How Should Maori be Represented in Museums?

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Title Page

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Table of Contents

Introduction

In the present day, a large number of people are striving for equality. Whether it is gender, race or sexuality, most people will agree that all ought to be treated equally and fairly as human beings.

One group who has long been subjected to inequality are indigenous people. For many years, native peoples were seen as lesser ‘savages’ by the ‘more advanced’ Western world. It is an ongoing struggle, but many first peoples are finally in a place where they are beginning to be treated as equals to the rest of the world. Indigenous people now have a voice, and they want everyone to hear them. They want to be able to identify and self-identify themselves, and they do not want to be controlled anymore.

However, there is a topic that causes most indigenous people much grief, and holds many back. This is colonialism. Many of the indigenous peoples of today where colonised by European Empires at some point from the 16th to the 20th century. Though colonialism collapsed after the second World War, the European Empires had a lasting effect on the development of the world as we know it today. While it may not seem important to most Westerners, colonialism especially affects the once colonised indigenous people to this day. Colonialism changed the lives of indigenous people in such a way that there was no going back. There are many issues left over from colonialism which still affect native peoples today, such as land ownership and the repatriation of indigenous artefacts. To many Europeans, colonialism is a stain on our past which is best ignored and

forgotten about. However for the Indigenous people who were once under indigenous rule, it is not so easy to forget.

The aim of this thesis is to study the culture of the Maori people, and discuss ways in which this can be portrayed in the museum environment. To do so I will look at the way Maori and other indigenous people have been represented in the past and how this has developed to the representation we witness in the present. Finally I will be considering possible display methods for the future.

As indigenous people are finally having more of a say in the representation of their heritage, it is important to study the best way that this can be translated to the museum environment. By studying the past and the present, scholars will hopefully develop new ideas concerning the display of indigenous people in the future. The combination of studying the Maori culture and their display in museums, and then combining the information found to try and discover the best way to represent Maori in museums, should make my thesis relevant to archaeologists studying the representation of indigenous peoples in museums.

Another one of the questions I shall be asking in my thesis, is how much of an effect did the introduced European society, materials and way of life, have on the development of indigenous cultures. How much of an effect did colonialism have on shaping Maori culture into what we now recognise in the present day? While colonialism is looked upon with pure negativity in academia, there were some positive aspects to come out of colonialism. Though the native people are often portrayed as weak and powerless against the Europeans, I want to show that they too where agents with their own goals and ambitions, and they also got something from the interaction with the Europeans.

Should we try to learn from colonialism, or is it best forgotten? By asking these questions I hope to determine the most suitable ways in which colonised native peoples should be portrayed in museums today. Should museums discuss the repercussions that colonialism had on indigenous people and their culture, or should any colonial discussion be cut out of the museum and forever ignored? It is important to discuss the methods in which indigenous people should be represented in museums. Unlike, past, dead cultures, the miss representation of indigenous people can have a negative effect on the living group.

When studying indigenous groups, I shall be focusing on the Maori of New Zealand. The Maori make up a large percentage of the current population of New Zealand, and have held a respected place in society for many years. While the Maori people did and do have issues with the British Empire who colonised them, it is not to such a terrible extent as between many other native people and their colonisers, for example the British and the Aboriginals of New Zealand. Maori culture is still alive and a big part of life in New Zealand, so I am interested to discover the extent to which the British influenced and changed Maori culture. By understanding this, I should have a better understanding of how Maori should be represented in museums, and what role their colonial past should play in these displays.

Though my main focus will be on the representation of Maori, I shall also be examining the display of other indigenous cultures in the post colonial word, in the hopes of discovering transferable information.

The main method of investigation used within my thesis was text based research, used to discover the various ways Maori have been represented in museums, and present museum theories that might affect indigenous people in the museum world in the future. I also conducted an artefact study with the aims of

discovering the influence the British Empire had on Maori material culture. I also conducted an interview Dr. Wonu Veys, concerning the display of Maori culture in the *Museum Volkenkunde,* Leiden, and would like to thank her for her time and assistance.

There are several key words used in this research, which have become so common place that they have now become very broad terms which mean different things to different people. Hence, I shall define the words and concepts I am using.

Culture is a recurring subject and theme is this thesis. Throughout this research, it is defined as;

'*A society's shared and socially transmitted ideas, values and perceptions, which are used to make sense of experience and which generate behaviour and are reflected in that behaviour'* (Haviland *et al.* 2007, 401)

Another common topic in this thesis is Colonialism, which shall be defined as such;

'European control and domination of settled and invaded countries and peoples, from the 16th to the mid 20th century. Post-colonialism refers to the time after the collapse of colonialism in the mid 20th century, up to, and including the present day.' (Kohn 2012)

I wish to inform the reader, that I am not of indigenous heritage, but am white European. The following discussion of native peoples and culture and their relationship with the European colonial powers have been made with the utmost respect. Though true objectivity is impossible, I have endeavoured to research and discuss the following topics in a manner that is neither harmful nor discourteous to either native peoples, or modern day Europeans.

Chapter One: Maori, Europeans and Colonial Contact

1.1 The Maori in Archaeological and Historical Records

“ A land without people waited for a people without land”

-King 2003, 23

Before we can research the various ways in which the Maori can be represented in the museum environment, we must first recognise the people, their culture and way of life (Lum 2010, 17). The Maori are not a long dead civilisation, whose archaeological remains are open to the museums interpretation, but are a living, contemporary people. Furthermore, we no longer live in a time of colonial power, where white, dominant members of the European Empires, have the power to dictate how both non-white and racially indigenous groups should be represented and presented to the rest of the world (Sissons 2005). Since the fall of colonialism, indigenous people now have a voice, and with it, the ability to dictate the ways in which their culture is seen globally (Warner, 1999, 69).

Museums have a responsibility to represent and display the items and culture of native peoples in a way that best please the majority (Brown and Peers 2003, 250). While the best way to represent many different people as part of one cultural group is an issue within itself, this will be further discussed in chapter three. For now, we must first focus on the history and culture of the Maori so that it is possible to better understand them as a

people. By studying the Maori, one has the ability to better represent these people, in a way that is most acceptable.

Suspended in the outreaches of the Pacific Ocean, lies an archipelago of small islands (Smith 2011, 1). Together they form a country of both complex and beautiful geography in what was once seen as one of the farthest corners of the world (Morton, Morton Johnson and Johnston, 1989). This country is now known to the majority of the world as New Zealand.

If one is to date the country's creation from the period when the land was separated from Australia and the larger Gondwanaland, then the country of New Zealand has been developing for around 80 million years (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008, 1). It is this early separation which makes New Zealand so unique (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008, 1). Around 1,600 km from its nearest neighbour Australia, the fauna and flora of New Zealand has been left to develop in isolation for millions of years (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008, 1). New Zealand was detached from Gondwanaland before the evolution of marsupials and mammals, meaning the country's fauna only comprised of reptiles, birds and insects (King 2003, 22). The lack of mammals meant that there were no predators on the land, and so plants and creatures could develop and evolve without the influence of hunters, producing an environment unlike any other (King 2003, 22).

While New Zealand was unaltered by humans for thousands of years, it has not been unchanged by the Earth's natural environmental activities. New Zealand lies in an area which is colloquially referred to as the Pacific 'Ring of Fire' (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008, 1). This name is in reference to the large number of volcanoes which border the Pacific Ocean, both above and under water (Nunn 2008, 15). New Zealand is also subjected to many earthquakes, due to substantial amounts of tectonic activity (Nunn 2008, 23). This tectonic movement also produced

the large, sprawling mountain ranges, which are often associated with New Zealand in the present day (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008, 2).

Diverse, and uninhabited, New Zealand was left to evolve from nature, with no input from man (King 2003, 23). As humans developed, so did their migration across the world (Manning 2012, 2) but due to New Zealand isolation, it remained untouched by mankind (King 2003, 23). As one of the last countries in the World to be inhabited, what would happen when people finally found this remote country, and what would they make of this virgin land?

Figure 1: New Zealand

In the contemporary era, we now recognise the Maori as the indigenous people of New Zealand. While the Maori have made this country their home for just over a thousand years, where did the Maori people originate from? How did they find New Zealand, and why did they leave their previous lands to settle in a new and distant environment?

The earliest archaeological evidence suggesting human occupation in New Zealand is dated to the 13th century AD (King 2003, 48). Scholars previously dated the earliest human arrival to the country, to sometime in the 9th century AD (King 2003, 38). This was based on radio carbon dates, which later proved to be incorrect (King 2003, 51). Modern academic thought, based on radio carbon dating, concludes that the Maori people arrived between 1200 and 1400 AD (Smith 2011, 6). Scholars are aware that this dating is not conclusive, and are open to new evidence either confirming or suggesting a different date for earliest human settlement (King 2003, 52).

While there have been many theories suggesting that the Maori people originated from places such as South America, Egypt or Melanesia, scholars are united in concluding that Maori people originated from Polynesia (King 2003, 29). The less conclusive question is where in Polynesia?

Some characteristics of West Polynesians civilisation can be seen in the Maori culture. Around 3000 years ago, the countries of West Polynesia developed a type of Austronesian language which is thought to be the forbearer of *Te Reo Maori* (the Maori language) (Bell, Harlow and Stocks 2005, 14). Other evidence of West Polynesian culture in New Zealand includes hierarchy systems, specific artefact shapes and important concepts such as *tapu* and *mana* (King 2003, 32). However, it is not certain that these materials and ideas came straight from West Polynesia to New Zealand, for the West Polynesian people first migrated to East Polynesia, before any humans ventured as far as New Zealand.

The artefacts and ideas that represented West Polynesian culture were brought to East Polynesia and further developed to create a new cultural identity (King 2003, 33). The reformed language, culture and artefacts of East Polynesia have a style which is

exceptionally similar to that of the Maori (King 2003, 33). Many of the characteristic items of Eastern Polynesia and New Zealand share similar stylistic forms. For example, artefacts such as adzes, fishhooks and pendants, are all of a markedly similar style (King 2003, 49). When these common stylistic characteristic of artefacts are combined with the shared mythology of Eastern Polynesia and New Zealand (King 2003, 36), most scholars believe that it is probable that the Maori originally migrated from East Polynesia, rather than West (Macdonald 1985).

While there has been some debate in the past over the possibility that Polynesia, and subsequently, New Zealand, was colonised by accident, the study of past navigation techniques (King 2003, 34) and the development of Computer simulations which allow experts to produce examples of past voyages (Callaghan 1999, 12), has led most scholars to conclude the Polynesian expansion was deliberate (King 2003, 34). Polynesian sailors searched the seas in ‘upwind quadrants’, which meant they could return to their original location on the downwind (King 2003, 34). This suggests that the migration of people would have been a premeditated journey to their new area of habitation, rather than an accidental colonisation, where the colonisers did not know how to return home (King 2003, 35).

As it is widely accepted that Polynesian colonisers deliberately migrated to new locations, academics now debate over why people decided to move (King 2003, 35). While there are many possible answers, it is difficult to determine non tangible human reasoning in the archaeological record, and as the Maori were a non literate people, researchers have no access to past peoples thoughts. This means, when archaeologists try to establish why the Maori moved to New Zealand, we can only speculate about the possible reasons.

One possible reason is because of environmental factors, such as lack of natural resources, or lack of space (King 2003, 35). Some oral stories tell of fighting between tribes and kin (King 2003, 35). Another possible reason is curiosity. It can be said that curiosity is part of human nature, and that people have the urge to discover and experience new things (Benedict 2002, 8). The Europeans spent many years adventuring on quests of discovery (Salmond 1991, 50), so it is not unlikely that Polynesians would also indulge in their inquisitiveness to discover and learn about more of the world. It is also possible that travel was a prestigious act (Helms 1988, 68). On many islands in Polynesia, sea voyages are ritual acts which are a symbol of adventure, bravery and prestige (Forde 1934). In many societies, travellers are often perceived as powerful people and have a high status (Helms 1988, 72). This is because travellers had knowledge which others did not have access to, giving them a certain amount of influence and power, for they could share, or withhold new ideas, technologies and items (Helms 1988, 74). Whatever the reason behind the Maori's decision to travel to New Zealand, this uninhabited land must have been enticing enough to make them stay.

Starting as colonists from East Polynesia, once the Maori came to New Zealand, they further developed their culture, and created a new identity (O'Brien 2002, 27). The first people who migrated to New Zealand would have undergone a transition period which led to the development of the culture which is now identified as Maori. These early colonisers would have had to adapt to a new and foreign land (O'Brien 2002, 27). Developing a new way of life would have been unavoidable. Who were these people, and how do we identify the Maori way of life?

The Maori were a people without language, meaning that scholars are limited to the archaeological record, as a method of

determining the culture and social structure of these people in the pre-European period (Hansen and Curtis 2008, 133). The archaeological evidence is often combined with the knowledge of Maori from the initial European contact period to try and recreate early Maori society. However, the 16th century Maori cannot be thought of as the same people who first settled in New Zealand during the 13th century, for a society can change a lot in a few hundred years (Smith 2011).

Developing in a state of isolation, the East Polynesian culture gradually morphed and evolved into a new culture of the Maori. This can be seen in the change in language and material culture (Evans 2011, 25).

The founding settlement population of New Zealand is estimated to have included around 100 people (Hansen and Curtis 2008, 133). This number is based on mitochondrial DNA analysis, which suggests that modern Maori descended from around seventy different females (Hansen and Curtis 2008, 133).

When these people first came to New Zealand, they would have experienced a land unlike anything they had ever seen before (King 2003, 61). The New Zealand landscape is far more diverse, and the country is much larger than any of the other islands in Polynesia (Smith 2011, 18). The country also has a temperate climate, differing from the tropical temperatures the first settlers would have been used to (Smith 2011, 18). This new environment meant that the Maori had to change their way of life, for they could no longer farm, shelter or live in the manner they had previously (Smith 2011, 18). Different skills and technologies had to be developed to accommodate their new home (King 2003, 62). Developing in a state of isolation, the East Polynesian culture, became something new, and an identity was created that belonged solely to the people of New Zealand (King

2003, 62). This culture is known as *Te Ao Maori* (King 2003, 74), which means Maori World (Wiri 2008)

During the first years of initial habitation of New Zealand, the majority of Maori people settled near the shore, and lived mostly as hunter gatherers, though they also succeeded in cultivating six species of vegetation brought from East Polynesia (King 2003, 64). It is likely that these early settlers lived a partially nomadic life style, moving to collect the best materials and foods, but with a home base for crafting and horticulture (King 2003, 64-65).

Scientific analysis of early skeletal remains shows that, despite most people not living past the age of 30, they were fit and healthy (King 2003, 65-66). Some female remains show evidence of mothering four or five children (King 2003, 65). This high birth rate suggests a swift rise in population size, which would lead to a need for more produce and space (King 2003, 65).

As these people settled in New Zealand, their way of life gradually changed over time, for a number of different reasons. For example, one of the initial main food sources would have been large game such as sea mammals and flightless birds (Rawlings-Way 2012, 29). As the creatures had never had to fear predators before humans arrived, they would have been easy hunting (Rawlings-Way 2012, 29). However after around 100 years, sometime in the 14th century, these large game resources would have been nearly exhausted (King 2003, 70). With the decrease in game and the extinction of many species of large bird which would have previously been a common food source, the Maori had to find other means of feeding themselves (Rawlings-Way 2012, 29). By this point in time, the Maori would have explored all of New Zealand (Royal 2012), meaning that the people could make the most out of the available resources (King 2003, 73). Agriculture also played an increasingly important role

in their lives, and would have made up a large proportion of the Maori diet (King 2003, 73).

As the Maori became less nomadic, the people began to settle in separate groups of diverse sizes (Hay, Maclagan and Gordon 2008, 3), which eventually developed in the 15th and 16th centuries into the various Maori *iwi* or tribes that still exist today (King 2003). This is known as the Classical Maori Phase (Phillips 2000, 3). Different groups would have their own way of life, and these variations can be especially noted between the tribes on the North and South island, where the environments differed leading to diverse lifestyles (King 2003, 80). The colonisers who came to New Zealand were not one people, but separated in their own territories, occasionally coming together to interact and fight (King 2003, 76-91). The people did not see themselves as one culture group, and did not unite under the term *Maori*, until the arrival of the Europeans (King 2003, 76-91).

Despite living in separate tribes with different rules and habits, the Maori groups shared many aspects of the same culture, as well as speaking the same language (King 2003, 81). This tribal society was a key feature of Maori culture. The people of New Zealand did not identify themselves by race or individual identity, but rather by their families and relationships with others (King 2003, 78). Ancestry was also an important part of these peoples identity and was remembered through oral traditions such as *waiata* and *patere,* respectively songs and assertive chants (King 2003, 77). Tribes were not static, for the dynamics between and within groups had the ability to change. Alliances between tribes could be formed through methods such as inter-tribal marriages. New groups could be created when an *iwi's* population became too great for their habitat or when there was disruption within a tribe (King 2003, 78-79).

The social structure of Maori life was similar to that of their Polynesian relatives (King 2003). They had a class system that was divided into aristocrats and commoners or *rangatira* and *tutua* (King 2003, 79). The *rangatira* had more spiritual authority or *mana* (Royals 2012) which was given to them by the ancestors, yet they did not often actively lead the tribe (King 2003, 79). Instead the *rangatira* acted as a symbol for the tribes loyalty and identity (King 2003, 79) They also had a large amount of influence, because of their closer connection to the ancestors (King 2003, 79).

Mana is an important concept in the Maori belief system. It is power which is passed from the gods to humans (Neich 2006). Depending on a persons, ancestry or power, they can have different amounts of *mana* (Mead 2007, 51). A persons *mana* can be increased by becoming *tohunga,* or chosen (King 2003, 80). *Tohunga* were specialists of either an 'artistic, spiritual or physical nature' (King 2003, 80). However, *mana* is not just given, for it can easily be taken away if a disservice is done to the tribe (King 2003, 80). *Mana* is not only within people, but can also belong to objects (Neich 2006). Objects which belonged to important ancestors, will retain some of that persons *mana*, making the artefact very powerful and prized within the Maori community (Neich 2006). Maori believe that their cultural artefacts can be stored in a museum without losing the spiritual contact the item has with its original location and the people it belonged to (Szczepanowska 2012, 104-105). Maori believe that some artefacts within the museum are "sleeping", which allows them to be safely kept within the institution. If a Maori works at the museum where the native artefacts are being handle, then it is likely that they will follow Maori traditions, such as saying a pray when handling the items (Szczepanowska 2012, 104-105). However, this is not always going to be possible when no one of Maori heritage works in the museum. When interviewing Wonu

Veys, curator of the Oceania department at the M*useum Volkenkunde* in Leiden, I was told that the most important thing to remember when handling Maori artefacts is to treat them with respect (Interview, Wonu Veys, 2013, Appendices B).

Tapu is strongly linked to *mana,* and is said to be the focal point of Maori religious life (Mead 2007, 30). *Tapu* is everywhere, and is in everything, from people to buildings to the environment (Mead 2007, 30). *Tapu* is a sacred energy, and should always be highly respected (Mead 2007, 30). All Maori, regardless of tribe, have a special relationship with the world around them (Royals 2012). The way people interacted with the environment was restricted by the rules of *tapu* which were dictated by the *tohunga* (Royals 2012).

Though tribes were not constantly at war with one another (King 2003, 83), the Maori can be described as having a strong warrior culture (Royals 2012). Maori oral history contains many stories of conflict between tribes (Royals 2012). Fighting between tribes would often occur over competition for resources, and as a method of procuring *mana* (King 2003, 82). These stories are confirmed in both the oral history of the Maori, and by the archaeological record and environment, for there is evidence of many past fortifications used during times of warfare (Royals 2012), as well as weapons and skeletal remains which indicate violent deaths (Lange 1999). The Maori people can be said to have lived an aggressive lifestyle, for as well as warfare, they also indulged in cannibalism (Royals 2012). Some unfortunate Europeans discovered this custom in the most unfortunate way (Salmond 1991).

Maori technology could be considered limited when compared with the majority of other world cultures of the same time period (King 2003, 83). However, the lack of technological development from the first colonisation of New Zealand, up to contact with

Europeans, is not so surprising considering the countries isolation, allowing for no foreign influence or diffusion of ideas and methods (King 2003). The Maori had no knowledge of metallurgy until it was introduced by the Europeans, and had originally been a stone working culture, making use of the native, good quality stone, such as *pounamu* (a type of jade), and *tuhua* (obsidian) (Oliver 2002, 55). There was a well developed trade system of artefacts and goods between tribes across the length of both islands (King 2003, 88), and it was often a type of gift exchange (Royals 2012). When not at war, the majority of a Maori person's everyday life was spent obtaining materials and food, and creating items necessary to survive (King 2003, 85).

Maori life on New Zealand from the 13th to the 17th century is somewhat comparable to Neolithic Europe (King 2003, 91). However, their independent, isolated lives would be irreversibly changed with the arrival of the European travellers (King 2003, 91)

It is important to have an understanding of Maori history so that museum specialists and academics can begin to understand and interpret the extent to which the Europeans influenced and altered the Maori culture and way of life (Lum 2010, 6). If the Maori were unaffected by the European colonisation, then there would be no need to mention Europeans when displaying Maori artefacts and culture in museums. However, the European settlers did affect the Maori people, and so we need to try and understand the level of influence. How much did the Europeans alter Maori culture, and how should this be displayed in museums? Could it be that the arrival of the Europeans forced the Maori to create a new culture and identity, or can it be said to be a further development of original indigenous culture? This will be discussed in future chapters.

1.2 Europeans of the Colonial Period

When people in the present day talk about the Europeans from the time of the colonial empires, they often assume that the people of Europe then, are the same as they are in the 21st century. Why do most people think this way? A large majority of modern Europeans are obviously related to past colonisers, and still live on the same continent, though specific countries may have changed. It is also undeniable that Europe, or more specifically, the European Union, is still one of the biggest powers in the world today (Orbie 2008, 1). There is also a matter of race. Though we live in a time where most people are trying to eradicate racism, it is the sad truth that there is still a large racial divide, and generally speaking, we live in a world that is most advantageous to white people, who have the greatest amount of social and political power and more privileged lives (Kivel 2012, 31).

Though the act of colonising fell during the mid 20th century, it can be said that colonialism shaped the modern world (Gillen and Ghosh 2007, 1). This will be discussed in later chapters.

Though we still feel the effects of colonialism in the present, Europeans today, are not the same as our forefathers from the height of the colonial period (Salmond 1991, 15). To archaeologists, the 15th to 20th century might be seen as modern history, and not that long ago (Wunderlich and Warrier 2009). While this is true when studying the complete history of homo sapiens, in terms of actual human life span, this period was a long time ago. It could be beneficial to look at this time period from the view of a historian, whose organisation of the past is broken into to smaller periods, such as centuries rather than ages. Cultural evolution happens at a rapid pace, and even

humans 50 years ago live different lives than we do today (Tyler 2011). To assume that Europeans who lived during the age of empires, lived and thought in the same manner as modern Europeans is illogical (Salmond 1991, 15). The people of the past would have had different morals and ambitions, and their lifestyle would have been completely dissimilar to that of the 21st century (Salmond 1991, 50).

When studying colonial relations between Europeans and indigenous people, it is important to understand both groups. In the Western world, it is necessary to not see these Europeans as they are today, but as different people (Salmond 1991, 15). By understanding the colonising Europeans, we can better understand their relationship with the indigenous cultures they colonised, as well as have a better grasp of their motivations and goals (Salmond 1991). As a white European, it is necessary to remember that I am studying two foreign cultures, not just one different society interacting with my own.

The 17th century Europeans were completely different to the contemporary Maori people (King 2003). Europe had been inhabited by humans for thousands of years (Salmond 1991), and interaction was common place across the continent (Scarre 2009). Unlike the Maori, the cultures of the countries of Europe were not isolated, but had grown and evolved together, influencing each other and producing a constant diffusion of ideas and technologies (Scarre 2009).

While it can be argued that Europe was far more technologically developed than the Maori during the 17th century, due to the greater development of technologies and writings, the Europeans were not all “enlightened, advanced” people (Salmond 1991, 50-60). European countries were fraught with disease, and there were huge class divisions, where the rich were often over indulgent, while the many poor were frequently homeless,

penniless and starving (Salmond 1991, 52). It was a time of great opportunity for some, and great struggle for others.

European beliefs were largely based on an intriguing combination of Christianity and supernatural suspicions (Salmond 1991). God was an all powerful entity who was to be loved and feared, making Christian worship a necessity if you wanted to avoid an eternity of damnation (Salmond 1991). However, belief in the supernatural began to wane in the face of education and science (Cohen 2010, xviii). Schools became common place when literacy was promoted by Protestants, so that the Bible could be read by all (Salmond 1991). This was also a time of higher education, and many universities taught a large number of upper class males (Salmond 1991). This increase in education, likely played a large role in encouraging many Europeans to discover more about the world.

The Europeans had been a settled people for hundreds of years before the 17th century, and the landscape was filled with villages, towns and cities which contained large populations (Salmond 1991). The country side was abundant with agriculture, while the towns and cities acted as centres of politics and trade (Salmond 1991). As the urban landscape was surely developing across the continent, and with new technologies and thoughts evolving, the European hold was about to reach out even further (Cohen 2010).

The 17th century was the beginning of great change in Europe, and the repercussions can still be felt today (Cohen 2010, 6). It was a time of unrest and energy, and above all else, a burning desire to discover (Salmond 1991, 50). The Dutch were sending traders all over the world, while the British experienced a civil war which laid the foundations for British imperialism (Salmond 1991). When we add this state of upheaval with the frequent famines and epidemics, it is not surprising that the people of

Europe wanted to venture somewhere new, to discover hidden fortunes and better places (Salmond 1991, 63).

Colonialism was originally a method for countries of Europe to extend the territories and power (Page 2003, xxii). The nations of Europe were often at war with each other, and could be said to be somewhat competitive, for each country was vying to be the most wealth and control (Page 2003, 102). By controlling places outside of Europe, the Europeans had authority over these foreign countries trade and exotic goods (Page 2003, 102). It was only after the Europeans had access to the commerce of the invaded land, that they became interested in a more complete control (Page 2003, 102-103)

As previously stated, Europe was a land with strong class divisions, and once they became involved with new people (specifically of different races), they subsequently had to be placed into the social structure of a European dominated world (Salmond 1991). Christian missionaries were sent out to the colonies to spread Gods word, and to try and convert people from their supposedly wrong, evil, pagan religions (Page 2003, 18). This evolved in to trying to introduce these colonised people into a more western way of life (Page 2003, 18). By justifying their actions as helpful and godly, trying to better the lives of these “poor, simple, savages”, the Europeans justified their actions in the colonised world (Page 2003). They were not destroying the colonised people’s way of life, rather they were guiding them towards enlightenment (Page 2003, 166).

As time progressed, racism deepened its roots, and the divide between white Europeans and people of other races became more pronounced (Page 2003, 79). No longer did the European empires operate under the guise of helping the “savages”, rather they began exploiting “lesser people” to a new extreme, which can most obviously be seen in the African slave trade. Even after

the end of colonialism, a lasting legacy of racism is still apparent in the world (Page 2003, 79).

The majority of Europeans were living tough lives that were ruled by the very wealthy (Salmond 1991). Though this does not excuse their treatment of the people they colonised, it is not altogether surprising that those with most power believed that they had the right to control those without (Salmond 1991). This is why it is so necessary to differentiate between past Europeans, and the people of the modern day. Past people had very different morals and ways of thinking, and to assume that they acted like modern Europeans, will lead to vast misunderstanding of the colonial era (Salmond 1991, 15).

Like the Roman Empire before them, the European Empire changed the world in an irreversible way (Barkey, Bulag and Comisso 2006, 1-2). No matter how much ‘white guilt’ contemporary Europeans feel over the Age of the Empires (Steele 2007, 99), pretending that colonialism never happened is not going to benefit anyone. The main issue now for museums, is trying to determine how the European colonial period should be presented, specifically when displaying countries that were colonised. This will be discussed in later chapters.

1.3 Colonial Contact in New Zealand

To better understand the effect the Europeans had on the Maori culture, it is useful to understand the relationship and interaction between these two peoples. It is also important to understand that this was not just a one sided relationship, as modern documents so often suggest (Salmond 1991, 12). The indigenous people with whom the Europeans interacted are often painted as nothing but victims, who could do nothing but cave to the

“superior” European powers (Salmond 1991). This is very much not the case. While colonisation undoubtedly effected the Maori in a negative way, the native people of New Zealand also gained something from the encounter (Salmond 1991, 12). The Maori were not defenceless shells, they were active agents who had their own objectives concerning the Europeans (Salmond 1991, 12-23).

The aim of this section is to study the relationship between the Maori and the Europeans, in the hopes of understanding the extent that the culture of New Zealand was altered and influenced by these newcomers. By understanding the role colonialism played in the evolution that produced the Maori culture of today, museums will hopefully be better equipped to create the best possible displays concerning the presence of colonialism in indigenous cultures. It should also offer some insight which can be used when considering the decolonisation of previously colonised people in a museum environment.

At the time of first contact between the Maori and the Europeans, the people of New Zealand had been living in isolation for hundreds of years. However life was about to change forever with the appearance of strange foreign ships on the horizon (King 2003, 92). However, though it is common knowledge in the present that it was the British Empire who colonised New Zealand, they did not discover it (Salmond 1991, 22).

During the 17th century, Europe was still firmly engaged in an age of discovery (Salmond 1991, 63). There were fresh lands to find and new things to see, and a constant thrum of competition regarding who would discover them first (Salmond 1991, 63-64). It was the Dutch who succeeding in making a large, fascinating discovery in the winter of 1642 (King 2003, 95).

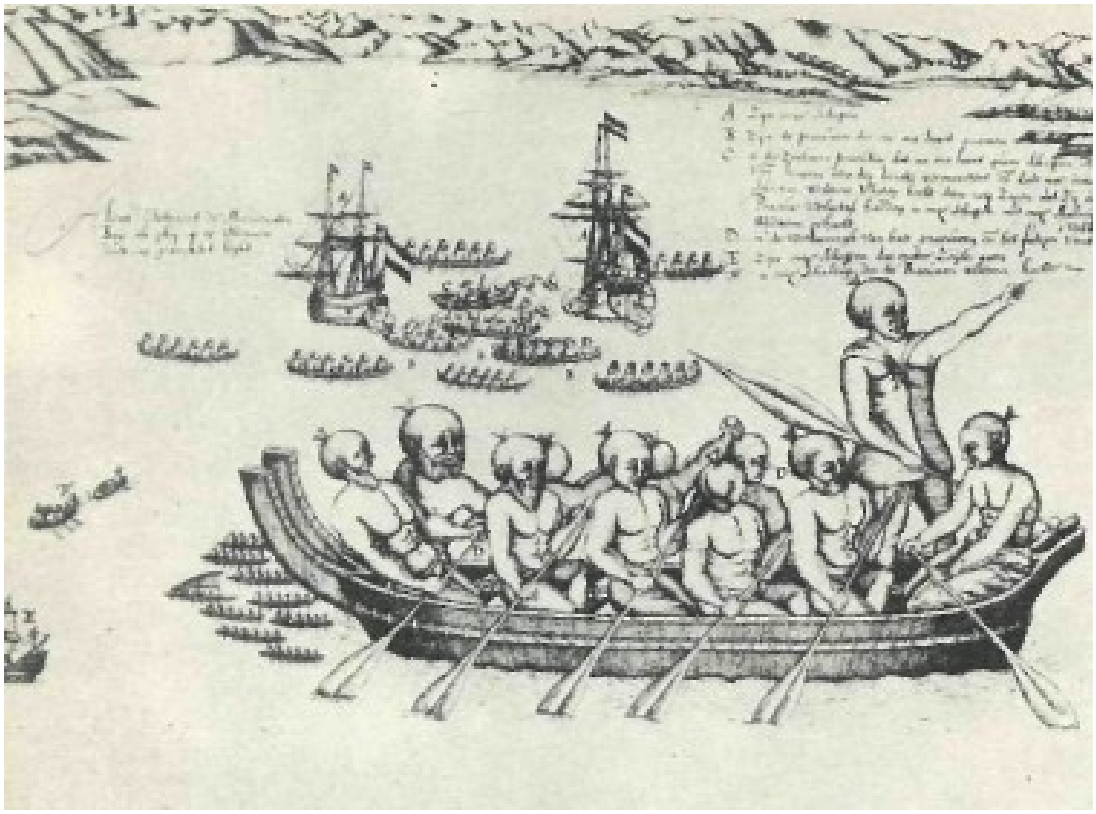

Figure 2: Maori as Seen by the Europeans

Europeans had been navigating the waters of Oceania for many years, but they never managed to stumble upon the far south island of New Zealand (Salmond 1991, 15-20). However, this was not for lack of looking, for there were many tales concerning what could be found in these most southern waters (Salmond 1991, 15-20). “The Unknown South-land” had been a mark on European maps for around a century before its discovery, and it was a place of imagination, waiting to be found (Salmond 1991). Visions of gold and silver, and civilised men living in a beautiful, new land gave the Dutch great cause to try and find this secret place (Salmond 1991, 18-21).

It was with great purpose that on the 4th August 1642, 110 men aboard two ships of the Dutch East India Company (VOC), the *Zeehan,* and the *Heemskerck,* set upon their voyage , both vessels loaded with trading goods which could be exchanged with the foreigners they were soon to meet (Salmond 1991, 22).

Months after the journey had began, the Dutch sailors spotted land on the horizon (Salmond 1991, 22). This was *Taitapu*, the Golden Bay on the west coast of New Zealand's South Island (Salmond 1991, 22). The Unknown Island had finally been discovered (Salmond 1991).

As the Dutch were celebrating the success of their venture, the Maori tribe of *Taitapu*, known as the *Ngaati Tumatakokiri*, would have been experiencing something completely new (Salmond 1991, 22). While the Dutch had never ventured to New Zealand before, they had encountered other foreign peoples, and would have been aware of circumstances regarding initial meetings with new peoples (Page 2003). The Maori had never met anyone from over the seas in their life time, and yet suddenly, here were two strange boats containing people who neither looked nor sounded like themselves. Were these people even human? Or were they some extraordinary, mythical creatures appearing out of the ocean (Salmond 1991, 23)?

On the first night the Dutch were harboured, the Europeans and the Maori in their canoes, tried to communicate to no avail as can be seen in Figure 2 (Salmond 1991, 22). The next day, after the Dutch tried and failed to understand the Maori language with language guides they had been given in Batavia, interaction between the Europeans and the Maori quickly turned violent, resulting in the death of four Dutch sailors (Salmond 1991, 22-23).

It is unsurprising that the *Ngaati Tumatakokiri* reacted negatively to this encounter. The Maori would never have encountered anyone who spoke a different language before, let alone anyone who looked so significantly different to themselves (Salmond 1991). Add this to their first experience with firearms, and we can begin to understand their confusion concerning who and what these people are (King 2003, 102).

The Dutch sailors were also horrified, spreading the tale of this encounter across Europe, and painting these native people as blood thirsty savages (Salmond 1991). Though the Dutch briefly perused the country, before they turned their ships around, and travelled back home (Salmond 1991). Though these two ships succeeded in discovering the isolated land, named Zeelandia Nova, little else was gained from their encounter (King 2003, 100). Misunderstanding between the two peoples led to a not altogether unsurprising bloodshed, and nothing was seen of the supposed gold, silver and civilised men (Salmond 1991). Finally discovered after year of isolation, and then New Zealand was again left alone for over 100 years (King 2003, 102).

It was not until the late 18th century that the British would commence a still existing relationship with the land of New Zealand and her people, starting with the arrival of the famed Captain James Cook (Salmond 1991). As with the Dutch, the first interaction between the British and the Maori ended in violence (Salmond 1991). While Captain Cook continuously tried to make peaceful contact with the Maori, there was often bloodshed (Salmond 1991). This is of little surprise, for the Maori were not only encountering strange men with powerful, new weapons, but they were also used to battle, living in a land where fights between tribes were commonplace (King 2003, 103-104). However, once the Maori became used to these foreigners, they tended to think of them as just another tribe, on they could fight, or trade with (Wilson 2012).

Frequent interaction between the British and the Maori developed when the Europeans first set up a colony in Australia (Orange 2012). From here, the British and the Maori began a mutually beneficial trading relationship (Orange 2012). The British were in need of flax, timber and seal fur which the Maori had in abundance, opening up to the New Zealand natives a new and

lucrative trading opportunity (King 2003, 115-116). In return The British brought new domesticated animals and plants, as well as metal and weapons (King 2003, 126-131).

The first Europeans to settle in New Zealand were escaped convicts from Australia (King 2003, 116), though the majority of early settlers were European sealers, who often took a Maori wife, and would be accepted into the tribe (Phillips 2012). These non-Maori became known as *pakeha* (King 2003, 117). Another trade commodity that encouraged the British to come to New Zealand was whaling (Phillips 2012). With the permission of Maori chiefs the British whalers set up small settlements, which, due to their lack of law enforcement, became known as area of drunkenness and debauchery. This was mostly beneficial to the Maori, who could interact with the European culture when they chose to, as well as have access to their technology. At this point Maori people could engage with the British when they wanted, and how they wanted, without giving up their cultural identity (King 2003, 129-130).

Initial European settlers did not have much impact on the Maori (King 2003, 129). Most Maori would never have had to interact with them. It was their commodities which originally began to effect Maori culture, most noticeably Christianity and guns (King 2003, 130, 139).

While guns were first used as a means for hunting, the Maori tribes soon turned them on each other, thus beginning the Musket Wars, which transpired from around 1822 to 1836 A.D.. More tribes all across the country began acquiring guns to defend themselves against others with the weapons, and soon it was an all out carnage (King 2003, 135). While the British might not have been pulling the trigger, their advanced weapons forever changed the Maori way of life. The Maori population was swiftly decreasing, and the possession of tribal lands was in a constant

state of upheaval. It is ironic that the British who introduced the weapons, also brought about the means of stopping the wars (King 2003, 139).

Christian missionaries brought ideas of peace to the Maori (Royals 2012). The Maori were spiritual people by nature, feeling they were connected to the whole world around them (King 2003, 139). This embedded spirituality led to a natural curiosity about Christianity, and the Maori took great interest in listening the missionaries tales (King 2003). However, the Maori were not completely converted to Christianity, rather they took aspects of both the new European religion and their original beliefs to create a new, hybrid (King 2003, 140). This is an excellent example of how Maori culture was influenced by the British, and as such evolved into the indigenous culture we recognise today (King 2003).

While the influences of Christianity did play a part in ending the Musket Wars, the main ending factor came in the form of a treaty, which would forever integrate the British into the Maoris lives and homeland (Royals 2012). Unlike many of the countries under the rule of the British Empire, the Maori had a long interaction period with the Europeans before they settled, rather than a sudden and all encompassing invasion (King 2003). As more British citizens began migrating to New Zealand (Royals 2012), James Busby, the first 'British Resident and representative of British law', was appointed in New Zealand in 1832 (King 2003, 152). Thus began a gradual induction into the British Empire (King 2003, 153-167).

When the British first made the decision to make New Zealand a colony, they originally had genuine concern for the Maori people and just wanted to find a place for the British within the native's society (King 2003, 151). The Europeans believed that all indigenous cultures would become extinct by the end of the 19th

century, and the British felt they could help preserve the Maori way of life if they were under the rule of the Empire (Fargher 2007, 72). Despite the early bloodshed, Captain Cook's opinion of the Maori 'still being human', meant that the indigenous people were seen and interacted with in a much more positive way than the aboriginals of Australia, for example (Fischer 2012, 113). However, as time progressed, the British settlers became the priority, rather than the Maori (King 2003, 156). In 1840, a treaty was presented to the Maori chiefs, asking them to give their allegiance to Queen Victoria and the Crown (King 2003, 157). By signing the alliance, the Maori would gain the protection and rights of British citizenship (King 2003). After much discussion, the Maori chiefs agree to sign the treaty, so that their people and their lands could be protected, (King 2003, 162), and an end to intertribal warfare could also be delivered (Royals 2012). This was the Treaty of Waitangi. While the treaty was originally signed with no problems, later problems arose with disagreement over translation (King 2003, 165). These problems mainly had to do with land ownership and the definition of sovereignty, which would lead to dispute between the Maori and the British which is still being argued to this day (Royals 2012).

The Treaty of Waitangi officially brought the Maori into the British Empire and put an end to their isolated culture. New Zealand was no longer a land of one people, but two, and so the Maori were further influenced by European culture (Phillips 2012). As time progress and these people lived side by side, the two societies eventually became one, and instead of the Maori and the Europeans, they were once again one people, the New Zealanders (Phillips 2012).

It is important to understand how the British settlers and the Maori eventually became one people. While the disputes over land and colonial rule might still be a subject of dispute today,

seen as a means of repressing Maori culture, the initial European influence was not forced but invited. We will never know how Maori culture would have developed if the British had never colonised New Zealand, and so it has to be accepted that European influence did happen. One could say that all interacting cultures influence each other, often developing something new (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2010, 49). I personally believe that culture is not static, nor should, or could it be stuck in time. Cultures develop with the world around them, and while some aspects may be positive or negative, it is unavoidable in constantly growing and interactive world. Because of the negative impact of colonialism, the influence of European cultures on indigenous ones is often ignored. However, just because Europeans may have had a role in shaping native peoples culture, it doesn't mean they completely dominated them. Otherwise all people of the world would have the same lifestyle and identity. As has been discussed, the British have played a role in the development of Maori life, and there is no ignoring that, but I do not feel that this makes Maori culture less Maori. The evidence of European influence in Maori culture and how this could be displayed in museums will be discussed in the next sub-chapter.

1.4 Maori and Pakeha in Present Day New Zealand

Though in the present day, colonialism no longer exists, the repercussions are still felt (Page 2003, 191). Western countries are still the most powerful nations in the world, and, generally speaking, the white male continues to be the dominant figure in society (Page 2003). While indigenous people are not as oppressed as they once were, worldwide equality has yet to be

achieved (Rabe 2001, 163). Struggles for racial equality, job opportunities and land ownership are still part of the everyday struggles for many indigenous people. Many native groups such as Native Americans, and Australian Aboriginals just want the opportunity to be seen as equals in a land that was once theirs (Eisenberg and Spinner-Halev 2005, 27).

However, while many Maori face issues of equality, remaining from the colonial period, they are not in the exact same position as many other indigenous groups. In the 2006 census, Maori make up 15 % of the New Zealand population, and rather than being segregated, they are very much integrated with New Zealanders of non-indigenous descent, who are known as Pakeha (Peters and Anderson 2013, 361). Rather than being restricted to the indigenous population, Maori culture is part of everyday life in New Zealand. For example, since 1867, there have been four reserved seats in the New Zealand parliament reserved for Maori (which increased to five in 1996 due to the number of Maori in the population), and they can also hold non-reserved seats if elected (Gagne 2013, 40). This guarantees that Maori people are represented in parliament, and some say and power concerning the running of the country. There are many other examples of Maori culture throughout New Zealand, for there are many Maori run media enterprises, and the national anthem in schools in sung in both English and the Maori language. Maori language is not only taught in New Zealand schools, but is recognised as one of the official languages of New Zealand (Berryman, SooHoo and Nevin 2013, 8).

It is important for those working in museums to be aware of the different situations indigenous people are faced with in their native countries. While the Maori still face many of the same issues as other indigenous people, in present day society, they are in a better social situation than many other native groups.

For example while Maori mix with Pakeha, and hold positions of power, many Native American face oppression in the United States, and can find it difficult to get work. While North American society is slowly becoming more accommodating to the indigenous people, long time repression has led to many people within tribes facing drug addiction and alcohol abuse (Gregory 2013, 34). This different attitudes towards indigenous people is reflected in museums. New Zealand's oldest museum, *Auckland Museum* has held Maori artefacts and represented the indigenous culture for over 150 years (Auckland Museum). In contrast, the most famous museum concerning the indigenous people of North America, *The National Museum of the American Indian,* only opened in 2004 (Lonetree and Cobb 2009, 3). The Maori people have long been represented in museums, and so the depiction of their culture in these institutes is not as ground breaking as it might be for other native people, though this does not belittle the importance of correctly portraying Maori in the museum.

Today, the Maori have a lot of control over the representation of their culture in museums. If one is to look at the curators working at the *Te Papa Museum* in New Zealand, it is shown that many have an affiliation with a Maori tribe (Te Papa Museum). While it will not always be possible to employ Maori in museums outside of New Zealand, it is important to see that in their home country, the native people have an input concerning their cultural history in museums.

The relationship between Maori and Pakeha is also reflected in the museums in New Zealand. In the country's most prestigious museums such as the *Te Papa Museum* and the *Auckland Museum*, Maori and non-indigenous New Zealanders are represented in the same place (Lay 2001). This shows that, generally, despite heritage, the people of New Zealand are seen as one. Both native and non-native groups come together to

create one large, all encompassing society. While museums outside of New Zealand might not show the unity between the Maori and the Pakeha, within the country, I feel that the museum is a vital tool to show people, that whether or not they are indigenous, all of the country's people can identify themselves as New Zealanders.

Figure 3: Maori and Pakeha

Chapter Two: The Effects of Colonialism on Maori Culture and Identity

The effects of colonialism are not only intangible but can be seen in the Maori material culture. By studying and comparing Maori artefacts, it is sometimes possible to see the British influence. It is important to remember that there was not only an influx of stylistic ideas brought by the British, but they also brought a new variety of materials (King 2003, 115). This included a variety of fauna, whose skins could be used for the material of artefact, as well as metal (King 2003,

115-116). By comparing traditional Maori artefacts with no visible European influence with those that do show such signs, it is possible to see that the Maori adapted their material culture, rather than replacing it with the contemporary British counterpart (Sinclair 2002, 19)

It is interesting to note that the following artefacts are part of the Taonga Maori collection from the Te Papa museum in New Zealand. *Taonga* are treasured items (Cooper 1997). Despite any colonial influences, these items are all seen as Maori, and are representative of the people's culture. This shows that the influence from others does not make something less of a representative of a culture, as can be seen when studying the subsequent items.

Tattooing is an act of permanently decorating the skin which originated in Oceania (Ellis 2008, 33). Maori tattoos, or *moko* was worn by Maori as a symbol of the wearers ancestry and position in society (Ellis 2008, 53). Maori tattooing tools originally consisted of bones, as can be seen in figure one. However, once the Europeans arrived, bringing with them new materials, the Maori adapted these new substances into their tool kit (Royals 2012). One important material brought by the British was metal (King 2003). As can be seen in figure two, the metal has taken the place of bone, and been used in traditional Maori items.

Figure 4: 4: Maori Bone Tattooing Tool. 1750. Te Papa Collection

Figure 5: Metal Maori Tattooing Kit. 1800 - 1900 Te Papa Collection

made sharper than bone, making it a better choice for tattooing instruments which need to pierce the skin (Ellis 2008). Rather

than being . This is a good example of the Maori making use of the new goods brought to them by the British. Metal is stronger, and can be seen as British culture replacing that of the Maori, this could rather be viewed as natural development to use better quality materials when they are present. It is logical to use the best available materials, and I feel this is not the ending of a cultural habit, but rather a progression.

Figure 6: Metal Harpoon. 1830 – 1840Te Papa Collection

Figure 7: Fishing Harpoon. Gifted 1952. Te Papa Collection

The harpoon in figure 3 is from around 1840, the year in which New Zealand became part of the British Empire (Salmond 1991). The Maori had been interacting and trading with the British for many years at this point in time (Royals 2012). Though they had been using European tools and weapons, especially guns, they still continued to make and use traditional Maori artefacts. If we compare the harpoon in figure three, with figure four, we can see that a metal, pointed end has replaced the traditional bone ending. However despite the development of the tool, the fact that it was still being made and used, shows that, at least in terms of hunting, the Maori method remained the same. Europeans would not be using harpoons for hunting during the 19th century, so it is interesting to see that while they influenced the Maori, the European lifestyle and culture did not completely dominate.

While in the present day New Zealand is famous for its sheep, where the animals outnumber the people, they are not an indigenous species of the country (Stringleman and Peden 2012). Sheep were first introduced from Australia, and later more breeds were brought from England (Stringleman and Peden 2012). Though the Maori had domesticated dogs and possibly pigs (King 2003, 32), they did more plant farming than animal (Stringleman and Peden 2012). However, sheep farming quickly became popular, and delivered a lot of economic opportunity for the Maori farmers (Stringleman and Peden 2012). Many people were interested in frozen meat and wool, causing a large growth in the economy of New Zealand (Stringleman and Peden 2012). The sheep business would have had a large effect on Maori life, for it gave them a place in the more global economy (Stringleman and Peden 2012). As well as selling sheep produce, the Maori also made use of the sheep themselves, as they now had new food and material to work with. This can be seen in figure five and six. After the introduction of sheep to New Zealand, the Maori could

use wool for their clothing as seen in figure five. Before, they would have had to make use of the materials available to them, which would have been limited, due to the small variety of fauna on the country (King 2003, 24). The cloak in figure six is made of bird feathers. While the new presence in the capitalist market can be seen as positive or negative, depending on your personal views of consumerism and capitalism, the introduction of sheep did give the people of New Zealand their own place in economic market, meaning that they could rely on themselves in an increasingly capitalist world.

Figure 8: Wool Cloak. 1820 - 1850. Te Papa Collection

Figure 9: Kiwi Feather Cloak. Gifted 1913. Te Papa Collection

Figure 10: Shark Tooth Earring. Gifted 1953. Te Papa Collection

Figure 11: Pounamu Ear Pendent. 1650 – 1850. Te Papa Collection

Not all influences from the Europeans had a practical use. While it is logical to use new materials when it is suited to your purpose, or it might be economically beneficial to start new business ventures, some aspects of the European culture were adapted into the Maoris, just because they liked it. An excellent example of the non particle adoption and adaption of European culture is fashion. The Kapeu pounamu stone ear pendent in figure eight is an example of a common Maori design which were usually worn by prestigious men (Theunissen 2002, 34). The sharks tooth earring in figure seven is of a very different style. As we know from the present day, style is constantly changing, and people from all over the world influence each other. After 100s of years of isolation, it seems natural that the Maori would look at this new world they were introduced to, and adopting anything

that they became fond of. In figure nine, the photo shows an excellent example of the combination of cultures. A Maori woman with a traditional *moko kauae* or chin tattoo (Ellis 2008, 170), dressed in Victorian Britain garments. People are not restricted to one culture only (Holland *et al* 2001, 22). Humans are agents who have their own opinions and ideas, which allows us to learn from the world around us to create our own identity (Holland *et al* 2001, 5).

Cultures are adaptable and evolve over time (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2010, 12). Even when the Maori have adopted European materials or techniques, they do not lose their cultural identity. Maori people still have traditional tattoos, and still have customary tools, clothing and decoration. I feel that European influence was part of a natural progression in Maori culture, but most defiantly did not destroy it. Adaptability means that tangible and intangible cultural representatives can change, yet still be a true example of Maori culture.

Figure 12: Emma. 1862 – 1890. Te Papa Collection

In contrast to the previously shown Maori artefacts found in the *Te Papa Museum* collection, the Maori collections at the *Museum Volkenkunde* do not show any European influence at all. This recognisable Maori style can be seen in Figure 13.

Figure 13: Maori Mask. 1982. Volkenkunde Collection

These Maori artefacts are examples of classical Maori style, made with the readily available material the Maori had access to. One possible reason that the *Museum Volkenkunde* Maori collection is so different to the *Te Papa* collection, could be because of the museums location. In New Zealand, most of the visitors will be from the country, so will come to the museum equipped with some rudimentary knowledge of both Maori and

New Zealand history. While most visitors will know about traditional Maori designs, they might not know as much about the colonial influence on Maori material culture, meaning that the hybrid item could be more unusual, and possibly of greater interest.

Figure 14: Maori Club. 1972. Volkenkunde Collection

In contrast, the artefacts in the Volkenkunde collection do not show colonial influence, even when the objects are from a time long after colonial contact. As Wonu Veys stated (Interview, Wonu Veys, 2013, Appendices B), generally speaking, the Dutch public do not know much about Maori culture, though they would have some knowledge concerning past European items. This might be

a reason to want show more obviously ‘foreign’ artefacts, making it very clear that they are from a completely culture. It is also important to note, that many of the items would have been collected by Europeans, who would likely be more interested in ‘exotic items, rather than something identifiable.

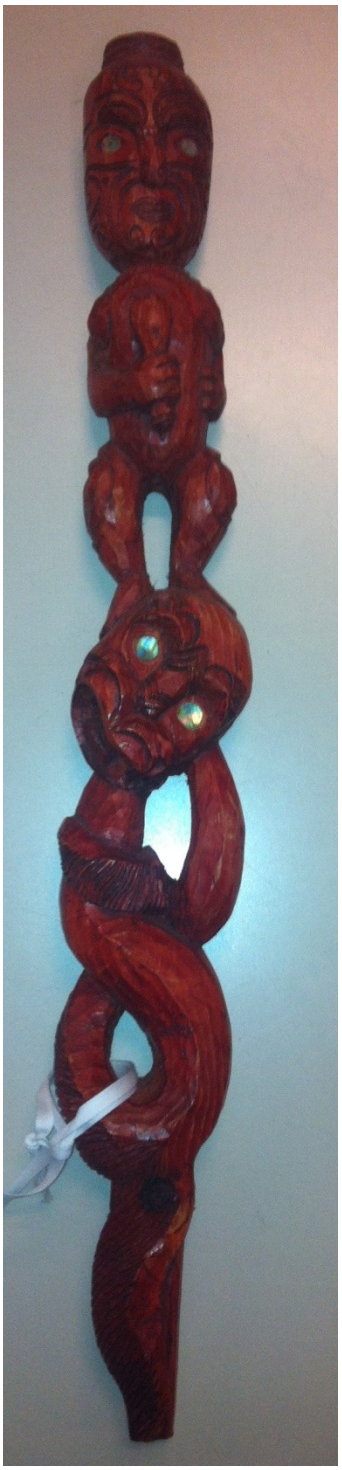

Figure 15: Gable Figure. 1987. Volkenkunde Collection

However, though the evidence of European influence is not obvious by simply looking at the item, it is in fact there. Whilst Figure 15 might appear to be entirely Maori, it was in fact carved using metal tools, introduced by the Europeans. This is an excellent example of the Maori adapting European items to their own culture.

I feel that the artefacts studied in this chapter confirm the fact that Maori culture was not destroyed by the Europeans, rather, it adapted and developed into the recognisable Maori culture we see today.

Chapter Three: The Display and Representation of Indigenous People in Museums

While many things stay constant, a museum is not one of them. As time progresses, the majority of museums also change (Dean and Edson 1996, 6). This is because humans are not set entities, with the same thoughts, ideas and

opinions throughout time (Holland *et al* 2001, 12). Rather humans are agents, whose opinions, ideals and morals change as they discover new things, gain more knowledge, and encounter more of the world (Holland *et al* 2001, 12). Modern museums often reflect the changes in society (Dean and Edson 1996, 6), and if they do not, this is usually a conscious effort to create a time capsule, a vision into the opinions, ideas and discoveries of a certain time (Marstine 2005, 31). There are many different types of museums, and one could argue that each individual museum has its own agenda (Dean and Edson 1996, i). However, despite individual purpose, it is often said that the museums main function is to impart knowledge (Dean and Edson 1996, 3).

The idea of what is knowledge and what people need to know changes over time (Magelssen 2007, 12). Even if a museum is an antique, or time capsule museum, it is still meant to inform the public that these are the views and opinions of the past not the present (Marstine 2005, 31). Why is it important that museums reflect certain ideas?

Museums are no longer private collection shown only to the select few, rather they can be called a place of public service, who have a certain amount of duty to the public (Dean and Edson 1996, 26). Museums can be called a reflection of society and are tasked with informing visitors about the museums main topic. Museums have the power to influence people's thoughts and opinions, they are a tool of representation and can be the basis of knowledge that visitors previously knew nothing of (Crooke 2008, 3). If a museum conveys incorrect information to the viewer, this can permanently affect their opinions and ideas about certain topics. That is not to say that all ideas presented in museums have ever been corrected, rather they should be a correct view of the time.

For some museums, there are not as strong repercussions if some information is wrong. For example, if a museum provides possibly incorrect facts about Iron Age Britain, this is unlikely to change the visitors view on life (Crooke 2008). Archaeology museums have some leeway with the knowledge they provide, for archaeology is very often subjective and open to interpretation (Scarre 2009). While academics might face negative consequences, from learning incorrect information in museums, they really should know better and look for additional research to provide confirmation of this knowledge.

For other museums, the repercussions of wrong information or misrepresentation are more severe. When museums represent contemporary society, it can affect people's views on certain topics (Crooke 2008, 3). While a museum should never be forced to present a certain point of view or idea, and instead should be able to approach the topic in anyway deemed necessary, incorrect information can cause people to create ill-informed views (Crooke 2008, 15).

The portrayal of indigenous people in museums across time is an excellent example of how the museum reflects changing social opinions and how important the message delivered by museums can be (Magelssen 2007). The display of contemporary indigenous people is very different to the display of past societies in archaeology museums, for these native peoples are still present in the world, and want to be represented in a suitable way (Magelssen 2007, 12). Even when displaying the history of indigenous people, it is still important to exhibit what many feel is an appropriate representation, for many indigenous societies feel deeply related to their ancestors, and often still share many cultural similarities (Lum 2010, 227). It could be said that one of the reasons indigenous people feel so strongly about being represented in a way that is acceptable to their culture is

because they were so misrepresented in the past (Magelssen 2007, 9). The display of native peoples in museums is about so much more than correctly labelling an object, rather it is another important method of given a voice to people who have so often been silenced and are trying to gain an individual identity in a world where most feel, they have so long been repressed (Mangelssen 2007). Even when indigenous people have been portrayed in a way that many would feel is acceptable, it has often still been the ideas of someone who is not from their culture (Sleeper-Smith 2009, 129). Indigenous people are still here, and they want to speak for themselves.

Many post-colonial museums are now seen as contact zones. This is described as the place where people, once geographically and historically separated, now come into contact with each other (Clifford 1997, 192). These separate people and cultures have a relationship with each other within the museum environment, and it is within the contact zone that the colonial imbalance between cultures can said to be restored. The museum is another tool of the post colonial world, and a place in which we can attempt to more past the repercussions of the European Empires (Clifford 1997, 192).

We can see the importance of the museum throughout time, and how the message portrayed has been altered with changing societies (Dean and Edson 1996, 6). By studying the past displays of indigenous people in museums, we can learn and develop the best suitable portrayal for those being represented. It will also be interesting to see the extent to which museums reflected the shifting society, and whether change first occurred in the museum, influencing the broader culture, or I it was the other way round. This could provide insight concerning the amount of influence a museum has on its visitors. If exhibits concerning indigenous people are studied and compared through

the ages, we can also see what has, or has not changed in museums, which might present ideas on what alterations should be made in the future, and what aspects are already acceptable.

3.1 How Indigenous Peoples Were Represented During Colonial Control

During the height of colonial contact, from the 19th to the early 20th century (Jackson 2009), Europeans did not have a very positive view of the indigenous people of the colonies (Page 2003). Native people were looked down upon, seen as lesser beings, who were not as intelligent or as evolved as the people in Europe (Page 2003, 53). 'Proving' that indigenous people were not as advanced as Europeans, justified the creation of Empires (Pennycook 1998, 16). The European rulers made it seem as if they were helping the native people, bringing them into the modern world (Pennycook 1998, 16). This was a useful excuse to make a greed for power and wealth sound like a prestigious venture (Page 2003, 346). By belittling the humanness and advancement of indigenous people they also justified any cruelties, racism and unfairness done unto them (Page 2003, 79). Many native groups were judged as little more than backwards savages (Page 2003, 79).

But how did the European public develop this notion? Many of the people of Europe had never been to the colonies, nor met an indigenous person from there (Page 2003).

Museums were one of the social tools used to create this opinion (Kleiner 2012). Objects from the native cultures of colonised countries were presented in museums in such means that they reinforced the view that indigenous people were barbaric and needed colonialism to save them from themselves (Kleiner 2012,

846). Indigenous artefacts in museums, were not viewed with the same wonderment as classical European objects, rather they were viewed in a mostly negative light (Kleiner 2012). Kleiner (2012, 846) states that the items from native peoples cultures were seen as ‘fetish objects’ or ‘artificial curiosities’. They were displayed in this way to again emphasise the need for colonialism (Kleiner 2012, 846). When people saw artefacts of indigenous cultures, they were not meant to be awed or amazed, rather the objects were meant to reinforce the idea of the barbaric colonised peoples with tangible proof (Kleiner 2012, 846). The objects would be portrayed as strange and backwards, showing Europeans how underdeveloped these societies were (Kleiner 2012, 846).

It is necessary to note that not all indigenous people were portrayed in the same way. Europeans had different views and believed certain stereotypes of certain races. Some people were seen in a more negative or positive light. For example, the Aboriginals of Australia were treated and viewed very negatively, while the Maori of New Zealand were seen in a more positive light, and ultimately treated better, though there were still not seen as being as advanced as Europeans (McCarthy 2007). This also affected the display of Maori in museums (McCarthy 2007).

Though most museums during the height of the colonial period displayed indigenous people in a negative light, where their cultures were portrayed in a manner that would prove to the public that these were barbaric people, not all museums showed indigenous people as being quite so inhuman (McCarthy 2007).

For example, during the end of the 19th century, the museum in Victoria, New Zealand displayed Maori artefacts as curiosities, but they were not meant to portray the Maori as savages (McCarthy 2007). Though the display did not suggest that the Maori were just like the Europeans, it was seen as excellent

examples of items and art, by native standards (McCarthy 2007). What really makes this display interesting is that it had the approval of the Maori tribes involved in creating the artefacts and art, for it was a fantastic display of power and *mana* (McCarthy 2007). While academics often assume that indigenous people would not have approved of the way their culture was displayed, by looking at the display from a Maori, instead of a Western perspective, an exhibit had a different meaning, one which displayed in such a way that was acceptable to the indigenous people (McCarthy 2007). While we might assume that all exhibits showing indigenous people would be viewed in a negative light by the culture they are displaying, this proves that is not always the case, though it might often be. This is a good reminder that the view and objectives of indigenous people can be different to our Western view, so while we might judge an exhibit in one way, native people might see it from a different perspective. We do not always evaluate by the same standards.

Some collectors had a genuine interest in the cultures of indigenous people, for means other than proving them as barbaric (Oldman 2004).While it is hard to comment on whether these people viewed indigenous people as equals to Europeans, it is true that they had an interest in native culture, an urge to discover, and a need to gain knowledge (Oldman 2004). Though many people during the height of colonialism might viewed colonised people as lesser developed beings, and did not care to learn much more about them, there were also anthropologists who simply wanted to discover more of these ethnic cultures, and try to better understand the people (Oldman 2004).

William Oldman, born in 1879, was an English man with a deep interest in ethnography, despite never having left Britain (Oldman 2004). During the end of the 19th century and through to the middle 20th century, Oldman began to collect artefacts of

indigenous peoples, focusing on Oceania (Oldman 2004). Though not much is known about Oldman's life, his interest in the peoples and cultures of Oceania was academic (Oldman 2004). The New Zealand anthropologist Peter Buck/Te Rangi Hiroa, visited Oldman in the beginning of the 20th century, as was supposedly very impressed with his knowledge and handling of Oceania items (Oldman 2004). Oldman did not collect these artefacts because he wanted to prove that the native groups from Oceania were savages, rather he just wanted to study them, and gain knowledge (Oldman 2004). This shows that it is important to remember, when studying the past, not all people shared the same opinions as the majority.

The anthropologist played an important part in the representation of natives in museums, for many anthropologists were museum workers. As discussed, some anthropologists simply wanted to learn about new people and cultures, while others wanted to study other groups to reinforce Western superiority. It is important to note that many anthropologists received their funding from museums, which would likely mean they had to research information which was suitable to their museums agenda (Ames 1994, 41).

While much of the display of indigenous people during the height of the colonial period was purposefully portrayed in a negative manner, this was not always the case. However the majority of time, museums reflected and reinforced the negative connotations concerning the view of indigenous people in society at the time. Museums were often an important tool used to reinforce colonial power (McCarthy 2007). How did this change with the end of colonialism and the decline of the European Empires?

3.2 Modern Movements; The Late 20th Century and the Changing Perception of Maori Identity Reflected in Museums

The late 20th century was a time of great change for indigenous peoples (Wanhalla 2010). While some people once hid their indigenous routes, the changing society of the late 20th century saw many people reclaiming their native heritage (Wahalla 2010, 161). This could possibly be because of the move towards racial equality (Mendelberg 2001). People no longer felt ashamed of who they were, but rather they felt proud and wanted to the world to see and acknowledge them as equal human beings, no matter their race or cultural background (Wanhalla 2010).

Another gargantuan change which massively affected the live of colonised indigenous people was the breakdown of colonialism. After the World Wars, colonialism surely began to dissolve. Colonised countries began gaining independence, and the European Empires started on their journey to extinction. As the colonial empires disbanded, attitudes of the people of Europe began to change also. While racism was still very much an issue (Mendelberg 2001), and white people lived a much more privileged life style (Kivel 2012), attitudes in society had started to change (Alexander and Sztompka 1990, 1963). Europe no longer ruled or controlled the world, and while many still felt that Westerns were superior to any other groups, a lot of people believed in equality.

From the 1960s, much of the world began moving towards a fairer environment for all (Alexander and Sztompka 1990). It seemed to be a time when indigenous people would no longer be seen as exotic or different, but rather, human (Wanhalla 2010, 161). For the majority of the time, change was a positive thing.

However, not all change was good, and some people made an effort to drag society back to a time reflecting the views and opinions held by Europeans during the height of colonialism.

Some of the negative changes of the time are reflected in museums. In 1988, the Glenbow Museum in Canada was at the heart of a fiery debate concerning indigenous people (Bouquet 2001, 110). The museum was showing an exhibit entitled ‘The Spirit Sings: artistic traditions of Canada’s first peoples’ (Bouquet 2001, 110). From the exhibit name, this initially seems like a good example of indigenous art work, and one could assume that the museum was doing a good job of placing the public eye on the creativity and arts of native people (Bouquet 2001, 110). However this was not the case. The main adversary to the exhibit where the Lubicon Lake Cree, native peoples of Canada (Bouquet 2001, 110). The museum supposedly had borrowed and displayed indigenous artefacts that they did not have permission to use (Bouquet 2001, 110). Not only that, but the museum was sponsored by the Shell Oil Company, who was at the time, engaged in a legal battle with the Lubicon Lake Cree over the rights to their native land (Bouquet 2001, 110). As Bouquet states (2001, 110), this was especially bad as it meant that the museum was ignoring the current issues of the native peoples, and the museum did not help themselves by declaring neutrality in the matter. The Lubicon Lake Cree boycotted the exhibit and had the support of many other museums, as well as the Assembly of First Nations (Bouquet 2001, 110). The Glenbow went ahead with the exhibit, funded partially by the Shell donation (Bouquet 2001, 110). While many think that the Glenbow Museum should have either rejected the funding from Shell, it is not as easy as that (Bouquet 2001, 110). Museums need funding . This is a fact, and if museums wish to remain open, then they need the money to do so (Ambrose and Paine 2012). While it would be beneficial and preferred to only take

sponsorship money from those that the museum chooses to take the money from, this is just not possible (Bouquet 2012). Should museums give up funding for integrity? But if the museum cannot remain open without the money, is that benefitting anyone? This is a tough question, and one with no obvious answer. However I believe that in the case of the Glenbow Museum, displaying the Native artefacts whilst taking money from someone who has is involved with negative confrontations with the same people was not the right choice. It might have been better to try and search for alternative funding and if none was forthcoming, closing or altering the exhibit. Displaying indigenous artefacts with money from those who would destroy their land feels hypocritical. What is the point in trying to educate the public about a group of people, if they do not want to exhibit their culture? It could give the viewer the wrong idea, thinking that the native people where happy with the display when in fact the opposite was true. Even though I believe this is the morally correct decision, I can understand the museums dilemma, for they would likely lose a lot of money which could cause financial trouble in the future. Of course with hindsight, this whole problem could have been avoided if the museum had held discussions with the Lubicon Lake Cree, identifying the issue before it became a problem. If nothing else, hopefully other museums will be able to learn from this.

Despite the positive social changes happening, Indigenous people during the latter half of the 20th century still felt the repercussions of colonialism, and were still engaged in a battle with the rest of the world to identify them as equals. As the Glenbow boycott has shown lasting effects of colonialism in areas such as economy or land ownership can still effect the representation of native peoples in the museum, even if it is not direct. There is more to just exhibiting indigenous people than just displaying their culture in a politically correct way, and it is

important for museums to thoroughly research the people they are representing, if they are still around.

3.3 The Contemporary World; How Indigenous Culture is Displayed in the 21st Century Museum

In the present day, most people like to believe we are socially advanced. The depth of truth in that statement is debatable. Though racism, sexism and many other 'isms' still exist, in most places it is at least socially incorrect to admit to taking part in these prejudices (Immerfall and Therborn 2010, 160). Humans also seem to have become very aware of our short comings and limitations, causing an increased interest in critical thinking (Ferraro and Andreatta 2009). This in turn causes many to strive to better themselves, but also the world. As stated, most people believe it is not acceptable to admit to prejudices, though some enjoy enlightening other about their discrimination (Ferraro and Andreatta 2009, 282). It is a time when we are all trying to change everyone, trying to create our ideal world; some people trying to preserve aged bigotry, while others fight for equal rights for everyone (Ferraro and Andreatta 2009, 295). Everyone has an opinion, and with the easy access to multimedia, most people have a way to share it (MacNamara 2009, 223). I believe this is due to a feeling of, 'it is the 21st century, should we not be better than this?'

As opinions about race change, indigenous peoples place in society has again altered (Nakata 2001, 43). Though racism still unfortunately exists, native peoples are no longer controlled by the empires of Europe, nor are they seen as savage people who need saving from themselves (Nakata 2001). Native peoples have a voice, and it is louder than ever. A current example of this

is the Idle No More movement, were indigenous people of Canada are protesting the destruction and looting of the Earth. While the campaign was originally run by the native people of Canada, the movement is spreading across the world, and being picked up by natives and non-natives alike (Ross 2013). Indigenous people are no longer being ignored, rather their message and ambitions are spreading around the world.

Again, changing society is reflected in the museum. The ‘native point of view’ is a concept used by museums (Carbrera 2008, 46). Displaying indigenous people is nothing at all like display past cultures long extinct, for native people wish for their cultures to be portrayed in a certain way (Carbrera 2008, 46). This has lead to an era of collaboration between museums and indigenous people, which has had both positive and negative results (Sleeper-Smith 2009, 130). The interaction and work between the museum and indigenous communities will be discussed in a later chapter.

Native peoples are also becoming more and more involved in the museum business. By doing this, they can then have a direct say into the portrayal of their culture. Finally, native peoples can portray themselves, rather than have someone else do it for them. A good example of this can be seen in the Te Papa Museum in New Zealand, where all curators of the Maori department, are of Maori heritage.

However, some people believe that native peoples are getting ‘special treatment’ and that people are overcompensating to try and make up for the wrong doing of colonialism (Von Hertzen 2009, 2003). I feel that consulting with indigenous people, or hiring them to work at museums is not guilt for colonialism, rather it is doing your best to respectfully interpret a people who still very much exist, as well as making use of all the available resources. Most archaeologists would give anything to learn

about past cultures straight from the source, and so we should make the most of being able to learn about native cultures directly, rather than trying to interpret them for ourselves.

Many museums now collaborate with the indigenous people they are representing and it often works very well. The Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden, Netherlands, recently displayed an exhibit called Mana Maori, in which the Oceania department interacted with the Maori of New Zealand (Interview, Wonu Veys, 2013, Appendices B). The Maori were able to give their opinions on the exhibit and where invited to perform a opening dance ceremony (Interview, Wonu Veys, 2013, Appendices B). This is an excellent example of the museum world and the contemporary native culture joining together. However, there were a few small issues. For example, the Maori placed flora offerings around the artefacts, which was allowed during the exhibiting opening, but had to be removed afterwards due to the museum regulations (Interview, Wonu Veys, 2013, Appendices B). This shows that even though a museum can have an example of a present native culture, it is not actually authentic. There is a separation between the museum environment and the real world.

Colonialism has mostly disappeared from museums, and many of the institutes are making a focused effort to decolonise the museum (Golding 2009, 49). We can already see the effects of decolonisation in the museum, for the portrayal of indigenous people now is completely changed to how it was in the colonial period (Golding 2009, 77). However, museums must be careful not to pretend that colonialism never happened. The British Empire and Colonialism Museum once existed in England, but now it has been decided that it will not reopen due to the public's want to move away from its colonial past (Mail on Sunday Reporter, 2012). Many Europeans feel ashamed of the misdemeanours of their ancestors, and many people feel that the

best way to separate ourselves from the colonial past, is to pretend it never happened. However, no matter how we feel about the European Empires in the present, it does not do any good to ignore a large part of our history. I do not believe that colonialism needs to be mentioned constantly in regard to indigenous people in museums, but when it is necessary, the information should be included not ignored. Remembering colonialism does not mean celebrating it. As previously stated, colonialism played a role in the development of indigenous cultures into what they are now, and there is no changing that. However, it also does not make native peoples culture anything less than their own.

Time has changed much since the 19th century, and with it attitudes, thoughts and society. I believe this is reflected in museums. From studying museums from the height of colonialism to the present day, we can see that the way in which indigenous cultures are displayed in museums tend to reflect the attitudes of society at the time. I believe that indigenous people will have more input into museums, as their place in society keeps evolving. I also feel that in the future there may be more museums run by indigenous people who want to show their culture to others in a way that they feel is best for them. By opening their own museums, native people can avoid the constrictions and rules that big, public museums must abide by, giving visitors a new view and a more complete and authentic look into indigenous culture.

Chapter Four: Moving Forward; the Future Representation of Maori People in Museums

4.1 What Responsibility does a Museum have when Displaying the Culture of Indigenous People

Representing a living culture is very different to portraying a dead culture. Misrepresenting a past, non-existing culture might misinform visitors, but it would be very unlikely to have negative repercussions in the present day. Alternatively, badly portraying a current culture within a museum will have consequences. It will likely cause offense to those people who belong to the group being displayed. Not only that, but it will likely influence the way visitors viewing the display will think of the portrayed culture. It is not surprising to assume that an institute, at least partially designed with the aim of distributing knowledge, should aim to show correct facts rather than falsities.

Museums can be argued to have an impact on society (Sandell 2002, 3). To misinform the public could be seen as a gross negligence to their responsibilities, for museums can often influence the viewers perspective and thoughts. To supply the wrong information, a museum can easily give their visitors the wrong idea about what they are displaying. While the amount of social influence and responsibility is a topic in dispute among scholars, it is logical to assume that the information shown will

affect the visitor in some way, no matter how small (Sandell 2002, 3).

While a museum should always aim to display correct information, the trouble comes in displaying something which is neither correct nor incorrect. Sometimes there is not always a right and wrong, just different points of views. In situations such as this, where does the responsibility of the museum lie? Should a museum show all sides of the argument, or should the institute decide to only show the information in a way which best fits with said museums principles? Are museums meant to be impartial, or should they be used to take a stance to confirm the institute's beliefs (Bartlett 2011)?

Scholars must consider whether a museum should be an impartial institute, similar to a news channel, showing all the relevant information, and then leaving visitors to come to their own conclusions. Or, alternatively, should a museum take a stance, and portray their information in a way meant to verify a particular argument (Bartlett 2011, 50)?

Specifically concerning indigenous people, does a museum have a responsibility to ensure they are portrayed in a certain way? Should a museum be a tool of contrition, emphasising the atrocities native people went through under colonial rule, or is this over compensating? Or instead, should indigenous people be displayed as objectively as possible? Let us briefly consider a scenario concerning the fact that some past Maori were cannibals (King 2003). Should this be ignored, for it might portray the Maori in a negative light? I believe not. Instead, information should be used to tell the public about why this was part of Maori culture. I do not believe that a museum should be used as a tool of guilt, as a means to try and make up for past wrong doing done unto indigenous people (though the many negative sides of colonialism should be shown when relevant). However, I do

believe that a museum has a responsibility to portray a current culture as correctly as they possibly can. While it may not be possible to please everybody, I feel indigenous people should be displayed in a way that best represents the majority. This will be further discussed in a later section.

While I do not believe that a museum should over compensate to show native people as unflawed, and completely positive, I do feel that a museum can sometimes be used to bring attention to the issues indigenous people still face. Though, if a museum does decide to back a certain view point, it is important that they do not become tools of propaganda (Bartlett 2011, 49).

Museums can have a negative effect, depending on the way an exhibit is displayed. In the *National Museum of the American Indian*, an exhibit on Treaties failed to fully discuss the influence of colonialism. By ignoring the imperial aspects of the treaties, these contracts were often interpreted by the public as friendly agreements between natives and non-natives, rather than as tools to posses land and further oppress the natives (Lonetree and Cobb 2009, 163). This exhibit could have brought light to Native Americans struggles concerning land ownership, but instead, overlooked the issue. Museums have the power to affect the visitor, but it is not always in a positive way.

It is impossible for anyone to be completely impartial, though we can try to be as unbiased as we possibly can. Some museums might be best suited to display their exhibits as neutrally as possible, simply showing general information to the visitors and not producing a specific argument or point of view. Other museums might want to use an exhibit to showcase a particular side in a discussion. Museums can be used to bring the visitors attention to a certain subject. While this can be used negatively, it can also be used in a positive way, bring awareness to important issues which might not otherwise get the attention.

4.2 Globalisation: When Communities Become Part of a World Culture

In museums, artefacts and other objects are often separated by culture. But in the present day, how easy is it to continue to draw a line between cultures. As people interact with others from different groups, as people from different cultures draw elements of other group's lifestyles to make something entirely new, should a museum still try to fit cultures into separate boxes? In previous chapters, issues have been discussed concerning the influence British society had on the development of Maori culture. Is the influence of others upon one culture still just a natural development of human groups, or are entirely new cultures being created? By looking at the ways people are influenced by each other, we can decide how necessary cultural separation is within the museum environment.

The world is gradually getting smaller. Not only do people have advanced methods of travel which can deliver travels to the other side of the world within a day, but we also have wide access to media, allowing for us to connect through cyber space, talking to anyone, at anytime and anywhere, no matter how far away you are (Kellner 1995, 1).

Whilst in the past many groups of people were isolated, that is rarely the case in the present (Kellner 1995, 1). Even as little as thirty years ago, travelling long distances was a lot more difficult and a lot less common. People and cultures were separated, and any insight or artefact from a distant place and society would have been rare and interesting (Kellner 1995).

This is not the case anymore. Within seconds people from all around the world, from most many different cultures can interact with each other (Kellner 1995, 1). Not only that, but the never

ending stream of knowledge that is the internet allows people to see and learn about alternative cultures.

Just as the Maori were influenced by the British once they began steadily interacting with each other (King 2003, 179), in today's society people are also influenced by the other cultures they interact with. The end result of these blends of cultures is globalisation.

Many people in the world today identify themselves as bicultural. A person who is bicultural is defined as an "individual's sense of belonging to two different cultures" (Rust 2008, 3). The number of people who identify with biculturalism, has likely increased as people now move around a lot more, living in different countries, becoming completely engaged in the local culture, before moving on to do it again (Rust 2008, 3).Rather than identifying with only one culture, they feel they can fit into more (Rust 2008, 3). Another reason for the increase in biculturalism likely has something to do with the increase of mixed race couple, producing mixed race children, who feel that they belong to both cultures (Diller 2011, 137). This can be seen in New Zealand, where a fair number of people are of mixed European and Maori heritage (King 2003). The Maori do not mind if people are not 'full blooded' Maori, rather, they are happy for those, even with the smallest amount of indigenous heritage to be part of their tribe (King 2003).

The culture with which a person identifies, is not always so readily identifiable in the present day, and is not always dependent on where you are from, or who your parents are (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2009). Cultures interact, and when they do they become less defined and begin to mix together (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2009).

Most modern persons put a lot of emphasis on the individual, and now, many people will partake in cultural appropriation, where they view a variety of cultures, and then proceed to adopt the parts of which they are fond of, bringing it all together to create an identity for themselves (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2009, 193).

In the present, many white people think that indigenous culture is ‘cool’, and so they try and adapt it into their own personal identity (Young and Brunk 2012, 9). This is known as cultural appropriation (Halley, Eshlemen and Mahadevan Vijaya 2011, 81). Some native peoples are happy with people liking and taking on parts of their culture, for it shows that people appreciate and support their culture and that there is the opportunity for the culture to spread, alerting more people to the native societies (Young and Brunk 2012, 84). Other indigenous cultures do not approve of this cultural trend, and feel that cultural appropriation is a means for white privileged people to take from minority groups, partaking in something similar to colonialism (Young and Brunk 2012). They feel that white people have taken enough from the indigenous people, and they should not be allowed to take more (Young and Brunk 2012). I feel that indigenous peoples opinions concerning cultural appropriation are very personal, and there is not (yet) a majority view. While the issue of cultural appropriation is not yet under major public scrutiny, it is a topic that is becoming more popular. The discussion is becoming increasingly popular among independent writers, who each have their own different standpoints and views. These online articles often spark many broad, conflicted discussions as can be seen in the article by Hix (2011). This emphasises the conflicting view points on this topic. I feel that it is likely that the issue of white westerners drawing inspiration from native peoples, is a topic in which there may never be a solid answer.

Cultural identity is not as static as it once was, and as global communities become more interactive, the lines by which we identify ourselves blend even further (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2009). I feel that while global identity is developing, it will not become a worldwide culture for a long time, if ever. Though many people adopt aspects of other cultures, I believe the world is still too big to have only one, all encompassing human culture. However, it is possible that something will happen in the future, breaking away the ideas of separate cultures, and bringing the world together under a human identity.

Many people will identify themselves by first a broader scale, such as their nationality, and then on a smaller, such as their political views. I believe that the cultural group to which we belong is part of the broader scale, and though people may have many aspects to their identity, their larger cultural belonging is still relevant. While the idea of biculturalism is very interesting, I feel it is too specific to the individual to be represented in museums, though it is a subject which could be discussed in the museum environment. While in the future, the lines between cultures might distort even further than they have already begun to, I feel that the separation of items depending on their cultural identity is still an ideal and relevant method of organisation within the museum.

4.3 Working with Source Communities

In the contemporary world of museum studies, the term ‘source community’ is frequently heard. According to Brown and Peers (2003) a source community refers to both the past group and their present day descendants, from whom artefacts have been collected. In the past, museums had full control over their exhibits, and could chose to represent the cultures they were

displaying in any way they saw fit. Museums put out the information they wanted to the public, and they had complete control over the content (Kleiner 2012). While a museum still has complete control over what is shown in an exhibit, many post-colonial museums do not want to separate themselves from the public (Brown and Peers 2003). Instead of being of being a disconnected institution, most museums now have a relationship with source communities. The input of information direct from the original culture can help to give museums a better understanding of the group, their artefacts and world view. Also, by communicating with source communities, museums have a better perceptive concerning the current issues these groups face, giving the museum the opportunity to present, important, relevant information presently affecting these cultures.

One question museums must consider is the extent to which they should work with source communities. For example, while a community might feel that one issue they are currently facing is very important and should be addressed within museums, it might be that it is impractical for the museum to present this topic, for the greater public would not be able to understand the issue.

Another fact to consider when conferring with source communities about past objects from their cultural history, is that they might not understand what these objects meant in the past. For instance, just because somebody in the present identifies as Maori, does not automatically mean they know how Maori lived in the past. While some cultural beliefs transcend time, not all do, and it is important to remember this when working with source communities.

One more issue to consider when working with source communities is whether the people the museum is communicating with is an ideal representation of the culture

being displayed. This issue will be further discussed in the next sub chapter.

While museums must be aware of the limitations from working with source communities, this communication with people outside the museum environment can help enhance the museum experience, and it might be said, to add another layer of authenticity which can make an exhibit genuine rather than objective.

The Museum Volkenkunde has done a lot of positive work with source communities. One group the museum has worked with is Native North Americans (Hovens 2010). The sharing of information concerning the Native American artefacts belonging to the *Museum Volkenkunde,* was not only beneficial to the museum, but also to the Native Americans. Thanks to the museums work with the source communities, they had an opportunity to view artefacts and discover information that had previously been lost to their people (Hovens 2010).

Communicating with source communities also helped to develop the way that museum workers from the *Volkenkunde* saw indigenous artefacts. While in the western world, artefacts are nothing more than objects, to many indigenous groups, their cultural items are much more than just a mere thing, they can also have a spirit, identity or special meaning, just as Maori objects have *mana* (Peers 2010). It is through communication with source communities that museum workers can build a better understanding of the meaning artefacts have. Sequentially, this information can then be presented to the public, giving visitors a greater understanding of these foreign cultures, and instead of seeing the items from a western perspective, allowing them to consider the objects as they would be seen in their original setting.

The communication with source communities shows a move towards a “community-orientated” museum, rather than “artefact-orientated” institute (Hoven 2010). I feel that this allows the visitor to better understand indigenous cultures, for it lets the visitor view the objects from a native perspective, rather than as an outsider. I think it is important for museums to work with source communities, for it not only leads to a better understanding of the artefacts, but also lets native people have a say in the representation of their culture.

4.4 How to Represent Many People Under One Culture

Culture is a very broad term. As previously stated in the Introduction, a culture can be identified as a society who share the same beliefs and values (Haviland *et al.*2007, 30). However it is important to realise that this is a broad generalisation. While, fundamentally, a culture might include people who share the same ideas, it is important to understand that a culture is made up of individuals (Punnett 2012, 20). While a group of people might identify under one label, they will not all have the exact same views and beliefs. For example, many people identify as Christian, but they do not practice in the same way, for they have different ideas concerning what it means to be Christian. Despite being unified as one faith, their identity and ideas will be dependent on the individual.

Just as broad as the term Christian, those who identify as Maori will not all share the same beliefs and ideas. While some Maori will be of purely indigenous descent, others who call themselves Maori will be of mixed race (Wanhalla 2010). The Maori people are then further separated into tribes, creating another layer of cultural identity.

How does this effect museums? Museums generally have to focus on the broader, cultural term, for it is very difficult to encompass many individual views within one exhibit. How easy is it for a museum to define a culture?

When interviewing Wonu Veys about the *Mana Maori* exhibit at the *Museum Volkenkunde,* she discussed the issue of trying to broadly represent one culture, when it contains a variety of people. During the creation of the *Mana Maori* exhibit, the museum was in contact with, and often consulted a group of Maori from New Zealand. A problem arose when Wonu Veys wanted to include the art works of George Nuku (Seen in figure 16), a Maori artist who lives in Britain. The Maori from New Zealand did not want his works included in the exhibit for they did not believe he was a good representative of Maori, one of the issues being that he was living in New Zealand. Despite identifying as part of the same cultural group, it shows that different people have different ideas concerning what it means to be Maori. The *Volkenkunde* decided to use George Nuku's works, and while the Maori people consulted from New Zealand understood that museum wanted to showcase his art, they still believed that it would not have been shown had the exhibit been in New Zealand (Interview, Wonu Veys, 2013, Appendixes B). This example clearly shows the diversity in one culture, and the issues a museum faces in trying to decide what can be a representative of a cultural group.

Museums face many difficult decisions in deciding the best means of presenting a culture. It is necessary to accept that people of the same culture will have different ideas, and that it is impossible to please everyone. Most of the time, it is probable that a museum will aim to represent the majority of people within a culture who share the most similar beliefs. However,

sometimes it will be necessary to focus on the minority within a culture, especially if their ideas are important to the exhibit.

4.5 The Representation of Maori People; Moving Beyond the Museum

Figure 16: George Nuku

Museums have long been the most common method of introducing interested parties to new cultures and things, and as a means of introducing them to interesting knowledge which can lead to people thinking about things in a different way (Dean and Edson 1996, 6). As has been stated in previous chapters, museums usually change with time, developing into something new with each era (Dean and Edson 1996, 6). The representation

of Maori people has also changed in the museum, and will likely keep on changing (McCarthy 2004).

The difficulty museums have in representing the Maori people is that they are still very much alive, unlike the past cultures most museums deal with. How does a museum portray a present culture and give the visitors an insight into the living Maori heritage and life, when museum displays are often so static, portraying none of the vibrancy of a living, breathing people (Magelssen 2007, 3). What if it is time to move beyond the museum? What other methods are there are of displaying the information? This chapter aims to look at these other methods of displaying culture, in the hopes of suggesting new and alternative methods in which the Maori people may be displayed. I feel that museums could possibly benefit from observing different means of teaching people about cultures, which could then be incorporated into the museum environment. It is an interesting idea to not just show visitors different cultures, but involve them in these alternate lifestyles. Rather than merely showcasing artefacts behind glass, I believe that there may be other ways to represent Maori people in museums that emphasises that theirs is a vibrant, living culture. We must first study alternative methods of introducing people to new cultures.

Some alternative methods for teaching people about other, or past cultures are re-enactments and living history museums (Magelssen 2007). Living history museums allow visitors to really see the history, and experience it in a whole new way, helping the public to gain a new understanding of the artefacts and the history and cultures they belonged to, for they no longer have to try and visualise the object in its original setting (Magelssen 2007, xiii). Living history museums help bring the artefacts to life, for it can sometimes be difficult to picture an item ever being used in everyday life, when it is being kept behind protection,

and out of use (Magelssen 2007, xiii). Re-enactments allow the participants to really experience the history or foreign culture on a first hand basis. There is a difference between knowing and experiencing, and I believe that re-enactments and living history museums will allow visitors and participants to understand other cultures and the past in a way they cannot, just by looking at an artefact in a glass case. I believe that re-enactments and living history museums are interesting branches from the world of museums, which could become very popular, not as a replacement for museums, but as an extra addition. An example of this can be seen in the Auckland Museum where, everyday, the Maori perform the famous *Haka* (Auckland Museum). This performance allows the visitor to move beyond the static artefacts and experience the vibrancy and vivacity of Maori culture.

Knowledge does not just come out of a book and I feel that this would be an interesting opportunity to educate visitors in a whole other way. In Hawai'i, many people engage in re-enactments, recreating past battles of native people (Stanton 1996, 149). It can allow the foreign participants to experience a new culture, while it allows the native 'actors' to connect with their heritage, and give them an interesting insight into the past of their people. I would be interesting in seeing Maori re-enactments for I believe it could be a beneficial and fun learning experience.

Another way of presenting Maori life and culture outside and beyond the museums is replicated Maori villages. One of the most popular examples of this in New Zealand is the Tamaki Maori Village. Hidden away from civilisation, the village is meant to give visitors a chance to immerse themselves in the Maori culture and learn of their traditions. The re-creation village is meant to create an authentic experience, which you could not find in a museum. Visitors are not meant to just view Maori life,

they are meant to live it, taking part in the chores, dancing and chanting for, once the visitor enters the village, they are no longer a guest, but one of the tribe. While the re-creation village is obviously a carefully planned and designed organisation, it is about as close as non-Maori will ever get to real Maori life. The benefit of the re-creation village is that it offers a complete submergence into Maori society. Most people will be delighted to actually help cook a Maori meal, rather than just reading about it. The re-creation village also benefits the employees, for it allows the Maori people working there to make use of the traditional indigenous skills on a daily basis.

The *Museum Volkenkunde* is one example of a museum moving beyond artefacts in glass cases. As seen in a 2012 documentary titled *Te Hono ki Aotearoa,* the *Museum Volkenkunde* took part in a project with Maori *waka* (boat) carvers, to create a ship for the Leiden museum. The traditional *waka* was built in New Zealand before it was brought to the Netherlands. The waka project was combined effort by both the Dutch and the Maori, and did not just create a new object to be displayed at the museum, but the boat was also meant to be used. We can see this in a ceremony, where, in front of a large audience, a Maori crew sail the boat along a canal, before it is handed over to a Dutch crew, who sail the boat whilst partaking in the traditional Maori practices and chants. The Waka project brings a living piece of Maori culture to Europe, and showed the Dutch people that indigenous traditions are still alive in New Zealand.

Traditional displays have been, and I predict, will always be an important part of the museum environment. However as museums develop their attitudes and methods, I think it is interesting to include a variety of new methods of representation and display when possible. The benefits of these alternative methods, is that it allows the visitor to experience new cultures,

rather than just seeing them, giving them a deeper, more authentic insight into the different social groups of the world.

Conclusion

Coming to the end of my research, it is necessary to compile the evidence and discuss the best ways in which the Maori people and culture should be represented in museums.

By studying the Maori people and identifying the aspects of their culture before, during and after colonialism, it seems that while Europeans, in particular the British, did affect the indigenous culture and people, it did not in any way destroy it. I feel that the European influence on Maori people lead to a development in their culture, which, though changed, is still inherently and recognisably Maori.

When displaying Maori in museums, I think it is not necessary to constantly mention the effect of colonialism on the native people, unless the exhibit is focusing on colonial relations. However I do not believe that colonial contact should never be mentioned, and should be mentioned when relevant. For example, when displaying early Maori metal tools, it would be useful to mention that the Europeans introduced Maori people to metal, who then adapted it so that it became a part of their culture.

When something in a museum has a connection to colonialism, I believe it is important not to ignore this. We cannot pretend

colonialism never happened, nor should we want to. Just because colonialism is displayed in a museum, that does not mean that it has to be shown in a positive light. The majority of people are not proud of our ancestor's colonial past, nor would many museums want to celebrate. However, as scholars, we cannot ignore a huge part of recent history, especially when the repercussions are still felt today. Pretending that colonialism never happened will not make it true, nor will it help anyone. It is important that we study colonialism so that we can learn from it, and discover what lasting effects are still present in the modern day.

I believe one of the main issues with colonialism is that it is part of the recent past. What happened in the 16th to 20th centuries is not that dissimilar to what the Romans did at the turn of the millennia. However, the big difference is that the Romans and the people of the Roman Empire are long gone. Even though they were the ancestors of many of the people of Europe, it happened such a long time ago, that we do not feel the same connection as we do to the European Empires. Perhaps when more time has passed, or when the ripple effects of the most recent European colonisation are no longer felt, we will be able to discuss and exhibit the 16th to 20th century empires without feeling so connected to us, casing mostly negative emotions whether you are indigenous or European.

When comparing the representation of Maori in museums with other indigenous peoples, it is important to remember that not all native peoples are viewed in the same way. Though Maori people have suffered much because of colonialism, they have never been ostracised to the same extent as other indigenous peoples colonised by the Europeans, such as the Australian Aboriginals, or the Native Americans. Maori and *Pakeha* are well integrated together in society, and despite their different cultures, they still join together to make New Zealanders. This has resulted in many

exhibits of Maori culture being treated in a much better manner than some of the other first peoples. Generally speaking, in comparison, the Maori do not have to fight as hard to be represented in an acceptable manner in the museum world. If I was given the opportunity, I would be interested in conducting further research comparing the different peoples colonised by the British Empire, and studying how and why their lives and cultures differed under the control of the same power. It would be interesting to see how these cultures are displayed in museums today, and how their colonial past has influenced the depiction.

I believe that museums should consult with the Maori people when they want to exhibit their culture in museums. The hardest decisions are deciding who to consult, or who to listen to as a representative for the whole culture, when different individuals disagree. I believe that when there are conflicting ideas and decisions within the consulted group, it is best to listen to the majority, so that at least the most general representation will be presented. However I think it is important that museum curators still have the final say when concerning the exhibitions. This is not because I think that Maori cannot represent themselves properly, but rather, because, at the end of the day, the exhibit is within the museum environment, it is not actually authentic indigenous culture. The curator should have the final say because that is what they are trained for. If anyone could put together an exhibit about their culture, then no one would need to learn about museum studies anymore.

No matter how hard you try, no matter what you do, someone will always disagree with your representation and exhibit. You have to accept that it is impossible to please everyone, otherwise, no museums would ever run.

I believe that the key to exhibiting Maori culture in the museum, is to do so with respect. By researching as thoroughly as possible

and gaining as much information from the source as you can, and this will make the exhibit the best it can be. As long as you respect both the Maori culture and people, this will show in the exhibit and let all visitors know that you did the very best job possible.

Figure 17: Maori Cultural Performance at Auckland Museum

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List of Figures

Figure 6; Metal Harpoon. 1830 -1840. Te Papa Collection <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/objectdetails.aspx?irn=65336&term=harpoon>

Figure 7; Fishing Harpoon. Gifted 1952. Te Papa Collection <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/objectdetails.aspx?irn=156125&term=harpoon>

Figure 8; Wool Cloak. 1820 - 1850. Te Papa Collection <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/objectdetails.aspx?irn=166254>

Figure 9: Kiwi Feather Cloak. Gifted 1913. Te Papa Collection <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/objectdetails.aspx?irn=64759&term=kiw>

Figure 10: Shark Tooth Earring. Gifted 1953. Te Papa Collection. <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/objectdetails.aspx?irn=46640>

Figure 11: Pounamu Ear Pendent. 1650 – 1850. Te Papa Collection <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/exhibitions/pounamu/artworks.aspx?pirn=1988&oirn=136928>

Figure 12: Queen Emma. 1862 – 1890. Te Papa Collection <http://collections.tepapa.govt.nz/objectdetails.aspx?irn=1262026&page=2&imagesonly=true&term=moko>

Figure 13: Maori Mask. 1982. Volkenkunde Collection. Picture authors own.

Figure 14: Maori Club. 1972. Volkenkunde Collection. Picture authors own.

Figure 15: Gable Figure. 1987. Volkenkunde Collection. Picture authors own.

Figure 16: George Nuku. <http://www.lindenmuseum.de/typo3temp/pics/George_Nuku_a103878306.jpg>

Figure 17: Maori Cultural Performance at Auckland Museum <http://www.gorentals.co.nz/blog/index.php/2012/03/23/maori-cultural-performance-at-the-auckland-museum/>

Appendices A:

Maori - English Vocabulary Translations

Iwi – Tribe/People

Maori – Ordinary

Pakeha – New Zealanders of Non-Indigenous Dissent

Patere – Assertive Chants

Pounamu – A type of jade found on the South Island of New Zealand

Rangatira - Aristocrats

Tapu – Sacred

Te Ao Maori – Maori World

Te Reo Maori **-** The Maori language

Tohunga – Chosen

Tuhua **-** Obsidian

Tutua - Commoners

Waiata - Songs

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Appendices B:

Wonu Veys (W), Oceania Curator, Volkenkunde, Leiden, Interview, April 2013

Interviewer: Lorna Graham (L)

L. Concerning the Mana Maori Exhibit, was there a certain message that you were trying to convey to the public?

W. It was really an overview that we wanted to give, because people here in the Netherlands do not really have any notion of what Maori Culture might be or what are the main concepts, so that is really what we wanted to convey, also because quite a lot of the Dutch people have a direct link with New Zealand, because in the 1950's a lot of Dutch people emigrated to New Zealand, but that still doesn't mean that they have any idea of what Maori culture might be, but they had this link with New Zealand, so that was a starting point

L. Where abouts did you get the majority of the collection from?

W. It was 50/50, so 50% of the collection came from our collection, and then the other 50% came from mainly UK museums, also there was one German Museum, this is the museum the Exhibition travelled to later on.

L. How did you choose which items to exhibit?

W. Originally we were working together with the Auckland Museum, and they were going to provide us with most of their loans, but then this corporation concerning the loans did not go through, as they were having problems with their director, who eventually left, which meant that we had quite a big gap, and seeing that I had only arrived here a year before the opening of the Exhibition, I worked with the collections that I knew best, so that is why we used the UK Museums.

L. How did the collaboration with the Auckland Museum start out?

W. First it started with the Te Papa Museum where the initial idea came from to organize a New Zealand and Maori Exhibition. They wanted to just sell a ready made exhibition, but we thought that it was too expensive, and also the concept was probably not really adapted to the Dutch public, because it presupposed that we had a lot of knowledge of the New Zealand situation, especially the political situation in New Zealand and what Maori were striving for and the people here in the Netherlands didn't know really who the Maori people were, let a lone their political aspirations or anything like that. The director thought it might still be nice to have a Maori exhibition, but to develop our own exhibition, so they sought other partners, and the Auckland museum was a partner. They closely worked together with the director of the

Auckland museum but also with the Maori liaisons officer, so they developed together with us a whole story line and things that were really important also from the Maori community's perspective, not only from the Dutch perspective, what were the most important themes and how we could link those themes together.

L. Did you find in any way that your approaches differed from those of the New Zealand peoples?

W. Yes, sometimes they did, it was more in the way that I find it really important to have as wide a variety as possible of different voices, maybe even conflicting voices. Whereas in New Zealand also because of the people we worked with they had a set idea, especially when it came to the contemporary artists, who should be here and who shouldn't, have his or her work presented here. It was especially the case well with everyone, but especially with *Toi Maori Aotearoa* because they are a Government organisation and they kind of, well I always compare them to the French marker of wines, it is marked as a good official French wine, and that is a little bit what the Toi Maori does as well, this is a good Maori artist and anyone that doesn't have this hallmark, does not really belong, and cannot represent the Maori people. I didn't really agree with that and I explained this idea as well, and so through talks, they could understand our point of view as well. It was really done in corporation with the different partners that we had, so we had to talk it through.

L. Was that done just over the phone or did they come here very often?

W. No, we had regular meetings, also because the Waka was kind of linked to the exhibition, though they are two separate projects the same people were involved with the exhibition as

were involved with the Waka project, so we had talks over the phone, but also in person, because I went to New Zealand to prepare for the exhibition, so I had talks with people there at the Auckland museum, Te Papa, also when people came over here we were in constant dialogue.

L. How did you decide how to portray so many different tribes as one people, were there many issues with that?

W. We stressed from the beginning that they were really different, not only the tribal views, but also the personal views of people, so it was not because you belong to a particular tribe that everyone in that tribe thinks in the same way on a particular topic, so that's what we wanted to show. Because that is always a danger you have people from the Netherlands coming in and saying, oh, so the Maori people are like that, and that is really what we wanted to avoid, we wanted to show that the Maori people have a rich culture, a dynamic culture, it was the dynamism that was a really important part of it where you have all these conflicting, sometimes not conflicting views on different issues and topics, and how things are expressed, how it is still important for Maori people to say that they are Maori, but it is expressed in different ways. So not all Maori people are tattooed for example or not even all Maori people speak Maori, so that was what we wanted to show, that you can express that you're belonging to Maori community in very different ways.

L. Is it very different exhibiting a culture of contemporary indigenous people as opposed to that of past societies?

W. Well that is always a danger, because most of our collections are historic collections, so that's why I think it is really important that we want to show that these are historical

objects, then you want to show which aspects maybe of these historic objects or historic times are still relevant today and maybe also show what is not relevant at all, so that people really get this dynamic feeling that they don't think that all Maori people only carve wood and live in meeting houses. This is really an important cultural aspect, they are people that live in the 21st century, who deal with similar issue, but also with different issues, and that is why we incorporated contemporary artists to also reflect on these issues by using new materials or by using old materials in new ways so it kind of gives a critical approach, they reflect on their own culture in a critical way.

L. Do you feel that there is a difference when an item of a culture becomes a museum item?

W. Yes, there's a lot of literature on that, but that is also what we try to not avoid, because you can't avoid an object becoming a museum item, it means that it's treated in a different way. Whereas I did my fieldwork in Tonga, and I worked on Tapa, so dairy Tapa is just folded, it's repaired, you sleep on it, take it out to present it or whatever. Once it comes into the museum, you wear white gloves and you hardly touch it, and it shouldn't be creased at all because that is really dangerous, so you have a different way of dealing with it, but the important aspect here in the Maori case was that these objects, that's also something we wanted to convey to the public, and that was that an item or an aspect that Maori people thought was really important, to show people that these objects are not dead. That's the most important thing. That yes, they are in a museum, and so they are in a different context, but that doesn't mean that they are dead. You have to treat them with respect and while they often use the image of sleeping, so the objects are sleeping here, and once in a

while they come out and see people, then they are woken up and they experience all these new things, they meet all these new people, then they go to sleep again. So they think it is really important not to say they are dead, that there is nothing in there, they are just in a different environment and that also belongs to the biography of the object, so it has maybe once functioned in New Zealand in a very different context, and they have this power, but once it comes into the museum, it's treated in a different way, but it doesn't mean that the power has completely disappeared, and its effect on people can still be felt for Maori people. That's also why they insisted on having, and I thought it was really important as well, to having a dance ceremony also to having a proper closing ceremony, so that it is clear to the objects, but also to the people, that something is starting and something has finished, so that there is no lingering on of things that you can't control.

L. Were there any specific rituals set in Maori rules which would traditionally be associated with handling the objects, which you followed in any way?

W. It is probably easier to say what we didn't follow, but what we followed is the general practice, which is also museum practice, is not to have any food around when you are handling objects, so not to eat with an object in your hand, also to not step over objects, but that is general object handling practice. There is a thing that we probably didn't respect, that often it is considered inappropriate for women to handle objects when they are menstruating and it's also, like when you

go to Te Papa for instance, there is a wash basin when you enter the storage rooms, to cleanse yourself, wash your hands, which is normal practice, but also to sprinkle water

above yourself to cleanse yourself before you went into the storage area, that could be something that we didn't do. We did for the dance ceremony, we did have bowls of water in the galleries to purify the space, so that people walking through the gallery could also sprinkle some water. We did have some green leaves, taken from trees, which were put next to objects particular people felt strongly about, so that those objects were either connected to their tribe or where they had some special connection with. So in front of those objects we put the green leaves. This is also not standard practice because in objects handling practice, you shouldn't have any organic material in the galleries. So all the leaves were checked for insects.

L. Do you feel that you have a certain responsibility in your representation of the Maori?

W. Yes, I have bridge function, so of course it's my responsibility to show, of course you always have your own view on things, but to show an appropriate image of Maori. An image where Maori can recognise themselves, so that they don't think, that has nothing to do with me. But also where Dutch people can understand what you are talking about, because if the two are too far removed, then I think it is difficult, I am not too sure how well the exhibition was received in Paris for instance, that was the Te Papa exhibition, I heard a few things, that people thought it was a nice exhibition, but I get the feeling that they didn't really get the message, because it was a very political exhibition, so the Maori people recognised themselves very much in the exhibition, but whether French people really understood what Maori people really wanted to say, I am not sure. I think we didn't really have this problem here, also because it was a very general exhibition, but

that's an important balance I think, what I want to have, that different parties can recognise themselves in what they see, and they don't think it's ridiculous or it's stupid, so that they have this multi-layered understanding of what they see.

L. Do you feel that there's perhaps an aspect of decolonisation in the exhibits of indigenous people nowadays, and do you feel that Volkenkunde has made an effort to move in that direction?

W. Yes I certainly believe there's an important aspect of decolonisation in the way that we work together with so called indigenous peoples. Of course for the Maori exhibition, the Dutch people have never colonised New Zealand, so you immediately get a different relationship with the people that you work with, because they don't have this automatic negative attitude towards the Dutch. We have really tried when working with other nations that have been colonized by the Dutch, for example we have very good relations with Indonesia, and that works really well even though there is this old colonized relationship, and I think it is really by the way we work with groups of indigenous peoples and they can be very different, it ranges from people who hardly ever come out of their village, to people who live in cities and are very well travelled and have a lot of knowledge of the outside world, it really depends on the situation. Here with the Maori exhibition we also worked with different groups, as we thought it was important not to have just this one representation for different levels or different kaleidoscope view_so different angles.

L. How do you feel the exhibit was received by both Dutch people and Maori?

W. Actually both parties were very enthusiastic. A lot of Maori people were very happy that some of the contemporary artists were represented as well, as they thought that gave a more complete view to Dutch audience so they thought that was an important aspect in preventing that Dutch people would think that Maori people were all living in the 19th century, so to show the dynamism of culture. Overall it was well received, with some minor remarks, for example work by George Nuku was included, and some Maori people weren't very happy with that, but then they said we can understand why you did this, so there was an understanding, but they wouldn't have done it, as the situation in New Zealand is also different from the situation here, so they weren't completely against it. I think if people can understand why that is an important aspect. Then the Dutch people were very enthusiastic, while it was really geared towards families, also adults without children came, and some came several times and even with children they came several times, and most people, which I was really happy about, picked up on the multifocal aspect of the exhibition, so they did see that it wasn't just one clear line. Although the exhibition was very clear that there were all these different ideas and voices which all related to the same concepts and the same themes, but that they were diverging themes. I think that this was a good idea that the people picked up on that, because sometimes you make these exhibitions, but just because it's obvious to you it doesn't mean that it was obvious to other people, so it's nice if people see what you want to say.

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