- read over a written summary of your interview
- request any copy of your interview transcript

- be able to read any reports of this research by emailing the researcher to request a copy.

If you have any questions or problems, who can you contact?

Thank you for considering this request to participate in my research. If you have any questions, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:

Nicola Ngawati

School of Government
Victoria University of Wellington

P: withheld

E: nicola.ngawati@vuw.ac.nz

My supervisors are:

Dr Graham Hassall
School of Government
Victoria University of Wellington

P: 4635047

E: graham.hassall@vuw.ac.nz

Dr Chris Eichbaum
School of Government
Victoria University of Wellington

P: 463 5675

E: chris.eichbaum@vuw.ac.nz

Human Ethics Committee information

If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research, you may contact the Victoria University HEC Convener: Associate Professor Susan Corbett. Email susan.corbett@vuw.ac.nz or telephone +64-4-463 5480.