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THE REPRESENTATION OF IMMIGRATION IN A MUSEUM CONTEXT IN NEW ZEALAND

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in German, at the University of Auckland, 2016.
Abstract:

This study examines the way immigration is represented in New Zealand museums, with a special focus on similarities and differences of national museums to regional museums. It encompasses Te Papa Tongarewa, the New Zealand Maritime Museum, the Akaroa Museum, the Puhoi Bohemian Museum, the Waipu Museum and the Toitū Otago Settlers Museum. I use a mixed methodology employing multimodal analysis of the exhibitions, a historical analysis of the institutions and qualitative interviews with staff and visitors.

I argue that an often encountered lack of ‘authentic’ and engaging three-dimensional objects in migration exhibitions stimulates innovative alternatives for displays, with emotionally charged immersive environments that focus on narrative and personal stories. A meta-narrative of successful establishment is the preferred form of representing immigration. This is tempered by sub-plots of failure, discrimination, exclusion, displacement and hardship, but they are not a prominent feature of the exhibitions. The majority of the exhibitions analysed do not feature cross-cultural narratives — either between Māori and tangata tiriti or cultures at large — prominently, however narratives of cultural exchange and ethnic diversity are brought increasingly to the fore, and they inform the still prevalent celebratory meta-narratives. In making past injustices visible, these exhibitions may also act as offers of reconciliation. Traditional national master narratives are superseded by a national identity based on being an imagined ‘community of migrants’. However, smaller museums do not claim to be based on only one ethnicity; rather, they suggest hybrid identities.

Central to these developments is an ‘affective turn’: affective exhibition design is a mainstay of representing migration history, a global trend that aims to create affective environments that not only engage visitors emotionally (for instance leading to empathy),
but also offer a theatrical experience. In evoking empathy, and in enabling visitors to relate to immigrants past or present, the paradigm of multiculturalism is presented as a positive and enriching concept that overcomes preceding notions of ‘nation’ and ‘national identity’ based on a monocultural paradigm. This ‘affective turn’ in exhibition design is directly connected to the emergence of new multicultural or even transcultural master narratives. Exhibitions focusing on past and current migration movements are thus at the heart of this transition from traditional master narratives and use affective exhibition design to change perceptions. Ideally, they make visitors aware of past injustices and ongoing discrimination, and create a ‘contact zone’ where an inevitably cosmopolitan future is negotiated.
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Glossary:

**Atua:** Ancestor with continuing influence, god, demon, supernatural being, deity, ghost, object of superstitious regard, strange being. ("Atua", 2015)

**Hongi:** The traditional greeting of tangata whenua which consists of pressing the noses together.

**Iwi:** ‘Tribe’. Refers to an extended kinship group associated with a specific territory.

**Kiwiana:** Icons and items that are seen as manifestations of New Zealand national identity.


**Nikau:** A native New Zealand palm tree (*Rhopalostylis sapida)*.

**Pākehā:** A less inclusive term for a subcategory of ‘white’ New Zealanders. Given that ‘Pākehā’ is a short form of ‘Pakepakehā’, which means ‘beings resembling people with fair skins’ it becomes clear that the term only applies to a certain phenotype of people and thus does not encompass the multicultural makeup of New Zealand’s non-Māori population (see Bell, 2006).

**Tangata whenua:** ‘The people of the land’, that is New Zealand’s indigenous population.

**Tangata tiriti:** ‘People in New Zealand by right of the Treaty of Waitangi’, that is New Zealand’s non-indigenous population.

**Taonga:** A treasure or anything prized. It can also be applied to anything considered to be of value.
Tapu: A supernatural condition. A person, place or thing is dedicated to an atua and is thus removed from the sphere of the profane and put into the sphere of the sacred. It is untouchable, no longer to be put to common use. (“Tapu”, 2015)

Te Reo: The Māori language.

Treaty of Waitangi: A written agreement made in 1840 between the British Crown and more than 500 Māori chiefs. Following the signing New Zealand became a British colony and Māori British subjects, however interpretations and expectations of the Treaty differed between the two peoples.


Whare: A ‘house’, ‘dwelling’ or ‘habitation’.
I. INTRODUCTION: MIGRATION IN MUSEUMS

1.1 Migration and Museums — Central Questions and Hypotheses

If one was to name the major qualities of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the increase in mobility and advancing globalisation would be sure to be among the first responses given. The past century represents a period of time that has seen unprecedented technical advancement. Technology has led not only to increased mobility but also to dramatic political change. Two world wars produced an enormous number of refugees; the breakdown of the Soviet system opened an entire continent; and financial crises were followed by unemployment and emigration.

Migration is, of course, not only a phenomenon of the past century, but an occurrence over all times and cultures; however, the volume of emigration and immigration has increased exponentially. In combination with the rapid development of global communication networks, an academic awareness of migration movements within contemporary cultures developed; attention began to be focused on both daily effects and a historical perspective. In effect, migration movements and the reasons for immigration and emigration evolved as important topics of current research.

As an interdisciplinary field of studies, Museum Studies is becoming increasingly focused on the important discussion of contemporary representations of migration in a museum context. In countries such as Australia, the United States of America, Italy, and

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1 Among major publications, three anthologies focus on problems of and propositions for the implementation of migration exhibits in German and French museums, as well as the relationship between migration and museums on a global scale (Hampe, 2005; Rose & Osborne, 2008; Gouriévidis, 2014a). Publications created by the MeLa (European Museums in an Age of Migrations) project provide a vivid snapshot of European migration museums (Peressut, Lanz, &
France and Canada dedicated migration museums exist, in others such as Germany and the United Kingdom plans for such institutions are being discussed. This genesis of dedicated migration museums that have national significance, can be seen as a result of and a response to the crisis of representation implicit in the concept of ‘nation’ in museums (see Baur, 2009, 66). Thus, the representation of immigration or emigration would serve as an overarching narrative and would create an imagined ‘community of migrants’. Such an endeavour would contribute to the reinvention and reshaping of the nation and national identity, thereby representing a re-incarnation based on a progressive multicultural paradigm.

As a small country of some four and a half million people strongly influenced by migration and with an identity based on immigration experiences, New Zealand hosts a proportionately large number of small- to medium-sized museums — often referred to as ‘settler museums’ — that interpret the history of specific immigrant communities or a regional story of immigration. Yet New Zealand does not have a dedicated migration museum. Nevertheless, the national museum, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa and the New Zealand Maritime Museum portray a national story of immigration, as an important aspect of their more comprehensive missions. One could argue that the small regional museums in New Zealand — the ‘settler museums’ mentioned above — are counterparts of these big institutions. Although they are not Postiglione, 2013; Lanz & Montanari, 2014). Two major tendencies of scholarly literature are identifiable: firstly, authors analyse problems associated with exhibiting migration in general terms. This encompasses discussions of issues related to collections and the material culture of migration (Anderson, 1987; Lang, 2005; Simpson, 2001, 81; Henrich, 2011); community collaboration in exhibition development (Watson, 2007; Gibson & Kindon, 2013; Szekeres, 2002; Lynch, 2014b); migration and collective memory (Harzig, 2006; Gouriévidis, 2014b); as well as exhibition strategies (Wild, 2005; Pieterse, 2005; Beier-de Haan, 2003). Secondly, dedicated migration museums of national significance — especially the Melbourne Immigration Museum in Australia; the New York Ellis Island Immigration Museum in the United States; the Halifax Pier 21 Museum in Canada; the Parisian Cité nationale de l'histoire de l'immigration in France; and the German Emigration Centre Bremerhaven and Ballinstadt, — received considerable scholarly attention in case studies (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998; Welz, 2000; Zorde, 2001; Baur, 2005, 2007, 2009; Dunkel, 2008; Pardue, 2008; Poinsot, 2008; Henrich, 2013; Schlutow, 2008, 2012, Homo-Lechner, 2005).
products of the current interest in the representation of migration, they are certainly connected to New Zealand’s history as an immigration country.

In contrast to the global museological study of representations of migration, New Zealand’s ways of representing the history of specific immigration communities in small- to medium-sized museums have not yet been researched. These museums are the subjects of only a limited number of theses and publications which focus largely on their histories but do not address their current exhibitions. An exception are the works of Claudia Bell (1996), who analysed local museums in New Zealand based on visits to the institutions between 1991 and 1995, Amiria Henare (2005), who covers a number of regional museums and Te Papa with a special focus on representations of Māori history, Kimberley Jane Stephenson (2011), who focuses on period room displays in New Zealand and Katherine Goodnow (2008) who gives a brief account of an exhibition at the Petone Settlers Museum in Wellington on refugees and Te Papa’s permanent immigration display, Passports. However, no comprehensive study of the exhibitions of these smaller institutions with a focus on the representation of immigration exists.

In the 1990s, according to Bell (1996, 58), the historical narrative at the various museums began usually with ‘Pākehā’ settlement, neglecting pre-occupation by Māori. Another often encountered exhibition feature was the tableaux of domestic interiors, an idealised picture of domestic life. In part, the nature of the preserved objects which were valuable, especially nicely crafted or family heirlooms, implied an:

unquestioning distinction between vice and virtue: good citizenship, stable family life, cleanliness, good health, and Christianity as the characteristics of citizens. In this contrived reality inequalities are glossed over and the past looks charmingly innocent (Bell, 1996, 58).

In those representations of the past, rural pioneers appeared as heroes who conquered the bush, converted it into productive land and thus became part of the
national ‘Pākehā’ mythology, creating, in effect, an uncritical and positive perception of New Zealand history (Bell, 1996, 64). The affirmation and illustration of such preconceptions seemed to be the aim of 1990s displays, imparting nostalgia pro-actively and aggressively to a reconstruction of the past (Bell, 1996, 79). Contemporary changes in society resulting from immigration processes were omitted while an idealised ‘British’ immigration history was presented.

Similar to Bell, Henare perceives New Zealand exhibitions in the first half of the 20th century as places where “unpalatable aspects of recent history were set aside, as the triumph of settlers over the land and the forging of a new and better society than that in Britain became the focus of attention, and Māori [sic!] were depicted as noble but extinct, like the moa” (Henare, 2005, 246). Henare (2005, 247) diagnoses a museum boom\(^2\) in New Zealand in the 1960s and 1970s. However, old and new institutions still functioned in some cases as mechanisms of exclusion, that is, they produced collective memory through enacting and representing local communities, but this did not include Māori. Henare identified this as the main problematic legacy of small museums in New Zealand when she wrote her book in the early 2000s, and attested “historical elision and segregation” (2005, 250) to these museums when Māori history was concerned. Settler life was usually exhibited ethnographically in diorama like period-rooms or in typological arrangements of artefacts, with the main communicative goal that “the presence of Europeans in the South Pacific was an accident of nature not design” (Henare, 2005, 249). For Henare, this alleged indigeneity is the central problem of ‘settler museums’, and causes difficulties in dealing with Māori history and acknowledging a difficult colonial past. Māori history is thus absent or relegated to static ethnographic displays, representing Māori as immune to historical change and unmarked by contact with Europeans (Henare, 2005, 249-250). She extends this critique to the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, and describes the permanent Māori displays as

\(^2\) A similar development to other countries such as Germany, which also experienced a significant growth in the museum sector.
“reverential rather than referential”, a stark contrast to the “colourful graphics and text panels, dramatic lighting, reconstructed environments and interactive displays” (Henare, 2005, 277) of the European exhibits. However, she concedes that special exhibitions add notes of “vibrant contemporaneity” (Henare, 2005, 251) to the existing displays and she also recognised the desire of some institutions, for instance, the Otago Settlers’ Museum and the Auckland War Memorial Museum, to challenge this “pattern of ethnic separatism” (Henare, 2005, 251). The former focuses on the relationship of local tribes with early whalers; the latter on Māori and European involvement in war, for example, pitched against each other during the Land Wars and united against a common enemy during the First and Second World Wars.

This emergence of more inclusive narratives also extends to immigration displays. While Bell and Henare show that earlier displays venerated the pioneers alone, the effects of contact between settlers and Māori has become a central aspect of immigration exhibitions in New Zealand. While her observations are restricted to two New Zealand institutions in Wellington, the Petone Settlers Museum and Te Papa, Goodnow (2008, 36-42) suggests a general opening up of migration narratives to negative aspects of the immigration experience, including animosity between Māori and tangata tiriti. She posits a general change away from standard metaphors and narratives both in New Zealand and Australian museums. The standard metaphor of the ‘journey’ (see 2.3) would be amended with stories of departure and arrival, including negative aspects of all stages of the journey. These could be illness, difficulties adapting to the new country or ultimate failure. Goodnow also observes a tendency at Australian museums to cut across ethnic and spatial boundaries (2008, 47). With a focus on themes that span cultural delineations, difference is downplayed. In a similar fashion, other museums focus on shared spaces, inhabited by people of different cultural backgrounds. Connected to this are attempts to span generations, and to add younger voices (Goodnow, 2008, 51). The goal here is not to focus on past immigration stories
and ethnic groups suspended in time, but rather to focus on contemporary developments and younger people who are part of a new generation of immigrants with often entirely different values and motivations.

These publications point to a general transformation of New Zealand museums, but they focus on specific aspects of selected Te Papa exhibitions or interpret an ensemble of exhibitions in general terms, while detailed comparative studies, which focus on similarities and differences to modes of representation in small- to medium-sized museums, are but aspirational at present. Over the past decade, many of the local museums have invested in refurbishments, while others have plans to update their permanent exhibitions in an on-going process. Thus the applicability of Bell’s, Henare’s and Goodnow’s findings on New Zealand’s small to medium-sized museums and the effects of a redefinition of national identity undertaken by Te Papa or instigated by changed museology approaches will be assessed. An analysis of the interactions of museums with community groups in the process of exhibition development will contribute to the understanding of the social role of museums. Additionally, the perception of exhibitions dedicated to immigration will be analysed based on qualitative visitor interviews undertaken at a number of museums ranging in size, location and thematic focus, allowing a more nuanced analysis of the representation of immigration in New Zealand museums than has been previously undertaken.

I will also take the history of the analysed museums into account and sketch the development of the representation of migration in the selected institutions up to the present. A comparison of the way the different museums — each dedicated to a specific story of national migration — present the history of migration to New Zealand will advance a deeper insight into contemporary concepts of identity and the perception of immigration.
In this thesis I argue that a re-incarnation based on a progressive multicultural paradigm can be seen in New Zealand museums, too, and is not limited to dedicated migration museums with national significance alone. Rather, it is a phenomenon that penetrates the entire museum landscape, with a demand that any museum needs to reflect immigration and emigration movements as the new overarching master-narrative. However, regional museums in NZ promote a different idea of identity and multiculturalism, evolving from a focus on a specific migration community. The mould of group identity is broken and individual stories of hybrid identities make their way into museums, leading to more inclusive narratives. In some cases, multicultural narratives are in the process of being superseded by transcultural narratives.

Central to these developments is an ‘affective turn’: affective exhibition design is a mainstay of representing migration history, a global trend that aims to create environments that not only engage visitors emotionally (for instance eliciting empathy), but also offer a theatrical experience. In evoking empathy and in enabling visitors to relate to immigrants past or present, the paradigm of multiculturalism is presented as a positive and enriching concept that overcomes preceding notions of ‘nation’ and ‘national identity’ based on a monocultural paradigm. This ‘affective turn’ in exhibition design is directly connected to the emergence of new multicultural or even transcultural master narratives. Immigration has the potential to erode the basis for a narrowly defined national paradigm, as it confronts people on a daily basis with difference and demands to make the ‘other’ part of the ‘self’. Exhibitions focusing on past and current migration movements are thus at the heart of this transition from traditional master narratives and use affective exhibition design to change perceptions, ideally increase awareness of past injustices and ongoing discrimination, and create a ‘contact zone’ where an inevitably cosmopolitan future is negotiated. To support this thesis several subsidiary research questions and assumptions did guide my investigation, which encompassed six New Zealand museums of national and regional significance (see 1.4)
It is necessary to explore the extent to which regional exhibitions do indeed promote a multicultural society and attempt to rethink the nation or, on the contrary, reinforce ideas of separate ethnicities and nationhood. While the main focus here will lie on small museums that deal with a specific immigration community or communities, the national institutions like Te Papa and the Maritime Museum will also be taken into account. I aim to provide a new perspective on the discussion of these representations, and to show differences and similarities among the depictions of migration history in national museums and their regional counterparts.

Given the importance of immigration for New Zealand society and the comparatively strict regulations regarding immigration, it may be assumed that exhibitions which deal with stories of immigration might prefer a positive narration without focusing on negative aspects, and thus show a sanitised picture of migration. The successful integration of immigrants and their contributions to New Zealand as a multicultural society would then be a primary or perhaps sole focus of community exhibitions or even national narrations.

Related to this is the question of whether current and past immigration policies influence the way immigration is exhibited. Four of the six museums analysed have undergone refurbishments in the past few years, are experiencing them currently, or are in the planning stages for upgrades. This suggests — at least in the eyes of curators and directors — a need for change and modernisation of displays and representations of migration. Thus, an important research question concerns the nature of the differences between past, current and future displays, and how representations of immigration have changed or continue to change.

Political environment and museological trends influence the design and communicative goals of exhibitions in any given period. Regional museums, which are often operated by a historical society or volunteers, typically have to consider regional
conceptions of the past: on the one hand, they may want to present an objective depiction of past immigration; on the other hand, they may feel an obligation to take into account that some topics are controversial or conflict with a specific vision of an imagined past which enjoys popular acceptance. Thus, the politics behind each exhibition, if they can be discovered, and their effect on the actual representations, are also valuable topics for analysis.

1.2 Structure of the Thesis

This work is divided into ten major chapters that build upon each other and advance from the general to the specific. Chapters One to Three cover a range of auxiliary information and theoretical considerations, while Chapters Four to Nine are analytical in nature and each features a case study of a national or regional museum. Finally, in Chapter Ten, I will collate, discuss and compare the findings.

In Chapter One, I have addressed my central thesis and the central research questions forming the basis for the analytical Chapters Four to Nine. To clarify the terminology used in the case studies and to avoid ambivalence, a definition of the central terms ‘migrant’ and ‘refugee’ is provided. Finally a short introduction to the six museums analysed, featuring basic information such as location, size, annual visitor numbers and character of displays, allows familiarisation with the institutions focused on in much greater detail in the case studies.

In Chapter Two, global trends of the musealisation of migration are outlined. This aims to substantiate my claim that multicultural and transcultural master narratives replace traditional ones. I address publications in English, French and German spanning analyses of institutions and projects in New Zealand, Australia, the United States of America, Canada, Germany, France, the United Kingdom and Italy, as well as general
treatises on exhibiting migration and the material culture of migration. This leads into a discussion of the representation of migration in a museum context. The rise of affective exhibition design and its prominent use in migration exhibitions will be illustrated, and its potential to transform visitors into responsible citizens will be explored. While this chapter is not restricted to New Zealand, the last section of the chapter provides a basis for the analysis of the six New Zealand museums in the case studies. Following a discussion of biculturalism and multiculturalism in the New Zealand context, I discuss immigration policies and their influence on New Zealand museum exhibitions. I continue with an exploration of the relationship between museums and refugees as well as voluntary migrants. Finally, migration theory and its implementation in exhibitions is addressed.

In Chapter Three, I elaborate on my conceptual framework and based on this the methodology used and the rationale behind my case studies. Preliminary considerations of the interactions and role of visitors, curators and objects in a museum context are the initial focus, leading to a detailed explanation of the different methodologies of exhibition analysis that I use. ‘Affect’ and ‘Emotion’ in a museum context are explored and connected to the research design. Finally, the process of interviewing visitors at each institution and methodological considerations, problems and potential of qualitative interviews are explained.

Chapters Four to Nine are the central sections of this thesis, with all preceding chapters supporting the analysis of specific New Zealand institutions in these chapters. In them, I analyse six museums, namely the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the New Zealand Maritime Museum, the Akaroa Museum, the Puhoi Bohemian Museum, the Waipu Museum and the Toitū Otago Settlers Museum. In each case, I first elaborate on the thematic focus of the case study and its significance for answering the overarching and subsidiary research questions outlined in Chapter One. This also encompasses the history of the museum, its location and the societal contexts in which it is embedded. Subsequently in the analytical section I focus on the exhibition
development with a close reading of the contemporary exhibition informed by the methodologies outlined in Chapter Three, as well as qualitative visitor interviews.

Chapter Four has as its focus the National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. It is concerned with the question of how the museum, which is bicultural by design, with separate sections dedicated to Māori and tangata tiriti, adapts to new multicultural and transcultural paradigms and also actively disseminates these narratives through affective exhibition design in its current refugee exhibition, *The Mixing Room; Stories from young refugees in New Zealand*, as well as its permanent immigration display, *Passports*.

Chapter Five asks similar questions with regard to the second institution of national significance in New Zealand the New Zealand Maritime Museum. With its clear focus on affective exhibition design visitor perceptions of these strategies and their effects will be analysed, as well as the spatial design strategies the museum employs to communicate a progressive multicultural paradigm.

Chapter Six focuses on the first regional museum in the sample: the Akaroa Museum. Here, the development of a sometimes overestimated French place image of the small township will be analysed, in addition to its legacy in current displays that attempt to part with narrowly defined regional identities in favour of hybrid identities and transcultural narratives that explicitly involve local Māori.

Chapter Seven is concerned with the only entirely volunteer-run museum in the sample: the Puhoi Bohemian Museum. Instead of embracing a multicultural paradigm the museum forges a local identity that is based on the achievements of the early settlers. The museum is an example for the self-representation of a community that leads to alternative local narratives in addition to national master narratives.
Chapter Eight analyses the permanent exhibition of the Waipu Museum, which is dedicated to a Scottish story of immigration. Similar to Puhoi, a local identity based on the achievement of the early settlers and their leader is presented, tempered with signs of Waipu’s multicultural make-up today. The emotionally engaging displays are key to achieving this and their analysis will show how this strategy plays out in a regional museum.

The last case study is presented in Chapter Nine and analyses the permanent exhibition of the recently refurbished Toitū Otago Settlers Museum. Using state of the art technology a multi-ethnic story of immigration is interwoven with a more general history of Dunedin. The exhibition is an attempt to showcase the impact that different ethnic groups had on the city’s development, without separating them into discrete exhibitions. A focus on people and their emotionally charged personal stories raises the question of how well this approach is suited to communicating multicultural and transcultural narratives.

Finally in Chapter Ten, I will endeavour to answer the research questions raised in Chapter One: to identify similarities and differences among the six institutions with regard to the representation of immigration.

1.3 Definition of Central Terms - ‘Refugee’ and ‘Migrant’

Based on the 1951 Geneva Convention, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) glossary states that the refugee definition is commonly understood to include three essential elements:
1. there must be a form of harm rising to the level of persecution, inflicted by a government or by individuals or a group that the government cannot or will not control;

2. the person’s fear of such harm must be well-founded — e.g. the U.S. Supreme Court has ruled that a fear can be well-founded if there is a one-in-ten likelihood of its occurring;

3. the harm, or persecution, must be inflicted upon the person for reasons related to the person’s race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group (the nexus) (“Refugee”, 2015a).

The possibility of persecution or harm are very specific prerequisites a person must fulfil to be recognised as a refugee. Defined in this way, the term can be distinguished from the term ‘migrant’. Four subcategories of refugees are commonly referred to in the literature: asylum seekers, convention refugees, mandate refugees and quota refugees.3 ‘Quota refugees’ are mandated by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as refugees (UNHCR) overseas and are then selected for resettlement offshore under an annual quota. As one of currently 19 countries, New Zealand does offer such a program.

The term ‘migrant’ appears to be more ambivalent. A broad definition of the term comprises “any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country” ("Migrant/Migration", 2015b). This would also include refugees who settled in a foreign country. Both could then be referred to as ‘immigrants’ if they enter a country permanently or temporarily and develop social ties. However, migrants have a choice of where to go and when to leave. Even if this choice might be restricted by financial or social factors, they would not be forced by the possibility of persecution or harm to leave

3 The New Zealand Department of Labour (2009a, 12) defines these terms as follows: ‘Asylum seeker’ is “a person seeking refuge”. Once granted, the person enjoys official refugee status, and has certain rights and obligations. ‘Convention refugees’ are individuals who have been granted refugee status on the basis of the 1951 Convention’s definition. ‘Mandate refugees’ are individuals who have been granted refugee status by the UNHCR. It follows that they can be both: a mandate and a convention refugee.
their country, without having control over the end-point of this forced-migration. This then distinguishes them from refugees ("Migrant/Migration", 2015b).

**1.4 Selection of Museums**

While investigating New Zealand’s museum environment, it became apparent that a large number of museums deal with aspects of immigration; thus the establishment of selection criteria for this study was deemed essential. To provide diversity of examples for study, museums were selected using three factors: size, ethnic affiliation of the portrayed immigration group, and location. The selected museums (Table 1) range from small regional museums which have only a few professional or volunteer staff members and limited exhibition space to large museums which are of national significance and have an international reputation. Those chosen portray either one specific history of immigration connected to a specific ethnicity or have hosted one or more exhibitions dedicated to a specific group of immigrants. The nationally orientated museums focus on a predominantly national story of migration, but may also have a regional focus or mount temporary exhibitions dealing with a specific immigration story. The location of the museums — North Island, South Island, rural, metropolitan, close to major tourist sites, etc. — was also important to achieve a representative cross section of New Zealand’s museum environment. All museums selected feature the concepts of immigration, emigration or migration in general in at least one permanent or special exhibition. They represent a variety of museum types and the permanent and temporary exhibitions deal with different immigration stories and groups, assuring that a diverse sample of case studies and exhibitions is analysed, allowing arguments to be tested in different museum environments.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Museum</th>
<th>Location and setting</th>
<th>Annual visitor numbers in 2013/14 financial year</th>
<th>Theme of immigration displays</th>
<th>Governing body</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akaroa Museum</td>
<td>Akaroa, Banks Peninsula, South Island, rural</td>
<td>~11,300</td>
<td>Special exhibition <em>Horomaka</em>: effects of immigration on local Māori and European settlers.</td>
<td>Christchurch City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puhoi Bohemian Museum</td>
<td>Puhoi, Northland, North Island, rural</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Permanent exhibition: Bohemian immigration to New Zealand and history of Puhoi.</td>
<td>Puhoi Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waipu Museum</td>
<td>Waipu, Northland, North Island, rural</td>
<td>21,000</td>
<td>Permanent exhibition <em>The Search for Paradise</em>: Scottish immigration to New Zealand and history of Waipu.</td>
<td>Whangarei District Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totū Otago Settlers Museum</td>
<td>Dunedin, South Island, metropolitan</td>
<td>161,240</td>
<td>Permanent exhibition: Regional immigration history. Focus on Scottish, Chinese, English and Polish immigration.</td>
<td>Dunedin City Council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Table 1:* Overview of museums analysed. *Table:* Author.
II. THE REPRESENTATION OF MIGRATION IN A MUSEUM CONTEXT IN NEW ZEALAND — GLOBAL TRENDS, GOVERNANCE, POLICIES AND THEORIES

2.1 Narratives of Migration in ‘Immigration Countries’ — New Zealand, Canada, United States, Australia

In this study, ‘immigration countries’ are defined as those that received a high number of immigrants in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as opposed to countries that perceived themselves as source countries to feed these large-scale migration movements. In an analysis of dedicated migration museums in a subset of those countries, Baur (2009, 66) has theorized that the genesis of migration museums in Australia, the United States and Canada is a result of and an answer to the perceived crisis of the representation of the concept of nation in museums. Baur’s theory is convincing for the three museums he analysed, and illustrates that new national master narratives are forged by dedicated migration museums in these countries. However, what is the nature of these new narratives, and can Baur’s findings be applied to New Zealand, a country that has no dedicated migration museum, but rather has immigration history woven into the narratives of almost all of its museums? Furthermore, can they be applied to regional museums, too? To answer these questions, I first provide an outline of the master narratives Baur and other scholars identified in these three ‘immigration
countries’ and amend it with New Zealand narratives. I then advance to a broader perspective and look at European manifestations of this paradigm shift.

What are these master narratives that are represented at the various museums? Welz (2000) argues that the Ellis Island Immigration Museum establishes a new ‘Grand Narrative’ of the founding of America. While the focus lay traditionally on the pilgrim fathers, the exhibition gives those people recognition as full members of American society who were not Anglo-Saxons or Protestant: “The cultural genre of the museum elevates the turn-of-the-century immigration to the status of the fundamental rite de passage of almost half of the American population” (Welz, 2000, 67). This new myth is, nonetheless, restricted by the museum to the historical migration movements between 1880 and 1924, the focus of the Ellis Island timeframe. More recent immigration to America is only briefly mentioned in the exhibition and is largely disseminated through statistics. While the hierarchy between original and new immigrants is erased, new lines are drawn to separate waves of immigration and modes of acknowledgement. Welz (2000) and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) both criticise this narrative style for neglecting the individuality of each biography and the multitude of immigration experiences. The design aims at unifying the experiences and integrating the diverse background into one single-strand narrative that transforms the immigrants into ‘New Americans,’ thereby supporting Baur’s (2009) findings that the representation of immigration serves as an overarching narrative and creates an imagined ‘community of migrants’. Key to the way this narrative works is the focus on moments of welcome, rather than exclusion: visitor and immigrant; control station and museum are transformed to make the reinterpretation believable (Baur, 2007, 95). The Ellis Island Immigration Museum orchestrates the ‘border’ not as a place of exclusion, but as a place of welcome. Only this reinterpretation permits a celebration of Ellis Island as the birthplace of an American nation of immigrants. However, clear boundaries are glorified and reflect a desire for unambiguous distinctions between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’, the nation and the external world (Baur,
2007, 98). This outdated ideal of gentle migration offers safety in a time of uncertainty; however, it can only be an illusion in today’s globalised world with daily incidents of legal and illegal immigration and emigration.\footnote{This is what Ulrich Beck (2006, 54-55) calls ‘strict relativism’, an illusion that borders can be easily drawn and that histories of different nations are not interconnected. The opposite of this is, according to Beck, ‘contextualist universalism’, which acknowledges cultural intermingling and posits that non-intervention is an impossibility (2006, 55). Instead of such extremes, Beck proposes a ‘realistic cosmopolitanism’ (see 2006, 175-177) that “should not be understood and developed in opposition to universalism, relativism, nationalism and ethnicism, but as their summation or synthesis” (2006, 57).}

Parallels between the Ellis Island design and that of Pier 21 in Canada can easily be drawn as both institutions reinterpret the meaning of the site on which they are built. Pier 21 employs similar strategies, but orchestrates the process of ‘immigration’ as a \textit{rite de passage} to a new life. Canada is represented as a tolerant country that is open for everyone and free of racism and social tensions (Baur, 2005; 2007). The ‘border’ assumes the shape of a positive place, a place of a common origin or a place of the origin of community; contemporary regulations which complicate immigration are underplayed (Baur, 2007, 98).

Museums in Australia and New Zealand, two other traditional ‘immigration countries’, both question traditional national narratives. Gore (2003) diagnoses a desire in both countries to “examine the legacies of European imperialism in order to gain an understanding of their place within the burgeoning global world.” This desire influenced Te Papa’s initial ensemble of exhibitions and led to entirely new strategies of display in Australian museums. Unlike in New Zealand, two dedicated immigration state museums of regional and national significance exist in Australia: the Melbourne Immigration Museum and the Migration Museum in Adelaide. In addition, the National Museum of Australia’s permanent exhibition, ‘Journeys’, focuses on Australia’s interconnections with the world and positive as well as negative effects of migration on Australia’s indigenous population, and critiques its immigration policies (see Dean & Rider, 2005). In a similar
fashion, immigration is integrated into New Zealand's National Museum Te Papa and
many of its regional counterparts.

McShane (2001, 123ff.) argues that the emergence of Australian museum
attention to migration history coincided with the political and institutional development of
multiculturalism as a dominant national ethic. He contends that in 2001 the scope of
exhibition programs dealing with migration history was limited and focused on the post-
World War II period of planned migration. In effect, simplistic divisions between a pre-
existing ‘Australian’ community and a migrant population could be fostered, transforming
migrants into permanent ‘others’. The exhibitions tended to regard migration as a one-
way process, “a sort of absorption process through which Australia sucks up migrants
like a thirsty sponge” (McShane, 2001, 126). In a similar fashion Baur (2009, 320ff.)
argues that the multicultural paradigm the Melbourne Immigration Museum promotes
would not be intended to foster cultural difference but to control and contour the
manifestation of multiculturalism. Stubborn cultural identities would be adjusted to the
‘unity in diversity’ paradigm (Baur, 2009, 321). However, Message (2014) sees in recent
exhibitions of the Melbourne Immigration Museum a re-emergence of public debates on
difficult topics, such as racism, exclusion and prejudice, reflecting a change of the
political agenda in Australia; she believes that it now focuses on the accompanying
symptoms of an emerging multicultural society, instead of disregarding them. A recent
assessment by Hutchison and Witcomb (2014) of the wider museum environment in
Australia demonstrates that they now increasingly embrace intercultural narratives; this
reflects discontent with showcasing static cultural difference and a preference for
representing both positive as well as negative interactions of immigrants and the host
society. From this perspective, the mould of group identity is broken and individual
stories of hybrid identities make their way into museum narratives.

An acute awareness of its indigenous Māori population is reflected in the
inherently bicultural displays of New Zealand’s Te Papa Museum. Since its inception it
has been criticised for trivialising the museum experience (see Dalrymple, 1998; Dutton, 1998). Often such criticism focuses on its facile, easily accessible exhibitions, often featuring pop culture themes such as the Lord of the Rings motion picture. In addition, its promoted ideology of biculturalism has been criticised and dissected (Schorch, 2010; Alivizatou, 2012), while its community focus and relations with communities came under criticism as being one-sided (Wood, 2005; Ballard, 2005; McGuire, 2013).

Williams (2003) suggested that a potential danger for the institution is the possibility that biculturalism might become obsolete and be superseded by another paradigm. Its configuration would thus render Te Papa unable to respond to political and societal changes, condemning it from the outset as an institution locked in the past (Williams, 2003, 304-305). By extension, various immigrants could be excluded from the museum’s narrative if a narrow definition of biculturalism were adopted that addressed only Māori and Anglo-Saxon immigrants. Gore (2003) focuses on the representation of non-indigenous history and identity in the opening exhibitions of the museum and demonstrates that its bicultural paradigm is rather flexible. He argues that “the whole museum is geared towards aiding the interpretation of national identity in New Zealand. Significantly too ... they were not designed to identify or suggest to the public any single distinct version or idea of New Zealand's identity ..." (Gore, 2003, emphasis in original). Thus, the various exhibitions offer different approaches to the understanding of national identity without, at least in theory, favouring any one of the propositions. For Gore, the immigration display Passports suggests “that national identity is based on the idea of a 'nation of immigrants', in that everyone has the shared and common past of choosing to leave their homes, undergoing the upheaval of their journeys, and adjusting and establishing themselves in a new land” (Gore, 2003). He points out that the exhibition does not romanticise the migration experience, instead focusing on the hardships and problems associated with settling in New Zealand. The exhibition would further be “largely representative of the many different nationalities and cultures and their
contribution[s] to New Zealand life” (Gore, 2003). Fitzgerald believed that this 'representativeness' would be complemented by the adjacent Community Gallery, a changing program of exhibitions which focuses on one specific immigrant group or community of interest with each new exhibition (see Fitzgerald, 2009). Gore’s analysis implies that the history of ‘migration’ cannot be used simplistically as the one single unifying master narrative for a nation; rather, it is only one aspect of a country’s identity, one that contributes to the multi-faceted construction of a national identity paradigm.

Senka Božić-Vrbančić (2003, 300ff.) attributes to Te Papa a bias in its representation of non-Māori, non-British minority cultures. From this perspective, they would be locked into their respective ethnicities and serve the purpose to enrich non-Māori New Zealand society, but would not become part of it. The community exhibitions would thus present specific ethnic groups with a focus on positive impressions of their lifestyle with less attention to difficult histories and with only minimal cross-cultural interactions between ethnic groups. On a similar note, Macdonald (2009) sees Passports as a continuation of Te Papa’s bicultural paradigm with the narrative primarily focusing on British immigration, leaving unaddressed any multicultural interpretations of society. Message (2006, 194) extends this critique to depictions of Māori culture, and calls for a “dedication to the diversity of Māori culture”; failing this, “multiculturalism continues to be the exclusive domain of non-Māori.” Based on this demarcation between Māori and tangata tiriti history, Bell (2006, 263) diagnoses a “discomfort with, and marginalization of, colonial history in the representation of biculturalism at Te Papa. It seems that the desire behind such representations is to present biculturalism as an achieved state, despite the ongoing contestations and glaring inequalities between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand society.” With innovative approaches to community engagement with refugee youth in preparation for Te Papa’s most recent Community Gallery exhibition The Mixing Room (Gibson & Kindon, 2013), Te Papa seems willing to experiment and address this criticism (see also 4.4).
Similarities between the approaches of ‘immigration countries’ to exhibiting migration history are evident. Museum professionals in all four countries show a willingness to confront traditional master narratives; however, they are often criticised for remaining exclusive of indigenous groups, ethnic minorities that do not have strong community presence, and new immigrants to a country. The case studies will show if this is also true for regional museums in New Zealand, or if they are able to provide more nuanced narratives that complement the narratives of national institutions, and may be even better suited to representing the multicultural make-up of contemporary New Zealand. However, first it is necessary to look beyond ‘immigration countries’ and focus on source countries in Europe and their transformation.

2.2 European Narratives of Migration

By comparison to ‘immigration countries’ such as New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States, where European immigration is a constituent part of the nation’s master narrative, with indigenous perspectives informing it more and more, the transition to such an identity in some other countries that historically did not see themselves as ‘immigration countries’ has proved challenging. Ongoing public debates have often have often delayed the establishment of national institutions or initiatives dedicated to migration.\(^5\) For instance, the The Cité national de l’histoire de l’immigration in Paris was only created after a lengthy, controversial negotiating process and is not yet free of criticism (see Stevens, 2008, Gouriévidis, 2014b). Stevens (2008) argues that it was, at least in the beginning, thought to act against ‘divisive’ forces of multiculturalism.

\(^5\) Only in 2009, a memorandum containing propositions for addressing the topic of ‘migration’ in German museums was adopted by representatives of the museums under the auspices of the German Museum Association (Deutscher Museumsbund, 2010).
However, Gouriévidis (2014b) emphasises the role it plays in acknowledging past injustices and memories of discrimination, in effect being an attempt at reconciliation.

Despite these controversies, the history of migration is advancing to a new globally-oriented national master narrative not only in ‘immigration countries’, but also in Europe, leaving traditional narratives with diminishing persuasiveness (Jarausch, 2002, 147ff.).

In Germany, the 1950s labour migration 6 appears to be the most prominent immigration movement in the country’s cultural memory, as the political debate and themes of exhibitions suggest 7; this prominence may have led to, or contributed to, negligence of other migration processes in museum exhibitions (see Baur, 2010b, 13). In addition, the perspective — narrowed to an exclusive German context — missed the opportunity to showcase similar movements in other European countries (Poehls, 2010). Nevertheless, the increased interest in the topic led to the creation of two museums dedicated to the emigration to the Americas during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, one of them now also featuring immigration movements to Germany (see Dunkel, 2008; Schlutow, 2008, 2012). The focus on historical emigration movements lends itself to self-discovery, for instance genealogical research, but, as Sternberg (2010) notes, such a museum cannot be a place for current debates and discussions. A

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6 Due to a severe labour shortage post World War II the German government initiated a guest worker program (Gastarbeiterprogramm) to attract migrant workers (Gastarbeiter) who would stay in Germany temporarily. Immigrants came from a diverse set of countries in Europe, Eurasia, and Asia, among them Turkey, Italy and Spain, to name only three. While some returned home after a short period of time, many stayed on and reunited with their families. Given that Germany did not, until recently, see itself as an immigration country (Einwanderungsland), there was a lack of integration programs concerning language ability, religious and cultural aspects. This led to problems that are still felt generations later.

7 The Auswanderhaus Bremerhaven (Emigration Center Bremerhaven) recently expanded its exhibitions to include German labour migration of the 1950s. Similar to its emigration displays, this new section features elaborate recreated environments, for instance, workplaces associated with labour migration such as a hairdresser or food vendor, and accommodation of labour migrants. Other museums, such as the Historische Museum Hannover, focused on a regional story of labour migration with the goal to present movement of people as the norm, not the exception. A last example may be found in the exhibitions of the Deutsches Museum focusing on the perception of ‘otherness’ in France and Germany since the 1870s, Germany as an increasingly multicultural society, and Germany and refugee aid.
museum dealing exclusively with immigration movements to Germany is planned, but even after years of discussion a finalised concept does not exist (Eryilmaz, 2007). As Fehr (2010, 67) points out, this might be associated with the lack of a central lieu de memoire like Ellis Island. There is indeed no single place associated with all immigrants to Germany and even for recent immigration movements such a place does not exist.

In Italy, a number of museums focusing on immigration and emigration alike have been established. The Roman Museo Nazionale dell’Emigrazione Italiana has recently been criticised by Anna Chiara Cimoli (2014, 87-88) for its inability to connect emigration and immigration to a more universal theme of mobility. As presented, both topics seem grounded in the past without depicting present effects of emigration and immigration alike on Italy’s society. By contrast, a local museum in Perugia, the Museo Regionale Pietro Conti achieves what the national institution does not: it analyses migration on a supra-regional scale intertwining past and present and does not avoid difficult topics such as discrimination or prejudice (Cimoli, 2014, 88-90). Cimoli sees the Italian museum landscape in a state of flux. Museums and art projects can be effective; however, they may fall short of surpassing a single-story of Italian emigration, unless they take into account present trends and reflect increasing societal changes.

In the United Kingdom, no dedicated migration museum exists, but the Migration Museum Project (2015) has the ultimate goal to establish such an institution. Nevertheless, an ever increasing number of special and permanent exhibitions focusing on migration are hosted in its museums. In Ireland, formerly overlooked minority groups are now a focus of a number of exhibitions, overwriting older narratives of a 'monocultural' Ireland (Crooke, 2014, 194ff.). On a similar note, museums in Wales emphasise diversity and the changing ethnic make-up of Wales, acknowledging especially its Italian minority (Giudici, 2014, 224). Most exhibitions in the two countries focus on emigration, a feature of European exhibitions in general, with only a small number of exhibitions focusing on immigration (Cimoli, 2013, 320). Interestingly, this is
not the case for England, where, according to Cathy Ross (2013, 51), emigration is “the
great absent story in museums”, with museums often focusing on narratives of
immigration alone. Nevertheless these stories are also becoming more and more
inclusive, featuring difficult history such as slavery and the effects of colonialism (see
Small, 2011). While these are visible signs of a societal change in the United Kingdom
that brings narratives of migration to the fore, current sentiments in the United Kingdom
that question a state doctrine of multiculturalism and in effect lead to xenophobia raise
the question of whether or not the United Kingdom’s museum landscape will again
embrace master narratives that focus on national unity.

At the European level, city museums are increasingly developing as counterparts
of dedicated migration museums by opening up to difficult histories and controversial
contemporary issues (Lanz, 2014). A new idea of citizenship is being promoted,
superseding old definitions based on place of birth, ethnicity and legal rationale. Instead,
museums see citizenship as “a multifaceted sense of belonging and participation, an
open category, sense of entrenchment, civic connoisseurship, identification and active
participation in and with the public space” (Lanz, 2014, 38).

With some delay, but similar to ‘immigration countries’, Europe is engaging with
its immigration history. New dedicated migration museums were created in a number of
countries such as Germany, Italy and France. At the same time, city museums have
become more inclusive, and attempt to reflect immigration movements that shaped the
city or region. It thus becomes apparent that European museums increasingly embrace a
multicultural paradigm and promote hybrid identities that are based on the new master
narrative of a ‘community of migrants’. It is, however, important to stress that the
promotion of this narrative faces more opponents in European countries, due to their
resistance to being seen as immigration countries and not simply as source countries for
immigration.
This section has explored the applicability of Baur’s findings on museums in ‘immigration countries’ and European countries. I now direct attention to representational forms, that is, design strategies museums employ to represent migration and associated problems. This relates directly to my claim that affective exhibition design is more and more prevalent, especially in immigration exhibitions, in an attempt to transform visitors into responsible citizens who accept difference.

2.3 Contexts and Aspects of the Musealisation of Migration

Establishing dedicated migration museums, especially if they are of national significance, symbolises official sanctioning of migration processes as one aspect of a nation’s master narrative. This is accompanied by the issues outlined above and raises the question of the appropriate place of migration in the museum environment: a separate entity or an integrated concept? There are different views on this question. Fehr (2010, 69), for example, calls for an integration of migration history into established museums. He argues, in a German context, that a central museum dedicated to migration might encourage other museums to eschew the topic in their exhibitions; it might also streamline, simplify and homogenise the complex immigration and emigration histories of a country in an attempt to cater to all communities of migrants and thereby lose the distinctive patterns of various groups (Fehr, 2010, 68). He criticises further the authoritative nature that conventional museums exert and their inherent predilection to only represent history as they interpret it, thus asking if a migration museum would not colonise migrant communities anew (Fehr, 2010, 68). Fehr’s criticism is legitimate and reveals the need for museums to leave outdated concepts behind and to experiment with new forms of participation and multi-perspective approaches. To what extent a dedicated
A dedicated institution could be a focus of intercultural expertise and could prevent a fragmentation of migration history. She further acknowledges that the experiences of migrants are different from those of mainstream society and hence they may have a legitimate demand to a dedicated space in which to collect their material culture and to express their cultural memory. In New Zealand, migration is integrated not only in national institutions, but also in small museums that focus on settler histories. Migration, and especially immigration, informs many exhibitions or is the focus of special exhibitions or dedicated spaces within a museum. Analysing New Zealand museums will permit the assessment of what this approach yields in comparison to the representation of immigration in dedicated migration museums.

With the establishment of a place for migration displays, the question of the appropriate contents must be determined. Korff (2005) asks if the museum is the right place to represent migration and if its modes of display can offer an appropriate frame for the complex and ever-changing phenomenon of ‘migration’. Korff sees the role of museums not as providers of a true to life experience, but as collectors of compressed experiences, which enable us to contextualise lived situations. Such situations could then be classified and transformed into structures, processes and symbolic orders (Korff, 2005, 8). Museums would then be sites in which the place of migration in cultural memory is negotiated and experiences of differing communities of migrants are acknowledged. A focus on the past, as Korff concedes, rather than the present, could lead to a consolidation of already common cultural stereotypes, myths and clichés (Korff, 2005, 13). This would restrict the museum to an eternal historical perspective, which does not address contemporary migration processes. Any attempt to do so might result
in already outdated displays when the exhibition is opened, given the ephemeral nature and complexity of present migration processes. The larger question is whether or not historical displays can have a bearing on present day concerns. Given that any display is shaped by contemporary fashions, tastes and paradigms, it could be argued that any museum display may therefore be used as a mirror for the concerns of its time, either intentionally or unintentionally. Here lies the strength of the museum medium.

These demands on the museum necessitate not only a broad collection of tangible and intangible objects related to migration, but also active collaboration with migrant communities to capture a picture of contemporary migrant cultures and the society in which they now live. While a number of initiatives attempt to attract communities of immigrants as a target audience, many fail, according to Osses (2010), due to a lack of museum expertise regarding access to media and networks of migrants, such as historical societies, cultural clubs, ethnic newspapers, etc. Without a functional relationship, many museums are faced with a lack of material culture related to migration. This can then lead to a general problem of migration exhibitions: they often do not depict a society in a process of change or reflect the concept of ‘travelling cultures’ (Braunersreuther, 2007; Clifford, 1997, 17ff.) in a globalised world; rather, they focus on manifold groups which are all the ‘other’, represented through generic, unfamiliar objects and subjects. This outcome is exacerbated if two popular metaphors, the ‘journey’ and the ‘barrier’, are used exclusively to structure the narrative of an exhibition (McShane, 2001, 129). The danger is that migrants remain ‘permanent migrants’ if a singular emphasis on the ‘journey’ metaphor in an exhibition is favoured (McShane, 2001, 129). A standard conclusion to this narrative strategy would be the acknowledgment of the contributions of and the impact of migrants, commonly resulting in an ‘othering’ of migrants. One way to address this dilemma is to portray ‘otherness’ as a relational term, demonstrating perceptions of the ‘other’ from different ethnic or cultural perspectives (Braunersreuther, 2007). A transnational approach towards the representation of
migration is thus necessary and would enable the implementation of such ideals while traditional narratives of a homogenous society could be overcome.

To complicate matters further, objects associated with migration are not interesting innately because of their artistic or economic value, but because of their emotional value, which was assigned to the objects by former owners (see Braunersreuther, 2007). The objects assume the role of surrogates for emotional imprints and become bearers of meaning, signification and information (Lang, 2005; Braunersreuther, 2007, 37). While this is true for any object in a museum, the specific quality of an object used in the context of an exhibition about migration would necessitate the provision of information about the various owners and the role the object played in their lives. Without such information, the object cannot function as a surrogate for emotional imprints. While such objects can be an example for specific migration experiences, they cannot offer a holistic picture of migration history (Braunersreuther, 2007).

These problems tend to lead to rather traditional exhibitions which focus on past migration movements and to neglect contemporary processes and problems. Past historical migration movements may have better source material than current ones; in addition, contemporary or recent processes are difficult to grasp and do not comply with the traditional forms of displays that museums employ (Braunersreuther, 2007, 40). A long-term collection concept with regards to the material culture of a particular migration is not easy to implement, while the acquisition of objects for a specific exhibition or subject seems more promising (Lang, 2005). The ephemeral nature of material manifestations of migration experiences in collections would imply a focus more on audio-visual content and documents; however, this would work against the unique characteristic of the museum that enables visitors to encounter three-dimensional, authentic objects. Nevertheless, over the past two decades, the concept of the 'object' has been broadened to enable contemporary exhibitions to utilise intangible objects and
digital contents; this facilitates the creation of content and enables communities of interest, for example refugees, to present more of their daily life than would be possible with a reliance on material culture alone (Jones, 2010, xxiv). The history of immigration can be complemented by the immaterial. Oral history provides a ‘personal’ context; however, the ambiguous nature of personal memory and the reshaping processes involved is problematic (Osses, 2010, 38). This can be overcome by acknowledging the manifold shapes in which memory manifests itself and an appreciation of different perspectives. In addition, even nondescript objects can be contextualised and can present fascinating life realities to the visitor. However, this would demand, as Mathilde Jamin (2005) points out, collaboration with migrant communities and subject experts.8

Working with communities, however, can lead to other problems, one of which is a celebratory narrative: it is easy to illustrate the positive aspects of multiculturalism and celebrate diversity, but as Anderson (1987) points out, continuing problems of ethnic minorities are often masked. It is also comparatively easy to demonstrate the historical contributions of various traditions to a country’s social and cultural fabric. Typically, community groups feel comfortable in providing native costumes or traditional artworks and crafts, as well as memorabilia and photographs of a successful story of immigration and settlement; however, less positive aspects of that story, such as racism, are not as rich in material culture and thus intangibles — cartoons, photographs or even games — may stand as surrogates. Simpson (2001) adds the problem of fragmentation, the dispersion of migrants in the host country and argues that in effect material of historical interest may have been lost. In addition, not only may concepts like ‘racism’ be inadequately represented materially, but the lives of the poor in general are also not backed by material culture. In consequence, museums established by immigrant

8 In some museums, such collaboration was one of the main tenets from the beginning. For example, the Immigration Museum in Melbourne (McFadzean, 2010) and the Migration Museum in Adelaide (see Szekeres, 2002) both established Community Galleries, for which communities were approached to create exhibitions with support by museum staff. In addition, the museums aimed to provide a space for community activities such as festivals.
communities would be “historical in focus and dominated by artefacts which demonstrate movable cultural property: knowledge and skills” (Simpson, 2001, 82). This might further result in a lack of emotional engagement and an “overall feeling of gloomy melancholy, a nostalgic yearning for the past, a culture isolated from the passage of time, an environment tainted with a pervasive layer of psychological, if not real, dust” (Simpson, 2001, 82). Typically, collections incorporating objects relating to the daily life of migrants have not been established and need to be created (Osses, 2010, 37). However, immigration history, if treated seriously, has “a tendency to expose aspects of mainstream or majority history which seldom come to light” (Anderson, 1987, 110), for instance discrimination against Chinese or incarceration of Germans during the World Wars in New Zealand. This kind of exhibition cannot be focused on entertainment, given that this could trivialise the content. Museums “must deal with the material culture of ordinary people, not just those who have ‘made it’. They must look for evidence of conflict, as well as consensus” (Anderson, 1987, 111). To find a balance between ostensible celebratory and deprecatory elements is still a major challenge for exhibition developers. It follows that those museums which present balanced, multi-perspective narratives advance a deeper understanding of the similarities and differences among various cultures and can lead to greater sensitivity towards a culture perceived as foreign (Bresky, 2010; Urban, 2003; Szekeres, 2002).

I argue that the qualities of tangible and intangible museum objects related to migration are directly connected to the prevalence of affective exhibition design. Affective exhibition design allows manifestations of emotion in a three dimensional space (see 3.3). A design aiming to provoke emotional responses such as empathy or sympathy magnifies the emotional imprints contained in objects associated with migration experiences. The design can thus act as an amplifier for these often unimposing objects. In combination with audio-visuals and text, the object and its affective potential can be more fully explored by visitors.
We have discussed commonly encountered narratives of migration both in immigration countries and source countries, as well as manifestations of this topic in exhibitions. We now need to focus more on the specific New Zealand context that informs migration exhibitions in its museums before we can embark on close readings of different New Zealand museums.

2.4 Biculturalism, Multiculturalism or Binationalism? — New Zealand’s Preoccupation with the Many ‘Isms’

Immigration exhibitions and social history museums do not exist in a political vacuum, but reflect contemporary political attitudes and values as well as public opinion. If a nation projects itself as, for example, either monocultural or multicultural, it could be expected that national narratives and even regional narratives in museums would conform to such a profile; thus, they become propagators of an official master narrative, especially if the government is a stakeholder in a museum. However, in practice, things are seldom so clear-cut. New Zealand can be described as being demographically multicultural and formally bicultural with its institutions influenced by Anglo-Saxon as well as Māori values and traditions. This arrangement has direct effects on the relationships among new immigrants, Māori and tangata tiriti.

Whalers, explorers and early settlers to New Zealand can be described as a multi-ethnic, multi-national group that fostered relationships (exchange of goods and services, intermarriage) with local tangata whenua groups; in turn, this defined pre-treaty New Zealand as a culturally diverse environment. Numerous entities such as the Austro-Hungarian Empire and its dependencies; Eastern Europe; the Americas; various German provinces and, after their unification, the German Reich; China and the Pacific Islands,
etc., contributed to the melange of settlers in the years to follow. However, the establishment of New Zealand as a British colony and increased immigration by predominantly British settlers, created a less diversified demography. Conflict-rich encounters with Māori, who were increasingly becoming a minority and who were faced with disputes about land ownership and strong assimilationist tendencies, made New Zealand less tolerant of difference. In the 1930s and 1940s, it can be described as a country that looked to Britain for guidance, a ‘better Britain’ defined by restrictive immigration legislation with a strong preference for ‘compatible’ immigrants (Dölling, 2008). However, it never ceased to be multi-ethnic in practice, and with changing policies and the desire to attract foreign capital and skilled workers, New Zealand’s demography has been transformed over the past six decades, particularly in large metropolitan areas, into an openly multicultural society that acknowledges difference.

However, New Zealand embraced de jure biculturalism, while de facto multiculturalism forms the unofficial basis for governance (Fleras, 2009). In the same way that immigration changed its demography or demographic profile, a rejuvenated interest in Māori culture, paired with a Māori civil rights movement that began in the late 1960s and escalated in the 1970s, necessitated the adoption of a bicultural paradigm on a governance level as opposed to the embracing of multiculturalism. While the Treaty of Waitangi (1840) was the founding document of the nation, making it bicultural in principle, the Treaty only returned to the centre of attention in the course of the Māori civil rights movement. Acknowledgment of the Treaty of Waitangi as the founding document of the nation, in combination with the establishment of the Waitangi Tribunal to address past injustices of the British colonising forces, led many Māori to view multiculturalism as an infringement on their rights as first people, stylising them as simply one minority amongst others:

The reduction of the Maori to a position of one of many minorities negates their status as the people of the land and enables the government to neutralise their claims for justice more effectively than it does now. Furthermore, new migrants have
no commitment to the treaty. For these reasons, the ideology of multiculturalism as a rationale for immigration must be rejected (Walker, 1995, 292).

The predicament takes this shape: in a bicultural framework, new immigrants as well as established communities such as the Chinese lack the institutional apparatus for making claims based on prior rights that are available to Māori as First Nation people. Arguably, the first generations of Chinese immigrants encountered similar ill-treatment by a society that denigrated difference, but they are not able to make claims for compensation through the Waitangi Tribunal or other apparatus (Young, 2007).

The often used slogan ‘One nation, two peoples, many cultures’, illustrates another aspect of this discussion: both biculturalism and multiculturalism can be seen as being accompanied by institutions that are historically influenced by Anglo-Saxon values, but acknowledge more and more a Māori point of view, as evidenced by the Waitangi Tribunal. In effect, they are based on a distinctive New Zealand interpretation and connected to a national identity that combines cultural values, symbols and traditions of the two peoples. Immigrants from other cultures must act within the parameters of what they perceive as a hegemonic culture.

In stark contrast, Fleras (2009, 144-145) asserts an institutional (Eurocentric) monoculturalism. Fleras’ critique focuses on the values and procedures of governance derived from European traditions and thus unsuitable to address indigenous matters. It may go too far to assert an institutional monoculturalism, however. With European traditions informing governance, and official subscription to a bicultural framework only emerging in the 1970s, the potential for conflict based on misunderstandings deriving from differing values poses a challenge for the future. Fleras proposes binationalism as an alternative to biculturalism as a constitutional principle, thereby equipping both people (Māori and tangata tiriti) with their respective institutional organs. While this implies autonomy of both parties, it does not imply separation. Multiculturalism could then exist
within this binational framework, just as it does in the current bicultural framework; however, this does not address the problem outlined above and one could argue that both are unable to accommodate multiculturalism effectively.

For this study, the question is how this conundrum of ‘isms’ is addressed in immigration exhibitions. Such exhibitions typically pose questions about the treatment of minorities and past and recent immigrants, and examine immigration policies and the integration of immigrants. By extension, the contact with the tangata whenua and the detrimental as well as fruitful effects of settler interaction with New Zealand’s indigenous population need to be addressed. The question as to which ‘isms’ are included in the narrative of an exhibition and which ones are repressed may reveal how any current political debate influences museums and their representation of immigration.

The representation of these concepts will also depend on their interpretation by museum staff. Given that there is no single fixed definition of the ‘isms’, they can be interpreted in various ways by the public, museum staff, policy makers and politicians. As Fleras (2009, 139) states, multiculturalism and biculturalism can be polar opposites or more or less congruent. If biculturalism is interpreted as dividing a society into two separate parts without any interactions, it must appear as the opposite of an inclusive interpretation of multiculturalism, where exchange and reciprocal relations among different cultures are paramount. On the other hand, multiculturalism can be interpreted as equally separating, with each culture forming an enclave with no points of contact, while a bicultural society can simply acknowledge the difference between indigenous and non-indigenous people, with exchange and interaction occurring on a daily basis.9 As is often the case, lived reality in New Zealand is to be found in between these extremes. To add to the mix of ‘isms’, an evolution of multiculturalism to cross-culturalism or inter-

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9 Ulrich Beck, for instance, follows a narrow definition of multiculturalism and sees as its main fault that it "rapturously celebrates the social accommodation of diversity, but it lacks a sense of cosmopolitan realism. It accepts the distinction between the national and the international, and consequently it is blind to the contingencies and ambivalences of ways of dealing with difference that go beyond assimilation and integration" (Beck, 2005, 66).
culturalism is often viewed as necessary (Allen & Anson, 2005), with both forms emphasising the importance of day-to-day interaction with members of other cultures to enrich one’s view of the world.

According to Pieterse (2005, 168), such views treat “culture as constructed identity, which is perennially in motion, continually under reconstruction”. It follows that multiculturalism is “a field of interspersion and crossover culture and the formation of new, mixed identities”. This leads to a differentiation of societies that claim to be multicultural into those with a stable cultural centre and those which are culturally in flux. The latter can be labelled ‘intercultural’, the former rely on narratives based on minorities and majorities arranged around a stable hegemony (Shohat & Stam, 1994). Arguably, New Zealand is at the intersection of the two extremes. Globalization and immigration have challenged New Zealand’s historically established sense of identity. For museums, this means a move away from unsuitable exhibition strategies such as exoticizing minorities and emphasising their difference, or alternatively, eliminating difference and assimilating them into the existing hegemony (Pieterse, 2005). Acknowledging hybrid identities that span different cultural contexts, and engaging communities as well as enabling them to present their own histories, are all necessary to address these new demands on the museum (see Macdonald, 2003). These new strategies must be paired with an acute awareness of the institution’s internal power structures and the potential pitfalls of representation, as well as questioning and reflecting on every step in creating an exhibition or working with communities (see Simpson, 2001; Gouriévidis, 2014b; Tietmeyer, 2010).

One could well claim that these interactions already happen inside and outside New Zealand’s museums, although not uniformly everywhere and not ‘officially sanctioned’ by the government. It is the hope of many museum professionals and museum scholars alike that the museum can become a place where such interactions are facilitated, creating a ‘Third Space’, to use Homi Bhabha’s (2004) influential term.
2.5 Immigration Legislation and New Zealand

The early history of immigration law in New Zealand can be summarized as being gradually more restrictive towards non-white, non-European immigrants; after 1881, it was especially restrictive regarding Chinese immigrants. Born out of growing racist sentiments during the 1870s and concerns about the Chinese competing against white New Zealand workers in the gold fields and in other business areas (Murphy, 2002, 28; Palat, 1996, 38), a number of anti-Chinese laws were enacted to hinder or prevent Chinese immigration entirely. The economic depression at the end of the 1870s further prompted discriminatory legislation and the passage of the Chinese Immigrants Act of 1881 (Murphy, 2002, 28); it established a £10 poll tax and limited the number of immigrants per vessel.¹⁰ These taxes were increased to £100 and the number of immigrants per vessel was further limited in Amendment Acts of 1888 and 1896. Further acts of 1892 and 1898 abolished the fee for naturalisation except for Chinese; and the latter introduced the Old Age Pension, again excluding Chinese even if they were naturalised. Finally, the Immigration Restriction Act of 1908 removed the right of citizenship for Chinese entirely. Ingloriously, New Zealand was, in 1944, the last of the former British colonies to abolish a poll-tax for Chinese immigrants (Murphy, 2002, 36).

While this legislation was explicitly directed at Chinese, other policies were crafted to restrict non-white immigration in general and to attract immigrants deemed more compatible and preferable, which generally meant white British settlers (Dölling, 2008, 56ff.). ‘Undesirable immigrants’, as enacted in the Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act of 1919, and the amendments to the Immigration Restriction Act of 1920 and 1931 included any non-British, as well as aboriginals or indigenous peoples of the British Dominions.

¹⁰ To assess the significance of the tax, a basket of goods and services that cost £10.00 in quarter 1 of 1881 would have cost approximately $1,600 in quarter 4 of 2014 (Reserve Bank of New Zealand, 2015).
During and after the Second World War, allowances for Chinese refugees were made, and any discriminatory laws against Chinese repealed; however, succeeding acts (Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1961; Immigration Act 1964) maintained the traditional source-country preference, which was only removed during the 1970s through a number of new acts (Immigration Amendment Act 1978; Immigration Amendment Act 1984; Immigration Amendment Act 1986).

Paglinawan (2010) argues that there were numerous reasons for the opening up of New Zealand: the emergence of economic demands for skilled and unskilled workers, a changing political climate, and human rights movements, as well as changing attitudes to non-European and non-white immigrants within the population. The British Government joining the European Economic Community in 1962 and severing long established preferential ties with New Zealand led to a shift in migration patterns, as relations with the traditional trading partner soured (Bedford, 2005). For the first time, a net migration loss of New Zealanders to Australia occurred in the 1960s (Carmichael, 1993). Subsequently, a treaty of friendship between the Samoan and New Zealand governments in 1962 led to a large influx of Pacific Islanders; this mitigated the labour shortages and in effect gave the country a more multicultural appearance. Finally, Australia’s more restrictive ‘White Australia’ policies that prevailed until their abolition in the late 1970s made New Zealand a more comfortable destination for non-European immigrants.

However, the Immigration Act of 1987 was the first such legislation that defined non-discriminatory admission criteria; rather than racial criteria, admission was based on qualifications, skills, merits and family ties to New Zealand. In 1991, this was further modified by introducing a points-based system for selecting migrants. Bedford (2005) perceives the policy review in 1986 as a watershed for New Zealand demography; it created the open environment necessary for the globalization of New Zealand’s international migration system. The gradual removal of restrictions and the opening up of
New Zealand for immigration from various source-countries led to an increase in non-European immigration from countries in Africa, Asia and the Middle East and formed the basis of New Zealand’s multicultural appearance today (Bedford, Callister & Didham, 2010b).

While the period between 1986 and 1995 is commonly viewed as a decade of optimism “about immigration per se promoting economic growth and the development of a more diverse, multicultural society” (Bedford, 2005, 131), the following years are characterised by a period of reflection on the problems of integrating migrants. With the introduction of the points system, business migration schemes sought to attract foreign capital, especially from Asian countries. In general, the expectations among Asian immigrants, including a new generation of Chinese, that they would find work quickly, were not met; instead, they experienced discrimination and criticism for maintaining relationships with their countries of origin (Ip, 2003). In the lead up to the 1996 election, the ‘problem’ of immigration, i.e., both the numbers and the validity of the points system, led to heated public debates. (Spoonley & Trlin, 2004; Trlin, Henderson & Pernice, 1998).

Within the points system, once a certain score was reached, an automatic pass was assured, thus making it challenging to regulate the number of immigrants approved. In the second half of the 1990s, a regional financial crisis led to decreased Asian immigration; this resulted in government initiatives focusing on mitigating unemployment among new immigrants instead of lowering the number of immigrants.

In 1997, a new strategy was devised: the establishment of annual immigration targets (Bedford, 2005). In the following six years, these were combined with further major changes in immigration policies. The overall goal was to tailor the points system to changing skills demands in the labour market (Bedford, 2005). A subsequent increase in Asian immigration prompted renewed anti-immigration rhetoric and discriminatory labour market behaviour.
In 2003, the points system was amended to define a two-part selection process with a minimum number of points necessary, in the first part, to register an expression of interest to immigrate. Initially, applicants from the United Kingdom were the majority of those meeting or exceeding the threshold, one unobtainable by numerous Chinese applicants (Bedford, Ho & Bedford, 2010a). Subsequently, the threshold was lowered in the following years and led to a more diversified set of immigrants; the overall aim focused on the careful selection of skilled migrants who either had a job offer or were likely to find employment while admitted temporarily to mitigate shortages in the labour market. The Immigration Act 2009 further fostered these ideals, but also reflected an increase in temporary immigration for tertiary study and employment, which Bedford et al. (2010a) identify as one of the defining trends in the current decade.

According to surveys undertaken by Paul Spoonley and Philip Gendall (2009, 155), a “more ‘mature’ and liberal stance in public attitudes” is evolving, with an increased recognition of the value of immigrants for New Zealand’s economy in filling shortages. Counter-intuitively, younger people tend to be less accepting of immigration than older people; however, researchers offer no conclusive explanation for these attitudes. In general, tertiary-educated respondents held more liberal views towards immigration. In one case, ethnicity did account for differences in attitude: Māori generally endorsed immigration less frequently than non-Māori. Spoonley and Gendall attribute this to Māori commitment to a bicultural New Zealand and recognition of their vulnerability in competition with immigrants for employment (Spoonley & Gendall, 2009, 159).

Immigration legislation not only informs museum exhibitions on migration, it can also be the reason for an exhibition’s existence. As we will see, New Zealand’s highly restrictive past immigration policies and continuing issues with discrimination and acceptance of immigrants are reflected in a number of the exhibitions that are the focus of this study.
New Zealand has a long history of humanitarian engagement in the acceptance of certain refugees. Danes fleeing the German occupation in the 1870s, Jews escaping persecution in Tsarist Russia in the 1880s and French Huguenots fleeing from religious persecution in the 1890s are examples of early forced immigration to New Zealand. However, these individuals were not recognised as part of a defined New Zealand refugee program, the absence of which created difficulties for another largely Jewish group of refugees fleeing Nazism in advance of the Second World War. Because New Zealand did not have a quota for refugees and with its restrictive policies, many Jewish refugees were denied entry (Beaglehole, 1998). Nevertheless, approximately 900 refugees from Germany and Austria and about 200 from Central and Eastern Europe were admitted. New Zealand historian, Ann Beaglehole (1998) demonstrated that these refugees experienced both welcoming and outright hostile attitudes from New Zealanders. During the war, they were looked upon with suspicion; however, they were in many cases still able to prosper and to create a new life for themselves far away from a precarious situation in Europe.  

Only with a group of Polish refugees arriving in New Zealand in 1944 was a formal resettlement program established (Ducat, Mealing, & Sawicka, 1992). In the 1970s and 1980s, refugees from Vietnam and Kampuchea (Cambodia between 1975-79) followed and in the 1990s from the Middle-East, Yugoslavia and the African continent (Binzegger, 1980; Bedford, 2005). Today, New Zealand is one of the few countries which offers resettlement for refugees under a formal Quota Refugee Program. Under the auspices of the United Nations, a small number of offshore refugees are selected and

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11 James Bade (2005) offers a general overview and biographies of key Jewish refugees accounting for both discrimination and successful establishment. Wattie (2005) provides an account of the infamous case against Professor George von Zedlitz, not himself a refugee, but dismissed from his position due to the widespread anti-German hysteria.
resettled in one of the participating countries annually. In most of the cases, quota refugees enter New Zealand under the Women-at-Risk, Medical/Disabled or the UNHCR Priority Protection subcategories (Department of Labour, 2009b, 3).

The quota program was established in 1987 by the New Zealand government and applicants must be recognised as refugees under the UNHCR's mandate. In recent years, the annual resettlement quota of 750 places (plus or minus 10 percent) has not changed. In the period from 1999 to 2008, 7,843 people were approved for residence in New Zealand through the program (Department of Labour, 2009b, 4ff.).

Regarding nationality, the most prominent groups of refugees came from Afghanistan, Iraq and Myanmar (Department of Labour, 2009b, 8).

According to research, issues which arise after arrival in New Zealand, such as discrimination and social exclusion, are major problems among refugee communities. Butcher, Spoonley & Trlin (2006) give an instructive (if limited) account of social exclusion of and discrimination towards migrants and refugees in New Zealand. The researchers argue that refugees are often seen as a ‘problem’ and that political campaigns often seek to attract voters with platforms aimed at the reduction of the permissible number of refugees. Focus group participants reported discrimination in employment, access to goods, education and housing. Discrimination against refugees was experienced most particularly in the last two categories. Cultural insensitivity in schools caused conflicts in the educational sector for refugee youth. In the housing sector, discrimination seemed to be connected to a lack of language proficiency. Although not a major issue identified by the researchers, neighbourhood or community

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12 On an annual basis, the cabinet reviews the places available to migrants. Places are allocated to three different streams: 60 percent of the places have to be filled by migrants under the Skilled and Business Stream; 30 percent must be used for family reunification under the Family Streams; and 10 percent are allotted to international commitments and humanitarian purposes under the International / Humanitarian Stream. The refugee quota program falls under the latter stream. This stream also includes the Refugee Family Support Category, the Samoan Quota, the Pacific Access Category, ministerial exceptions to policy and other miscellaneous policies. For further details and extensive tables regarding composition of quota refugees see Department of Labour (2006, 2009b)
discrimination was based typically on misunderstandings of the background and situation of refugees.

A 2002 New Zealand Department of Labour report, 'Refugee Voices', implies that discrimination against refugees was seen as a minor occurrence in 2002. Only 14 percent of a total of 207 participants in a survey reported that they felt discriminated against (Department of Labour, 2002, 108). However, a recent report by Sobrun-Maharaj, Tse, Hoque and Rossen (2008) suggests that key informants from agencies and service providers in New Zealand feel that most refugee youth do not feel socially included or accepted. This could be caused by discrimination, non-acceptance, racism, intergenerational conflict, identity conflicts, lack of proficiency in English and other related issues. The most recent race relations report of the New Zealand Human Rights commission (2014) suggests that one in ten New Zealanders (including recent immigrants) experienced discrimination in the course of one year, with racial discrimination being the most common form of unlawful discrimination reported.\(^{13}\) Most reported incidents referred to employment settings (racist bullying and harassment); however, public racial disharmony (e.g., name-calling, bullying and assault), government activity and access to education and goods were also named as common areas where discrimination was experienced.

Exclusion, understood as social alienation or disaffiliation, wherein the individual is unable to effectively engage in functional relationships within a community and society in general, is regarded by Chile (2005) as a major barrier to the development of a feeling of citizenship among refugees. According to Chile, further exclusion may result from a lack of language skill, which may limit employment prospects and participation in democratic processes. Such exclusion may be responsible for an ongoing feeling of being ‘displaced’, a self-induced perception, which, unlike the condition of being a

\(^{13}\) 496 racial discrimination reports were received in 2013. Taking into account that only severe cases are submitted, the number of unreported cases is likely to be higher.
‘migrant’, has no termination point; such perception only ends when the individual no longer identifies as a displaced person and develops a feeling of ‘belonging’. In this advanced stage, the individual feels successfully settled in the host society and participates in social life, making the once foreign environment a new ‘home’ (Bakewell, 2011).

This brief outline of problems regarding the inclusion of refugees in community processes leads to the following questions: can a museum exhibition provide a feeling of participation and inclusion in a society to refugees? For museum professionals, these questions also apply to recent non-refugee immigrants who may experience similar feelings of ‘displacement’ if they are faced with exclusion.

2.7 Museums, Migrants and Refugees

Arguably, refugees do not fit into the category of migration for museum exhibition purposes: unlike immigrants, they cannot choose the country to which they are sent and in which they must settle. Furthermore, the terms ‘refugee’ and ‘migrant’ have different political implications. In some countries, ‘asylum seekers’ is a politically explosive term. While a skilled migrant might be welcome, refugees tend to be viewed with suspicion.14

Even though the role of the museum in addressing overarching social problems must not be overestimated, an exhibition which enables refugee participation may contribute to the development of feelings of inclusion and identity as a citizen. Such an exhibition also represents refugee experiences to the general public and thus fosters

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14 Jones (2010, xiii ff.) points out that the global image of asylum seekers held by mass media and the public at large is rather negative and biased. Further, asylum seekers, refugees, migrants and foreigners tend to get intermingled. See also the Information Centre about Asylum and Refugees report (2004, 35) about the impact of media images of refugees and asylum seekers, which illustrates — in this case using London as an example — that the language used by media to refer to both groups bears a negative connotation.
understanding and tolerance. As Jones (2010, xvii ff.) puts it, this may “shift debate away from a concentration on subtraction and encourage a focus on what refugees can add, and provide the means and skills which we can accommodate and relate to difference” (Jones, 2010, xxiv). The museum would then be — to use Peter Sloterdijk’s (1989, 56ff.) words — an institution of Xenology [Institution der Xenologie], a place where one can learn about ‘others’ and alterity in a constructive way. Jones (2010, xxiv) stresses the importance of new media, as they enable the museum visitor to participate in innovative ways, but they also enable refugee communities to actively participate and work with curators in the exhibition development process. It is now possible to create digital media content with relative ease, which offers new forms of expression for refugees: once-familiar but now lost objects can be represented. Given the generally chaotic circumstances for those seeking refuge or asylum, the material culture of this group is in general restricted to a few personal items. The Mixing Room at Te Papa is an excellent example of an initiative to offer refugees a forum in which to represent themselves (see 4.4).

Voluntary migrants, while in most cases not sharing the traumatic experiences which refugees associate with their journeys, are nevertheless prone to experiencing ‘displacement’, depression, exclusion and discrimination; these negative outcomes may be dependent on the attitudes in the new country, personal characteristics (such as reliance on close social networks or strong family ties to the country of origin), and the overall economic situation after their arrival. The inclusive potential of museums can also embrace new immigrants to a country by simply acknowledging their existence and providing a platform for social networking and participation. Historical narratives can also provide a point of contact in representing a long-standing reciprocal relationship between an ethnic community and the new country. In scrutinising past injustices, museums can also contribute to reconciliation and mutual understanding. Naturally such an outcome
represents an ideal, as concessions are often necessary, in view of the political environment and predominant narratives.  

2.8 Theories of Migration and Their Implementation in Exhibitions

In recent decades, the study of migration has become an increasingly professionalised field, one based on theories that aim to explain global as well as regional migration processes. Migration is now recognised as a recurring phenomenon throughout all human history (see Manning, 2013). However, the study of migration movements serves a purpose apart from scholarly research. Some developed countries aim to control migration streams through policies which enrich them by attracting well-educated or wealthy immigrants or, in peripheral regions, to attract low-cost industrial labour (Li, 2008), both of which may be facilitated through migration research.

The ethics of immigration policies are closely connected to these considerations (see Carens, 2013). Selection criteria may be viewed as unfair, unethical or as only benefitting the wealthy, replacing former nationalistic or even racist reasons for exclusion with economic ones. When well used, the study of migration can serve to mitigate problems that might occur with entirely unregulated immigration and emigration; further, it can reveal shortcomings of policies implemented and provide an overall impression of public opinion on migration.

Migration exhibitions typically reflect aspects of migration theories. They may focus on exclusion and the reasons for it, or repress such discussion if the topic is

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15 See for instance Luke’s (2002, 4ff.) analysis of The West as America exhibition at the National Museum of American Art. The exhibition attempted to reinterpret ‘frontier images’ with special attention to often conflict rich encounters between settlers and indigenous people. The public backlash against this progressive reinterpretation was considerable, demonstrating the politics at play in any given exhibition, especially so if its narrative conflicts with popular opinion.
deemed too controversial. The Border Control Museum in El Paso, Texas (Baur, 2007) demonstrates the apparatus of exclusion, theories of border control and the concept of ‘borders’. According to Baur, the exhibition is biased; it assumes a perspective that supports the defence of a country’s borders, characterising border patrol officers as heroes and criminalising illegal immigrants. In other cases, such as the Melbourne Immigration Museum (Baur, 2009; Message, 2014), reasons for discrimination, anti-immigration attitudes and visual markers of difference are portrayed, illustrating various social theories of exclusion from a critical perspective. A final example that applies to many museums that focus on migration is a representation of the reasons for emigrating, according to migration theory. In many cases, they contrast a macro perspective with individual accounts and motivations, attempting to explain migration movements on several levels backed by historical data and oral history. The goal might not be to consciously represent the various theories as to why people move, but nevertheless they inform these often personalised accounts (see also 4.4.2).

In all cases, the danger of adopting an inappropriately high degree of abstraction to fit a theory, or of over-selective procedures in choosing evidence to support it, can lead to over-simplifying complex motivations and causes and offering superficially attractive, if incomplete, narratives of migration (Portes, 1997). Thus, it is essential to examine the theories that are manifest in such exhibitions and to determine whether the exhibits enrich, conceal or critique these theories.  

16 The National Museum of Australia attempted such a critique of commonly held ideas of immigration history in its opening exhibition Horizons with the aim to be a social agent and a place for debate, where questions of diversity and national identity could be discussed (Dean & Rider, 2005, 43). In turn, it was accused of a left-wing bias, of being too ‘politically correct’, and of denigrating British immigrants (Dean & Rider, 2005, 38; 40). This prompted a review of the museum, with one of the major recommendations being that the museum “must be careful to avoid cultural or political bias in its exhibitions, by selecting and presenting stories in a balanced manner, even if this balance may only, in some instances, be achieved at a broader, gallery-wide level” (Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts, 2003, 37). As Attwood (2015, 76-79) shows, none of this has occurred in the manner conservatives hoped. Instead, difficult histories and indigenous matters became a main focus of the museum’s exhibitions.
I turn now to the question of whether museums in New Zealand are transforming established strategies of representation into reflexive ones, mirroring societal transformations in the country as a whole. First, I will elaborate on the methodology used to access museums and their exhibitions, followed by in-depth analyses of two museums with national significance and four museums of regional importance.
III. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Curators, Visitors, Objects, Affect — Preliminary Considerations

In the beginning of any study based on analysing exhibitions and using them as primary sources for research, the question of how potential meanings of an exhibition will be accessed and analysed must be addressed (see Baur, 2010a). I perceive the museum as a social space, a place where visitors interact with each other, with objects and with staff. This might be through curated object arrangements that turn visitors into performers and spark conversation, or through guided tours, presentations or visitor hosts that provide a basis for discussion or interaction. Hächler (2015, 356) calls the means by which this can be achieved ‘social scenography’, the “creation of performative stages by means of engineered environments. The spaces thus created elicit in the visitor-actors by means of actions a better perception of their own cultural praxis or, at any rate, of their cultural praxis at a given moment”. This conceptual framework implies that an approach that covers only secondary literature and archival documents is not sufficient. Such an approach alone could not account for these interactions, nor would it be able to assess the shapes affective exhibition design assumes and its effects on visitors. Instead, to investigate these interactions, an analysis of the actual exhibitions, their creators, their surrounding environments and their visitors is imperative. In the framework of this thesis, I employ a mixture of different methodologies to establish a theoretical framework for examining the different aspects of the selected museums and their displays. These aspects can be divided into the actual exhibitions, both permanent
and temporary; the museum’s history; the degree to which the museums are embedded in political, geographical and cultural contexts, such as contexts of remembrance and memory production; and visitor experience.

A case study approach appears to be the most appropriate for the analysis of the different museums and their exhibitions, given that each is a separate entity (thematically, organisationally and geographically). A maximum variation sampling strategy has been followed in selecting the different institutions to be studied (Patton, 2002). This strategy aims to maximise the differences between samples and to make the overall sample as heterogeneous as possible. This follows the logic that “any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value capturing the core experiences and central, shared dimensions of a setting or phenomenon” (Patton, 2002, 235). Diversity and variety of samples is assured through choosing institutions differing in size, geographical location, visitor numbers, thematic orientation, age of institution and exhibitions, local or national focus, and staff size as well as staff qualifications (see 1.4). Data collection and analysis using maximum variation sampling can be expected to yield two kinds of findings. Firstly, given the restriction to a small sample of diverse cases, high-quality, detailed descriptions of each case can be created, which are of use in documenting uniqueness, as opposed to being representative. Secondly, the significance of any patterns that are shared across cases can be inferred from the heterogeneity of the samples (Patton, 2002, 235).

The sample museum exhibitions will be used as primary sources to develop arguments in relation to concepts in the secondary literature. Mieke Bal (1996, 30ff.) states that every exhibition can be seen as an attempt at communication. The curators

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17 Whereas permanent exhibitions are generally based on the museum’s collection, temporary exhibitions frequently rely on loan collections. Furthermore, a temporary exhibition is more likely to have an experimental character, as it does not demand a long-term commitment. Generally speaking, permanent exhibitions have to offer an adequate, sustainable, enduring concept and are therefore more conventional.
and designers endeavour to disseminate ideas about a topic to the intended audience through the use of objects and explanatory texts, video clips, media stations and so on. Therefore the analysis of an exhibition should — apart from other aspects — take into account the curator’s intentions, which can be accessed by conducting interviews and by analysing minutes and memoranda in the museums’ archives. These intentions are influenced by personal values and character, but also museological trends, political considerations and so on. However, the intentions of the curators and their manifestation in the exhibition’s design do not imply that the objects themselves are only tools to disseminate content without an independent innate potential for communication.\(^\text{18}\) Nor is the visitor merely an empty shell which receives the ideas and intentions of the curators without alteration. The analysis must therefore take into account that the meaning of an exhibition is not fixed but is individually produced in the process of visiting it (Hanak-Lettner, 2011; Heumann Gurian, 1999).

In addition, visitors and curators are themselves representative of a specific society and a specific culture, differentiated in terms of gender, race, religion, ethnicity and socio-economic status (Mastai, 2007; Noschka-Roos, 2003; Falk, 2009), and this affects the creation and reception of exhibits. The meanings of exhibits may likewise change in different time periods. Given that their meaning and reception is ever-changing, how then can we assess and analyse the meanings of an exhibition and use them as a primary source to prove or disprove assumptions or to answer a research question? Recent publications, which aim to provide tools for assessing exhibitions, reveal a tendency towards elaborate models, i.e., the analysis of the spatial arrangement of exhibitions based on the theories of Michel de Certeau (1984) or semiotic approaches to the interpretation of object arrangements based on the theories of Ferdinand de Saussure and Roland Barthes (Muttenthaler & Wonisch, 2006; Scholze, 2004; Ravelli, 2009).

\(^{18}\) Dudley (2015) proposes to consider the agency of objects and imagine the object’s point of view and its effects on visitors. This can be a useful tool to assess the materiality of objects and to pronounce it through conscious design decisions (see also 6.6.1.4).
2006; van Leeuwen, 2005). ‘Affect’, ‘emotion’ and emotion work in the museum are a focus of recent scholarship (Bennet, 2005; Munro, 2014; Schorch, 2014; Witcomb, 2015). This marks an ‘affective turn’ in museum studies, overcoming a bias that regarded ‘emotion’ in the museum context with suspicion and as undesirable, not accounting for the fact that museums and their exhibitions always were affective experiences (Watson, 2015, 287-288). These concepts are increasingly central to understanding how visitors engage with an exhibition, but are also important in analysing how curators and staff design an affective exhibition experience.

The impact of these studies and their enriching value for museum studies as a discipline should not be underestimated. They provide tools for the analysis of different aspects of the museum, be it the way a story is told in the context of an exhibition, the way the space in which the exhibition is located (including its design) influences and creates its narrative, or the way objects unfold the meanings in which they are entangled through combination with other objects (labels, sound, smell, taste etc.).

What these methodologies provide is a vocabulary through which the interpretation and description of associations, meanings, subliminal messages, etc., are made comprehensible for an interpretative community. In this thesis, I will therefore refer to these theories and methodologies if they enhance clarity. But the methodology of close reading (Geertz, 1993) applied to a museum context is the primary methodology I employ in this thesis, refined by means of the mentioned theories (see below).

Another remarkable quality of current related publications is their singular focus on the actual exhibitions, without consideration of visitor responses or curatorial intentions. Joachim Baur (2009, 77) encountered institutional barriers at the Ellis Island Immigration Museum, which only allow museum staff to conduct visitor surveys or external organisations that are authorised by the museum. Baur assumes that the other two institutions he analysed would have similar regulations. He also criticized the emphasis of current visitor research on quantitative rather than qualitative research and pointed out methodological problems. For current approaches

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arrangement. Curatorial intentions and decisions about how objects will be presented are a significant part of an exhibition. And, most significantly, visitors themselves produce sense in visiting it and in experiencing the three-dimensional exhibition space. Depending on the viewer’s ‘pre-knowledge’, the emotional mindframe during her/his visit, her/his social, ethnic, religious and racial background, age, motivation for the visit and gender, as well as whether they are in a group or alone, the exhibition will never be experienced in the same way by two visitors. Each produces her/his sense, while the ideas of the curator on how an exhibition could or even should be received can only be a guideline with no actual security that any of the potential messages will be received or understood by the visitor.

The analysis of an exhibition is hence incomplete if the focus lies solely on one or two of the constituent parts. Given the neglect of the visitor in current research regarding the representation of migration in museums, the melange of methodologies used in this thesis explicitly encompasses visitor research, as well as interviews with museum staff, archival documentation vis-à-vis curatorial intent and the close reading of specific exhibitions.

Each case study — one museum and a series of relevant exhibitions — is therefore based upon a dataset consisting of interviews, survey interpretations and documentation regarding the exhibitions (secondary texts, archival resources, photographs of the exhibition space, text labels etc.), making triangulation of sources possible, which thus enhances their credibility and validity (Patton, 2002, 555ff.). I assume further that only a mixture of methodologies will lead to a differentiated picture of the way immigration is portrayed and represented in New Zealand museums.

Nevertheless I acknowledge that the picture may never be complete or holistic. It is only one way of perceiving the museum: a specific interpretation of a museum to visitor research see Hooper-Greenhill (2006), Mastai (2007), Noschka-Roos (2003), Davidson (2015) and Stylianou-Lamberta (2010).
representation at a particular time. These general comments are elaborated in the following sections.

### 3.2 Multimodal Analysis

To analyse an exhibition, its constituent parts must be dissected; thus one first needs a system to describe said components, and secondly the tools to scrutinize their potential meanings. Ravelli perceives exhibitions as three-dimensional ‘texts’: “an exhibition, created through an organization of exhibits and spaces, a selection and construction of content, and a construal of role relations, is a meaningful text: it is a space that visitors move through, and a space which they ‘read’” (Ravelli, 2006, 123). Perceiving exhibitions as ‘texts’ allows one to transfer methodologies used in language and literature studies to three-dimensional spaces, images and even smells or light conditions. Following this logic further, all the qualities of an exhibition that we can perceive constitute the ‘text’ of the exhibition, one that is ‘read’ individually by the visitor. It is thus important to see exhibitions as multi-modal phenomena. Multimodality “describes approaches that understand communication and representation to be more than about language, and which attend to the full range of communicational forms people use — image, gesture, gaze, posture, and so on — and the relationships between [sic] them” (Jewitt, 2009, 14). This concept can be easily applied to exhibitions, which communicate not only through manifestations of language in the form of texts, but also use other modes of communication — objects, sounds, smells, textures, architecture, (moving) images, three-dimensional arrangements, etc. There are then four components beyond the objects themselves which define any exhibition and which constitute the exhibition ‘text’: its three-dimensional qualities, i.e., the connections and interactions of architectural features as well as the exhibits or object arrangements; its textual qualities, i.e., labels, headings and subheadings; its audio-visual qualities or its representational forms, such as photographs and the use of sound or video clips; and finally, any olfactory
qualities that might be inherent in the exhibition building or introduced as conscious
elements of an exhibition or museum design.

How can we assess those different components and 'read' the exhibition 'text'? Jana Scholze (2004, 26ff.) developed a system of semiotic interpretation of museum exhibitions. She perceives museum objects as signs and the presentation in the context of an exhibition as a conglomerate of encoded sign relations. She assumes that exhibitions have three kinds of communication: denotation, which refers to the individual object; the connotation, which alludes to room and object arrangements; and metacommunication, which refers to the overall context of the representation:

Every museum object first provides information about one ... or more possible pre-
museum functions, independent of the fact that this function was the practical use of
the object. In the context of an arrangement of objects, the spatial situation and the
subject of the exhibition, intended contents of the exhibition and potential associative
meanings are mediated. The design of the presentation gives evidence about the
intention, philosophy and ethics of the curators or the museum itself, as an institution
defined through space and time. These three kinds of communication or directions of
communication will be distinguished and referred to as denotation, connotation and
metacommunication (Scholze, 2004, 30, Trans.: Author).

In her study she uses this semiotic vocabulary to describe and interpret the
different layers of meanings of museum displays.20 While denotation engenders only the
pre-museum function (presumed or factual) of an object, connotation includes the three-
dimensional space an exhibition creates. As Jewitt and Oyama (2001, 147ff.) point out,
all three-dimensional spaces are ‘framed’. Put simply, this implies that an exhibition is
framed through architectural characteristics as well as design decisions. A wall obviously
separates one section from another, but also the choice of colours, of lighting and other
factors can separate a section or room from another or — on the contrary — make them
appear connected. As self-evident as these connections and separations seem, they are
important factors in influencing visitor flows, interactions of visitors with specific sections
of exhibitions and the atmosphere of an exhibition in general.

20 See Roswitha Muttenthaler and Regina Wonisch (2006) and Heike Buschmann (2010) for
applications and variations of Scholze's approach.
The choice between a design that features an open exhibition space with randomly placed exhibits and, on the other hand, one with a narrow corridor leading from one section to another without the possibility of choice, has a major influence on the meaning that the objects suggest and in itself communicates meaning. An open design may signify that the institution regards visitors as ‘explorers’, and that the different sections of the exhibition are equally important; however, it might also be confusing without guidance. Sequential design, on the other hand, naturally implies a sequence of events, which can produce a hierarchy between events, and is likely to influence the way visitors perceive the succession of — for instance — historical events.

While Scholze’s model of three interlaced forms of communication provides a way to categorize interpretations, it is also necessary to create a register of potential affordances\textsuperscript{21} of objects in a museum context. Such a register can only claim validity in a specific culture and time. If, for example, the meanings or connotations of the colour ‘red’ are analysed, the findings will be different in a Western-European context when compared with an Asian context. A register created for migration exhibitions in New Zealand is especially valid in New Zealand museums, but can also apply in other contexts that share similar cultural aspects. While in the past New Zealand was predominantly influenced by ‘western’ contexts, this has changed rapidly in the recent decades through immigration, globalisation and the Māori rights movements. Tangata whenua experienced a renaissance of their culture and are represented with increasing frequency in museum advisory groups that influence the shape of exhibitions and on the staffs of some of the larger institutions. Asian immigration increased significantly after discriminatory and restrictive policies were replaced by policies that are not based on ethnicity. Especially in metropolitan contexts, Asian culture is highly influential and

\textsuperscript{21} The term ‘affordance’ was coined by psychologist Gibson (1979) and engenders “the potential uses of a given object, stemming from the perceivable properties of the object” (van Leeuwen, 2005, 273). Perception is, however, selective; thus different perceivers will recognize different affordances. Yet, those remaining unnoticed still exist objectively. They are latent in the object and able to be discovered by another perceiver (van Leeuwen, 2005, 4).
visible. This is also true for Indian, Pacific Islander and other ethnic communities. Individually and collectively, they have a strong impact on New Zealand’s contemporary culture and community exhibitions. Thus a register of affordances has to take the globalisation of meanings into account. A register can be created by using existing studies which focus on migration exhibitions (Baur, 2009), or provide a general register for visual resources (van Leeuwen, 2001) within a museum context (Stenglin, 2004). Further discourse analysis of exhibits can unravel potential meanings. This may reveal political, social and cultural contexts in which a given exhibition or museum is embedded and their impact on the presentation (van Leeuwen, 2005, 93ff.) Finally, interviews with museum staff and visitors can open up additional meanings. Based on such a register, including Scholze’s categories and van Leeuwen’s model of analysing space, it is possible to create a ‘thick description’ of exhibitions.

The methodology of thick description was first developed by Clifford Geertz for ethnographic field research (Geertz, 1993). Muttenthaler and Wonisch (2006, 46ff.) associate not only a description of physical qualities of the exhibitions with Geertz’ terminology, but also the depiction of cultural contexts and interpretative frameworks, in which every exhibition is embedded. When focusing on a specific example, the value of a thick description lies in its multivalence rather than its universality. Therefore, the accuracy of the individual descriptions is crucial to reveal the layers of meaning, and an abstraction of the subjects of the study or the usage of formalized models should be avoided:

By recognising, describing and contextualizing the different layers of an exhibition, we always reconfigure it to new pictures and narratives. That is the only way meanings can become apparent, which were not recognisable at first glance. Only with ongoing reinterpretations and highlighting of subliminal meanings as further readings, a reconstructive-thin description obtains a specific constructive thickness (Muttenthaler and Wonisch, 2006, 51; Trans.: Author).

A ‘thick description’ of an exhibition, that only takes into account the physical qualities of exhibition design, is limited. As described above, visitor interaction with the
exhibition space is what creates individual meaning. It is thus necessary to take into account the impact ‘affect’, ‘emotion’ and individual memory\textsuperscript{22} have on visitor experience. We also have to ask to what end affective exhibition design is used by museums, given its potential to influence the emotional state of visitors during a visit, as well as connected ethical considerations.

### 3.3 ‘Affect’, ‘Emotion’, Memory and the Museum – Towards a Pedagogy of Feeling

As Watson (2015) argues, ‘emotion’ and ‘reason’ are not mutually exclusive; rather, we can “experience emotion through reason, without necessarily being aware of the emotional influence on our apparently dispassionate thoughts” (Watson, 2015, 284). Specific emotional responses can be a product of our cultural background or are learned, the assumption being that so called ‘emotional styles’ exist and existed during different periods of time and at different places (Watson, 2015, 284-285). It follows that we can identify specific ‘emotional environments’ that may influence our emotional response. Emotions are thus time- and situation-specific. History museums that exhibit the immigration history of a community also exhibit individual and collective memories of this community, or in the case of an institution of national significance, the memories of a multitude of communities. These are constructed emotionally, especially so if the memories are traumatic, contested or difficult. It is now commonly accepted that memory is not a truthful recollection of facts, but rather that

[m]emories are not replicas or documentaries of events; they are interpretations. Human memory is highly constructed, and individuals' sense of self and identity results from narrative constructions integrating past, present, and future. Memory is tightly connected with emotions, which lead us to create memories of things not actually experienced, reshape existing memories, and introduce other inaccuracies

\textsuperscript{22} Cattell & Climo (2002, 23) see individual memory as “a process, that it is constructed and reconstructed by the dialectics of remembering and forgetting, shaped by semantic and interpretive frames, and subject to a panoply of distortions that make accuracy and truth major issues.”
or distortions through blocking, bias, and other ‘sins’ of memory (Cattell & Climo, 2002, 13).

It does not come as a surprise that depending on the representation of these memories, community members can accept or oppose a version of history, which leads to conflicts and turns the museum into a contested space (see 7.3). According to Watson (2015, 289), this focus on difficult histories, along with a move away from political history to individual biographies including personal testimony and stories of everyday life, led to an ‘affective turn’. This is especially the case if we consider immigration exhibitions. As mentioned above (see 2.3), such exhibitions are especially prone to revealing difficult or traumatic histories and memories (for instance, exhibitions on the refugee experience), and often feature personal testimonies in the form of audiovisual media with the aim of establishing a connection between visitor and immigrant. This, in turn, often inspires empathy.

For Amy Coplan (2011, 6), the three essential features of empathy are ‘affective matching’, ‘other-oriented perspective taking’, and ‘self-other differentiation’. For Coplan, affective matching only occurs if “an observer’s affective states are qualitatively identical to a target’s, though they may vary in degree” (Coplan, 2012, 6). Coplan’s definition is narrow, as often affective congruence, that is, qualitative similarity of an emotion, can be seen as a sufficient condition for the affective component of empathy. For instance, if a target experiences fear, but the observer anger, this would not constitute affective matching for Coplan. Instead, for her, affective matching must come through ‘other-oriented perspective taking’ (Coplan, 2012, 7). Perspective-taking is defined as “an imaginative process through which one constructs another person’s subjective experience by simulating the experience of being in the other’s situation” (Coplan, 2012, 9). She differentiates between self- and other-oriented perspective-taking, implying that either one imagines being in somebody else’s situation or imagines how someone else, the ‘other’, would feel in a situation (Coplan, 2012, 10-11). The idea with the latter is that one attempts to simulate the target’s experiences as though one would be the target, in
effect avoiding “false consensus effects, personal distress, and prediction errors based on egocentric biases” (Coplan, 2012, 15). It follows that it requires a higher degree of mental agility to perform other-oriented perspective taking, and what is commonly referred to as ‘empathy’ is often based on self-oriented perspective taking alone, leading to ‘pseudo empathy’ in Coplan’s sense. The third component, a clear self-other differentiation, is often given, but in some cases the observer “introjects the other’s desires, feelings, and thoughts, substituting them for his own” (Coplan, 2012, 15).

For immigration exhibitions that ask visitors to identify with individuals, but do not encourage other-oriented perspective taking, ‘true empathy’ in Coplan’s sense cannot be achieved. However, this is not a requirement for a ‘Pedagogy of Feeling’ as proposed by Witcomb (see below), as here the focus lies on changing visitor’s perceptions instead of transforming them into immigrants. The goal of exhibitions that embrace this pedagogy is not to recreate the exact emotional state that immigrants experienced in visitors, but to provide a self-reflective space that can lead to a change of perception and can be a motivator for action. Jill Bennett (2005, 7) argues that sensation is not an end in itself, but a trigger for thought. Affect or emotion is a more effective trigger for profound thought than rational inquiry. This is based on the way affective experiences grasp us and force us to engage involuntarily. They force us to look, to interpret and to think. However, if traumatic memories are concerned, this comes with the danger of identification with the victim to the point of becoming a surrogate victim. To avoid this, LaCapra (2001, 78) proposes the concept of ‘empathic unsettlement’, that is, an aesthetic experience of feeling for another and at the same time becoming aware of a distinction between the ‘self’ and the experience of the ‘other’. However, here we have to ask if ‘feelings’ can be

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23 Mariane Hirsch’s concept of ‘postmemory’ can be seen as a case where a clear self-other orientation is not present. Postmemory “describes the relationship that the generation after those who witnessed cultural or collective trauma bears to the experiences of those who came before, experiences that they ‘remember’ only by means of the stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to seem to constitute memories in their own right. Postmemory’s connection to the past is thus not actually mediated by recall but by imaginative investment, projection, and creation” (Hirsch, 2008, 106-107).
remembered, or are only present in the very moment one experiences them. If we remember ‘feelings’, they turn into representations. They can be recalled when confronted with a situation that could produce such sensations, thus “affect, properly conjured up, produces a real-time somatic experience, no longer framed as representation” (Bennett, 2005, 23). It could thus be argued that affective exhibition design attempts to overcome simple representation. If traditional modes of display are locked in representational modes, ‘affect’ and ‘emotion’ could be used to overcome this, allowing the depiction of traumatic experiences that often resist representation. Highly affective exhibition design is thus often encountered in cases where representational forms alone are unable to depict traumatic and difficult memories, such as exhibitions that focus on the experience of war, genocide or forced migration.

Arnold-de Simine’s (2013) treatise on the relationship of memory, trauma and nostalgia within the museum discusses this affective form of visitor engagement and its consequences for the museum landscape at large. The premise is that through highly emotional and affective exhibition experiences visitors are prompted to adopt memories of events as ‘prosthetic memories’, a term Landsberg (2004, 2) coined in his critical assessment of American remembrance, including commemoration of immigration. This new form of public cultural memory emerges at the interface between a person and a historical narrative about the past, at an experiential site such as a movie theater or museum. In this moment of contact, an experience occurs through which the person sutures himself or herself into a larger history, … the person does not simply apprehend a historical narrative but takes on a more personal, deeply felt memory of a past event through which he or she did not live. The resulting prosthetic memory has the ability to shape that person’s subjectivity and politics (Landsberg, 2004, 2).

While not without its critics,24 Landsberg’s concept of prosthetic memories can be connected to Andrea Witcomb’s (2015) concept of a ‘Pedagogy of Feeling’. “Its characteristic … is not the representation of plurality but the ‘enactment’ … of an ethics

that promotes empathy rather than simply tolerance toward difference and which is, as a consequence, interested in promoting both dialogue and political responsibility” (Witcomb, 2015, 327). It would thus not be enough only to embrace the other and difference, leading to superficial acceptance or tolerance; instead, the museum’s function in our contemporary society would be to prompt visitors to become responsible citizens that leave the museum with a mindset to make an active attempt to right wrongs. It would be crucial for an exhibition to conjure empathy in visitors via its design and potentially in creating occasions where ‘prosthetic’ memories are elicited, however, only to a degree to avoid the pitfalls mentioned above.

For Witcomb (2015, 325), a ‘Pedagogy of Feeling’ “involves a new set of relations between self and other in ways that go beyond questions of access and representation and in which vision is no longer separated from the other senses and is in fact reliant on them to fulfill its full function”. Witcomb identifies ‘vision’ as the predominant sense visitors were encouraged to use to perceive turn of the 19th century typological museum exhibitions, many embodying an evolutionary narrative from uncivilised to civilised (see Bennett, 1995, 96). In many contemporary exhibitions, all senses are addressed, often with the goal of emotionally engaging visitors. The new paradigm would thus be to turn visitors into responsible citizens. I would agree with Witcomb that museums do show a tendency to fully embrace this Pedagogy of Feeling, but it remains to be seen if this is a conscious desire to change visitors for the better (according to current ideas of preferable behaviour) or rather a means to simply make an exhibition more appealing, without an overarching agenda. If a heavy handed approach is used, this could also be perceived by visitors as propaganda or the dissemination of an ideology. Naturally, the museum was never free of ideologies or an apolitical space. On the contrary, it was and is a highly politicised space. Ideals of the museum as a neutral ground where reason alone reigns supreme are just that: ideals that take from the museum one of its most important functions in our society, to be a space where contemporary issues can be discussed; where ideologies clash and perceptions of the past can be negotiated. Given
the importance of migration movements and the heightened awareness for these movements globally, the museum appears to be a suitable space to discuss their historical, contemporary and future effects, but also a space where often difficult histories connected to migration can be a focus. These considerations lead to the question of how the specific environment of the museum, and immigration displays in particular, influence visitors on an emotional level. Connected to this are the questions of whether the exhibitions analysed attempt to change visitors for the ‘better’, or use affective exhibition design to depict memories that resist representation. I thus have to focus now on the collection of the interview data that will be used in the case studies to address these questions.

3.4 The Visitor — the Unknown Entity?

A plethora of publications over recent decades has attempted to understand and improve visitor experience, which in effect has led to new concepts and impulses for exhibition design. The initial attempts focused on collecting basic qualitative data, then thought to be a good basis to ‘get to know’ visitors, and to tailoring the experience according to age, class, gender, ethnicity, occupation, education and income of ‘typical’ museum visitors. However, this approach soon proved to be inadequate if relied upon exclusively. As Falk puts it: “These kinds of variables unquestionably describe some characteristics of visitors and they can be ‘objectively’ and easily measured, but what of value they tell us is another matter” (Falk 2009, 31). While demographic data can enrich any study, and could also provide valuable insight into the composition of visitors choosing to pay a visit to an immigration exhibition as a form of leisure activity, it is imperative to collect additional qualitative data to establish a complete picture.
An example is illustrative: if we know that a visitor to Te Papa’s special exhibition *The Mixing Room. Stories from young refugees in New Zealand* is 55 years old, Caucasian, a retired teacher, and considers herself to be a Kiwi, this might give us an idea about her life circumstances and national identity; however, in the end this data in isolation fails to explain why she made the trip to the museum (and this exhibition in particular) and chose it over going to a nature reserve, a zoo or on a cycling trip. Only in collecting more data about her expectations and motivations before the visit and her impressions after the visit, can we begin to understand comprehensively her individual experience and why she chose the leisure option ‘museum’. How she perceived the exhibition’s content is closely connected to these motivations, presuppositions and expectations, and will likely ultimately change over time, when some details of the museum visit blur while others remain in the visitor’s memory.

If we learn through an initial interview that this is her second visit to the exhibition, that she worked with refugees as a teacher and now intends to volunteer at schools to tutor youth from a refugee background, we learn a great deal more about her motivations, and also her assumptions. An in-depth interview may reveal that she went to the exhibition again to see if there was new content. Being particularly interested in Burma, having travelled to the region, made her especially interested in the photographs and content associated with this region, but also influenced her perception of other photographs, whose content she connected with Burmese incidents, rather than the actual depicted ones.

This short example illustrates that the motivations for visiting a museum can be varied and manifold and are ultimately based on identity. Falk (2009) differentiates between big ‘I’ identities and small ‘i’ identities. His big ‘I’ list closely follows more traditional ways of framing the different aspects of human identity, i.e., race, ethnicity, religion, national origin, gender, sexual preference and profession. In his view, the small ‘i’ identities “are more fluid or dynamic than the core aspects of identity…, most likely
context-specific or ‘situated’ and respond to the needs and realities of the specific moment and situation” (Falk, 2011, 144). This may involve, for example, being a good parent or a good friend or offering adequate surroundings for a family gathering. Falk’s crucial finding is that ‘i’ identities “appear to represent the primary visit motivations for large percentages of visitors; motivations that can and do change from visit to visit” (Falk 2011, 145). This implies that a collection of data yielding only motivational factors based on big ‘I’ identities would be insufficient, and would need to be complemented by an inquiry into the small ‘i’ identities as motivational factors. However, Falk (2011, 146) recognises the added value of collecting identity data based on big ‘I’ factors in cases where nationality and ethnicity may be an important aspect of an institution, as is the case with migration museums and exhibitions focusing on immigration or emigration experiences.

To collect motivational as well as perceptual data, quantitative (demographic) as well as qualitative methods were employed during the equivalent of a week at each institution analysed in this study (see 11.3). It is acknowledged that a random and statistically representative sample cannot be achieved by these means, nor is it possible to make generalisations from these samples to a larger population. Instead, the design of the qualitative study relies on purposeful sampling, which attempts to select information-rich cases for in-depth study. As Patton (2002, 230) cogently puts it: “Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations”.

Each day during a set timeframe I approached every visitor entering the immigration gallery or segment of the permanent exhibition dedicated to migration. If this was not possible in every case due to a high frequency of visitors, I attempted to make contact when visitors left the exhibition. Each prospective participant was asked if he or she would have time to answer four short open-ended questions (focusing on presuppositions, motivations and expectations) before she/he entered the exhibition.
These initial interviews did not normally take more than five minutes. I also collected demographic data.

After the participants completed their visit, they were (again) approached when leaving the museum or exhibition and asked if they would be willing to answer some post-visit questions. Those who agreed were first asked to talk about their experience. No other instructions were given at this point, with the intention of prompting visitors to tell a personal ‘story’ of their visit.25 Visitors were not interrupted during their report and only after they finished their narration were follow-up questions asked; these focused on opinions about different aspects of the exhibitions, experiences during the visit, and comparison between presuppositions and expectations with the actual visitor experience. Importantly, they also aimed to discover whether specific sections or themes of the exhibition were emotionally engaging; thus, the follow-up questions were designed to investigate manifestations of ‘affect’ and ‘emotion’ during a visit. The secondary interviews were not as structured as the initial interviews to allow visitors to focus on what they considered important (see 11.1). A visual associative approach was also employed. Three standardized photographs of object arrangements or design elements of a given exhibition were presented to visitors. The selection of images was based on factors such as recognition value, importance in the narration of the exhibition and overall emotive and cognitive potential. These were assessed through visitor responses, planning papers and — if applicable — evaluation documents. In the design documents of a number of exhibitions analysed, one can find detailed descriptions of potential effects of objects presented in the exhibition. These expectations can then be compared to visitor responses to the selected object arrangements. In the case of Te Papa, there are also summative evaluations available for the Passports and The Mixing Room exhibitions, which provide anecdotal evidence of visitor reactions to certain objects or

25 This narrative approach is used by Philipp Schorch (2010, 34ff.) in his study of Te Papa’s implementation of ideas and concepts of the ‘New Museology’. In his study, international visitors were interviewed using a predominantly narrative approach.
elements. Apart from stimulating more specific comments from visitors on object arrangements and their effects, this approach also aimed at collecting a register of affordances ascribed to specific objects in the exhibition.

This body of recorded data was then analysed in developing a classification of topics, e.g., ‘Atmosphere’, ‘Biculturalism’, ‘Lighting’, which were then subsequently used to access the transcriptions of interviews and to find common themes and patterns, thus making the data accessible for interpretation (Patton, 2002, 463ff.).

Museum staff members were also interviewed using a standardised set of questions, including general questions about the museum and more specific questions regarding the genesis of an exhibition (see 11.1). These interviews typically lasted one hour and covered a wide range of informants at all institutions analysed (see 12.8).

The interview information collected provided a credible basis for exhibition analysis in combination with design documents and the semiotic tools mentioned above. Data acquired through qualitative interviews is not entirely unproblematic; the effect of the interviewer on the interviewee or the effect of the interview situation on the data must be taken into consideration (Alvesson, 2011). However, it is my conviction that no other form of data acquisition would offer the same, or similar, insights. Taking into account aggregated visitor experiences allows the researcher to base assumptions, interpretations and associations not only on spatial arrangement, narrative structures and further design elements, but also on more than the researcher’s experience to achieve a better cross-section of the communication potential of an exhibition. Yet it is acknowledged that the sample size per museum cannot claim universal validity, nor can it be representative of a total society or even the group of visitors attending an exhibition in the space of a year or even a month. As Patton puts it: “The purpose of a small random sample is credibility, not representativeness. A small, purposeful random sample aims to reduce suspicion about why certain cases were selected for study, but such a
sample still does not permit statistical generalizations” (2002, 241). However, every visitor experience is worthy of consideration and study. Every experience recorded can enable us to further unravel the meanings engrained in museum exhibitions. Providing a corpus of fully representative data for all six museums analysed is beyond the scope of this thesis. While the limitations imposed by time and resources enforced a restriction of the sample size and a time constraint of the equivalent of one week for each, the overall goal of including visitor interviews in the apparatus of methodologies is considered indispensable.

I established a conceptual framework for the analysis of the six museums selected, and provided a historical and theoretical background in which I now embed the case studies, each addressing different subsidiary questions connected to the overarching thesis.
IV. MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND TE PAPA TONGAREWA — THE PROLIFERATION OF A NATIONAL MULTICULTURAL PARADIGM

Figure 1: Entrance to the permanent exhibition Passports. Te Papa 2013. Photo: Author. © Te Papa
4.1 History of the Museum

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (2015e), a purpose-built national museum uniting collections of its predecessors26 and heavily drawing on the principles of the ‘New Museology’ (see Vergo, 1989), was opened to the public in 1998 (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 1998). From the outset, its two major features were market rationalism and biculturalism (Williams, 2006), combined with highly interactive exhibitions and a postcolonial outlook. Three interrelated phenomena were all “vital in inculcating a national imaginary deliberately distanced from its colonial origins” (Williams, 2006, 2.2): the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975 and its strengthening through a 1985 amendment, making claims possible reaching as far back as 1840; the 1984 United States and subsequent New Zealand touring of the highly acclaimed Te Māori exhibition and resulting national pride in Māori culture (but also controversy about ownership and interpretation of Māori taonga); and finally the deregulation of the New Zealand economy in the 1980s. Te Papa was the direct manifestation of that re-invented national imaginary.

Te Papa’s bicultural character is underlined by its architecture: sections focusing on Māori history and sections focusing on tangata tiriti are spatially separated, yet connected by a display on the ‘Treaty of Waitangi’.27 Migration history was to be integrated into this bicultural approach from the outset (“Concept Sector”, 1995). While Māori immigration to New Zealand would form part of Mana Whenua, an exhibition of Māori culture at large, tangata tiriti immigration would be presented in Passports, a

26 Its beginnings lie in the ‘Colonial Museum’, later renamed ‘Dominion Museum’ (1913-1972). It also incorporated the National Art Gallery and Academy of Fine Arts. It changed its name again to ‘National Museum’ in 1972. Its displays became more and more outdated and were perceived as not being representative of New Zealand’s changing society, and thus the planning of a new national museum began in 1988 (see Preston, 1999).

permanent exhibition focusing on the big picture of non-Māori immigration interspersed with individual biographies of immigrants. The idea of a homogenous ‘British’ nation in the early years of the colony and far into the twentieth century, running parallel to Māori identity, was thus modified with vignettes of diversity. This defining feature of Te Papa’s approach — a bicultural design with multicultural narratives — thus accompanied it from the very outset and informs its immigration galleries.

The question that I will attempt to answer in this chapter concerns which design and narrative strategies Te Papa employs to overcome the limitation imposed by its bicultural design. How does it adapt to new multicultural and transcultural paradigms, and how does it employ affective exhibition design to disseminate these narratives?

### 4.2 Passports

#### 4.2.1 Genesis

Initially, *Passports* was planned to incorporate both tangata whenua and tangata tiriti immigration history in the broader framework of Te Papa’s social history exhibitions. The narrative was to be integrative and decidedly multicultural (“The Peopling”, 1994). The design team understood New Zealand as a nation of many peoples and wanted to place the immigration galleries in an international context (“The Peopling”, 1994). The goal was not merely a technical history of travel conditions and procedures of immigration; its intended formative elements included the trials and tribulations that immigrants had to overcome in the process of settling down. In addition, a ‘Community Participation Gallery’ was planned, focused on topics such as emigration to Australia and Māori emigration from rural to metropolitan areas (neither of which materialised), but also
spotlighting exhibitions focusing on one ethnic community in more detail (“The Peopling”, 1994). From the outset, the exhibition was intended to be highly interactive with mechanical and digital tactile elements: drawers and doors to open, buttons to push, hand-operated slide-shows, and video-games.

Early on, a significant decision was made not to integrate Māori immigration into Passports. This decision evolved from the understanding of the Māori team “that Maori arrivals and the meaning of waka belonged within the Maori part of the Museum” (“The Peopling”, 1994). The meaning of ‘waka’ as an allied kinship group descended from the crew of a canoe which migrated to New Zealand and occupied a set territory is not congruent with most tangata tiriti immigration arrangements. In addition, such a kinship group may be understood as belonging to the originating indigenous population and is therefore not subsumed with European immigration. However, this does not imply that contact between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti is fully absent, as it did inform some sections of the exhibition (Phillips, 1996, 120ff.).

According to Jock Phillips, Conceptual Leader (History) for Te Papa, the Passports exhibition was primarily designed to demonstrate the traumatic qualities of the journey and the complications experienced in the new country, including conflict with tangata whenua. He sees this experience as “key to New Zealand identity since it happened to every Pākehā New Zealander or his or her ancestors. It is a founding trauma which must be at the core of identity” (Phillips, 1996, 119). This approach acknowledged unpleasant aspects of the immigration experience and sought to avoid an overtly positive or romanticised depiction of immigration and to counteract heroisation.

The exhibition objectives were fixed as follows: first, “to give all tangata tiriti of whatever ethnic group a sense of belonging in Aotearoa New Zealand and a ‘place to stand’ in Te Papa Tongarewa” (“The Peopling”, 1994). Accordingly, Te Papa should be representative of all non-Māori ethnicities that make up New Zealand’s multicultural
A second objective was “to provide all New Zealanders who have non-Maori ancestors (and this includes many Maori) with a whakapapa” (“The Peopling”, 1994). ‘Whakapapa’ here means ‘lineage’ or ‘genealogy’. In providing information about one’s own ancestors, a sense of belonging and an understanding of identity based on genealogy was to be proposed. This is connected with a third objective: “to allow tangata tiriti to learn about where their ancestors came from and the nature of their journey here” (“The Peopling”, 1994). However, the mode of transport, travel conditions and reasons for emigration are also implied in this statement as major communicative goals.

Finally, the objective “to give all New Zealanders a sense of the richness and variety of cultures which make up our people” (“The Peopling”, 1994) suggests that the ideal outcome is to represent New Zealand as a multicultural society that is not homogenous and does not expect immigrants to assimilate, in effect welcoming difference and the ‘other’.

Target audiences were thought to be recent immigrants, cross-generational groups of Māori, Pākehā, New Zealand-Asian, Pacific Islanders and British (“Peopling”, 1995, 19). Thus, a wide range of ethnic groups was the focus.
Figure 2: Floorplan Te Papa level four 2015. Plan: © Te Papa.

Figure 3: Entrance to the permanent exhibition Passports. Te Papa 2013. Photo: Author. © Te Papa.
4.2.2 Outline of the Exhibition Space

*Passports* is spatially divided into three main sections, each dedicated to one aspect of immigration: ‘Leaving Home’, ‘Crossings’ and ‘The New Country’

At the intersection of ‘Crossings’ and ‘The New Country’ a theatrette is situated, its chairs resembling aeroplane seats of the second half of the twentieth century.

‘Leaving Home’ focuses on the reasons for leaving for what were portrayed as greener pastures (Figure 1). In it, conditions in Europe such as social problems, poverty, unemployment and war are elucidated. These reasons for emigrating or for staying home (commonly referred to as ‘push-and-pull factors’) are represented by two wall elements, each featuring a word cloud, contrasting the situation in the countries of origin and New Zealand (P 1, Figure 5). Two cases with object arrangements, lacemaker (D 1) and carpenter’s tools (D 2) respectively, illustrate on the one hand reasons to leave including the redundancy of occupations due to industrialisation, and on the other hand the opportunities a set of skills could afford in a developing colony. In addition, photographs of locations in the countries of origin are on display (P 2), as are videoclips featuring subject experts talking about the reasons to emigrate.

Opposite the ‘push-and-pull’ factors display, a large wall-filling graph named ‘Migration ups and downs’ is presented, illustrating the fluctuations in immigration to New Zealand with each increase and decrease accompanied by a short explanatory text and matching symbol or photograph (Figure 6). A row of display cases accompanies the graph, featuring curiosities such as Ming dynasty vases, a bikini made of acrylic, sheep shearer’s shears, gold nuggets, scrimshaw handicraft, etc., all tangentially connected to migration or specific immigrants.

28 See Figure 4 for a layout of the exhibition space. Letters and numbers in brackets refer to this plan.
Finally, the middle of the section features a cubic set of drawers (C 1), its top embellished with a world map. Each drawer features an individual immigrant’s biography and in some cases documents, objects or replicas associated with that individual (Figure 5).

‘Crossings’, where the journey by sea is the focus, resembles a ship interior, with wood flooring replacing the carpet and bulwarks employed to display depictions of early New Zealand in different artistic media (Figure 8). An evocative seafaring soundscape and objects connected to sea travel are presented in wall alcoves featuring slat doors. The section also contains three interactive activities: one permits visitors to learn whether they would have been entitled to a free passage in 1840 (I 2); a second one reveals whether they would have been admitted in 1996 reflecting changes in immigration policies (I 5); and a final one (I 3) illustrates the consequences of decisions made during a journey by sea in the nineteenth century in the form of a simple multiple choice video game (Figure 7 and Figure 9). The theatrette features stories of contemporary individuals, focusing on both their journey to New Zealand and their reasons for emigrating.

Finally, the largest section of Passports, ‘The New Country’, features an abundance of material culture such as paintings, photographs, tangible objects and interactives. It includes insular arrangements of display cases and wall texts on specific individuals and families that made New Zealand their home (Figure 10 and Figure 14), for instance, the wine-growing Babich family (D 14, Figure 12). Others have thematic foci, such as influences of immigrants on the cultural life in the new country, like sports (I 8), music (D 12) and food (I 6) (Figure 14). The community gallery can be accessed from this space, allowing visitors to follow the narrative from a more general depiction of immigration history to a specific case study.
4.2.3 ‘Leaving Home’ — a Multinational Panoply of Immigration

The narrative in ‘Leaving Home’ works on two levels: firstly, visitors will be able to get a broad overview of global migration patterns and fluctuations in immigration to New Zealand as well as the reasons for emigrating and the various countries of origin. Secondly, engaging with the biographies contained in the drawers opens up more personal narratives that encourage visitors to become engaged emotionally.

Push factors, such as poverty, industrialisation leading to the marginalisation of certain occupations, restrictive class distinctions, and the inability to own land, are illustrated as the main reasons to emigrate, while New Zealand’s purported advantages are presented next to the ‘push’ factors. These are assessed critically, to suggest that the immigrants’ experience of New Zealand did not always correspond to what they had been promised. It also hints at the unscrupulousness of certain individuals, who described New Zealand as a ‘utopia’, when soliciting prospective migrants. This criticism is also a feature of the New Zealand Maritime Museum’s display (see 5.2.4).

The graph of immigration patterns not only allows visitors to conceptualise the fluctuations of immigration, but also demonstrates that immigration to New Zealand is an ongoing phenomenon and not restricted to the nineteenth century. Accordingly, Māori are featured as the first immigrants to New Zealand, as well as to the Chatham Islands. The later invasion of the Chathams by Māori and the decimation of the Moriori is not addressed (see King, 2000). One visitor in the sample situated herself on the graph, associating herself with one of the upward trends of immigration: “I was up there with everybody else” (Visitor 11, Passports). In this case, a personal biography is connected with national immigration, which can suggest being part of a ‘community of migrants’
sharing this experience with others. Another visitor (Visitor 14, Passports) was prompted to recall her reasons for emigrating to New Zealand, in her case, socio-economic reasons. She found the graph representative of how such factors influence fluctuations in immigration numbers. The graph also features emigration in the form of population loss and emigration to Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century due to an economic depression. However, this topic, and especially later trans-Tasman immigration and emigration, is not a focus and was only alluded to briefly in the interpretative text (see Carmichael, 1993). Given the controversies surrounding recent emigration of New Zealanders to Australia, the graph must appear outdated. With a record high of emigration to Australia after the Christchurch earthquake in 2011 (Tan & Booker, 2011) and subsequent reversal of this trend in 2014 (Statistics New Zealand, 2015c), this theme is even more topical. Naturally, this cannot be referenced by the graph, which terminates in the 1990s.

Figure 5: Word ‘cloud’ ‘push-and-pull’ factors (P 1). Left: Lacemaker’s tools (D 1). Centre: Carpenter’s tools (D 2). Right front: Drawer cabinet (C 1). Right back: Photographs and videoclips featuring countries of origin (P 2). Passports. Section ‘Leaving Home’. Te Papa 2013. Photo: Author. © Te Papa.
The individual stories in the drawers (C 1) feature a wide selection of ethnicities, fates and motivations from a wide range of time periods. Visitors will read of colourful figures, such as Charlotte Badger, the first white woman to live in New Zealand, a convict turned pirate, but also a mother and, later in her life, the wife of a Māori chief; and Elizabeth Goodwin, a rather unconventional gold-digging woman, known for her love of smoking pipes, and also a match for her hard-drinking male companions. One category of biographies thus focuses on the unconventional, the out of the ordinary, the adventurous aspect of migration, but also references tangata whenua tangata tiriti interactions. Other stories speak of more conventional migration stories, where a love affair results from emigration, or the improvement of one’s lot is the major factor.

The dark side of migration is represented by biographies of refugees. Eduard Mroczek, a Polish resistance fighter, was caught and put in a Nazi concentration camp; ultimately, he survived his ordeal, emigrated to New Zealand and joined the New
Zealand navy after a return to Poland was impossible. Another biography of a more recent immigrant from Cambodia exemplifies the ongoing global conflicts that lead to emigration. In this case, New Zealand was not a choice and it functions as an interim safe haven. ‘Displacement’ is thus also made a topic with the associated problems surrounding acceptance of one’s situation. These stories illustrate the traumatic backgrounds of refugees or displaced persons, but at the same time communicate an image of New Zealand as a welcoming place, supportive of humanitarian initiatives. Ingeborg Stuckenberg’s story exemplifies the stark contrast between expectations and reality. As a poet and writer, she expected New Zealand to be progressive. However, after her arrival she was dissatisfied with the intellectual life in New Zealand and what she perceived as its isolation. In combination with her difficult life circumstances and illness, these adverse conditions may have contributed to her committing suicide.

The drawers offer a multi-ethnic, multinational panoply of immigration; they communicate that New Zealand was a multicultural society from the outset, far from being solely influenced by British customs and immigrants. Further negative and positive outcomes of emigration are part of the narrative. In order to obtain a balanced perspective, visitors must actively engage with the drawers to access this information; otherwise, they may exit with a selective perception of only a few case studies.

The desire to depict New Zealand as a society influenced by and composed of multiple ethnicities is further emphasised by the section focusing on the countries of origin. Its clear focus is on the different regions represented by the British immigrants. This suggests diversity in a group often viewed as homogenous and implies an attempt to counteract the idea of an early mono-cultural New Zealand. It asserts a certain multicultural aspect even to British settlers, but the inherent differences in attitudes towards different ethnic groups is not mentioned, for instance, conflict between English and Scottish settlers in early Dunedin (see 9.3.8). In the interview sample, a number of visitors (Visitors 3, 13, Passports) was surprised by the number and diversity of people
who emigrated to New Zealand, suggesting preconceptions that New Zealand was influenced mostly by British colonisation.

4.2.4 ‘Crossings’ - Difficult pasts, but what about the Present?

The transitional area between ‘Leaving Home’ and the case studies of specific immigrant families or individuals in ‘The New Country’ resembles a ship of the early nineteenth century (Figure 8). Interactive elements encourage visitors to open doors to small alcoves containing objects that were used by immigrants during the long journey, such as a backgammon board, a surgeon’s medicine chest and replicas of food items. A soundscape featuring rolling waves and screaming sea gulls was evocative for a number of visitors. One visitor talked about her own emigration experience and the parting with loved ones: knowing “what it feels like”, she was able to connect with emigrants of the past on this level (Visitor 4, Passports). Others imagined themselves being faced with such a decision, to leave everything behind and to start a new life far away from anything familiar (Visitors 1, 7, 8, 9, Passports). This suggests an emotional environment created by the materials used and the evocative soundscape, but also prompted by quotes taken from diaries plotted on the walls of the section: “It was a bitter, bitter parting. Father, brother & sisters. I almost feel as if I had buried them” (Passports, ‘Crossings’, Te Papa).

The material culture on display, in combination with the interpretative text, alludes to the differences in the quality of food among various passenger classes, but also the space available and the baggage allowance. Class distinctions and differences in the initial situation of emigrants are thus covered, but also the overall quality of food and limits of food preservation, leading to unsanitary conditions aggravated by the lack of privacy. The journey by sea in the nineteenth century is not, therefore, romanticised;
however, more pleasant aspects, such as playing games, or the publication of ship newspapers with the daily gossip, are also a focus, in effect leading to a balanced account.

Gossiping, class distinctions, and stories of often intoxicated or even suicidal ship's surgeons, with all the detrimental effects on passengers, are less likely to heroise immigrants. Various characters are depicted as fallible human beings rather than paragons of virtue.

Figure 7: *Centre:* Entrance to ‘Crossings’. *Right:* Interactive element on immigration legislation in the 1840s (I 2). *Passports.* Section ‘Leaving Home’. Te Papa 2013. *Photo:* Author. © Te Papa.
A video game, ‘The Voyage Out’ (I 3), is also located in this area, enabling visitors, through simple multiple-choice questions, to learn about the various factors that influenced the success and length of a journey by boat. Decisions made are represented as having potentially drastic consequences, such as the ship sinking or diseases being contracted. The game encourages visitors to become aware of the hardships and dangers which such a journey involved, while putting them into the role of actively influencing the journey’s success or demise, further enhancing the personal investment and thus emotional impact. However, due to the playful design of whimsical drawings, and the ultimate ability to try again until a successful outcome can be achieved, the game remains a diversion, an approximation that cannot simulate the psychological stress of decision-making involved.
This introduction of interactive emotional elements can also be seen in another ‘game’: visitors are faced with two panels (in the entrance sections to ‘Crossings’ and ‘The New Country’) each focusing on the immigration policies of one time period, the 1840s (I 2) and the 1990s (I 5) respectively. Each panel permits the visitor to select specific characteristics such as being married, being experienced in farm work, having tertiary education, or having money available for investment, which might contribute to the outcome of either being admitted or declined (Figure 7 and Figure 9). A number of visitors in the sample found they were not admitted in either the 1840s or 1990s (Visitors 6, 9, 10, Passports), which they found disappointing. Nevertheless, they viewed it as educational as they realized the difference in immigration legislation between then and now, but also the similarities, in that specific characteristics have to be present to be considered a ‘worthy’ addition to a country.
Although the outcome did not affect visitors directly, as it was merely a hypothetical situation, the experience of being declined and thus one’s experience in the labour market, life experience and character being undervalued, prompted in two cases a negative emotional response. These two visitors questioned the systems represented and pointed out their shortcomings or perceived unfair treatment of some groups or even its tendency to discriminate against certain age groups or occupations (Visitors 9, 10, Passports).

Frequently, visitors reflected upon the more complicated 1996 assessment process with its point system that tended to give preference to highly educated, financially stable and skilled immigrants in contrast to the 1840 focus on attracting unskilled labourers and women. This observation is further supported by a formative evaluation study, carried out by Te Papa during the design process, that came to similar conclusions (McCauley, 1996).

This element has also changed its topicality since its inception, now merely reflecting a past policy, while at Te Papa’s opening in 1998 it represented the contemporary immigration legislation. But although present-day policies are not represented, Te Papa is the only museum in the sample that compares immigration policies at two different time periods in an interactive manner, allowing visitors to engage with a topic often perceived as unexciting. A similar but reversed installation, in which visitors were not being assessed, but were the assessors, was the Melbourne Immigration Museum’s Interactive Theatre Experience Getting In, featured in its opening ensemble of exhibitions in 2003 (see McFadzean, 2010, 79-83). In both cases, self-reflection and eliciting of emotion are the goals of the installations. At Te Papa, it can be seen as an attempt to conjure empathy for immigrants who were not admitted, while at

29 Here visitors assumed the role of a government official in charge of interviewing applicants from different periods of time played by actors, and had to decide if the individual would be admitted or not. With elaborate touch screen and video projection technology, the experience was immersive and made visitors collaborators in the selection process, exemplifying changing selection criteria and policies.
the Melbourne Immigration Museum, the focus lies on the dilemma immigration officers often face when making decisions, with the potential of conjuring empathy for both officials and immigrants. In both cases, self-centred perspective taking is likely to occur, which can lead to a deeper understanding of past and present immigration legislation.

Discriminatory selection criteria based on ethnicity are not taken into account in either of the two Te Papa interactives. The absence of these two criteria make the visitor more aware of discriminatory selection based on age, class, education and gender. In addition, the heated debate on immigration numbers and the effects of immigration on New Zealand in 1996 are not a topic (see 2.5). Interestingly, Passports bears one of the tools of discrimination in its name. A passport can open doors or can close them, based on the country of origin. It can also just be a piece of paper that does not reflect anything about one’s real ethnic identity, or, in contrast, an object of desire connected to a better life, as well as a proud possession that signifies a patriotic connection to a country (see Torpey, 2000). Decisions as to whether an individual is suitable for immigration to a host country can be dependent on being born into the right circumstances or originating from a country deemed inoffensive. However, this dimension of the passport is not reflected upon in Passports.

A mechanical interactive exhibit features the story of Polish Refugees (I 4), the first refugees officially admitted to New Zealand in 1944. Artistic representations of their journey to New Zealand can be sequentially accessed through a serial narration. The blight of displacement through war, the hardships of the journey and finally arrival in the host country follows a pattern of associating negative aspects with the countries of origin and the journey, while New Zealand is represented as a safe haven and a pioneer in humanitarian support.

This Polish group consisted of 734 children and 105 adults. Most of these children were orphaned in the course of the Second World War. They were invited to
New Zealand by Prime Minister Peter Fraser in 1943 and arrived in Wellington on 1 November 1944 on an American troop-ship. The refugees were taken to a camp at Pahiatua and stayed there for five years. While the refugees expected to be returned to Poland at the war’s conclusion, political circumstances made that difficult, if not impossible, given that Poland was then part of the Soviet zone of influence. In the ensuing period, New Zealand went so far as to refuse to extradite the children to the Soviet Union. Some of the ‘Polish children’ remained in New Zealand, while some went back to Poland later when the political landscape changed. This story may serve as a source of pride for some New Zealanders and constitutes a point of connection with The Mixing Room exhibition, dedicated to the settlement process of young contemporary refugees. However, earlier episodes, such as the treatment of Jewish refugees fleeing Nazism (see 2.6) are not a focus, effectively repressing more difficult histories.

Finally, a small theatrette features a continuous loop video of a number of interviews with immigrants from diverse ethnic backgrounds. Some of the stories are light hearted and portray the journey on a cruise ship of the 1950s as pleasant and adventurous, while other interviewees speak of post-war expulsion and the necessity of leaving the home country to find a new home. These video interviews mirror the drawers encountered in ‘Leaving Home’, even though they might not present as complete a biography. Nevertheless, a diverse ethnic make-up of interviewees and a mixture of elevating and sobering stories of emigration are featured. Immigration in the second half of the twentieth century is represented as equally multi-ethnic as in the earlier decades, further fostering a perception of New Zealand as a multicultural society. The theatre seats, resembling aeroplane seats from the second half of the twentieth century, symbolise improvements in international travel conditions, and a change from seaborne

30 See the catalogue of the exhibition Living in two worlds. The Polish Community in Wellington at the Petone Settlers Museum (Ducat et al. 1992, 12) which gives a short outline of the refugees’ history, and Manterys, Zawada, Manterys, & Zawada (2004, 14ff.) focusing on personal memories and experiences of former refugees who settled in New Zealand or went back to Poland.
to airborne migration. Still, these stories are rooted in the past and do not reflect contemporary reasons for emigration, or difficulties associated with settling down in a foreign country.

4.2.5 ‘The New Country’ – Multiculturalism without Māori?

While the biographies in ‘Leaving Home’ anticipate eventual success or failure in New Zealand, it is the final section of Passports which is dedicated to initial settlement and ethnic influences on New Zealand’s contemporary culture and legacy building. The multi-ethnic approach encountered in the previous two sections is continued with Chinese, Indian, Dalmatian, Scottish, English, German and Jewish immigrants featured. Apart from one conflict-ridden example that will be discussed subsequently, interaction of tangata whenua with immigrants is not a focus of this section or Passports in general. By design, immigration of tangata tiriti is separated from immigration of tangata whenua, even though it had profound and often destructive effects on the Māori way of life. Reciprocal exchange and the influence of Māori culture on tangata tiriti is also not a focus of Passports.31 Other nearby exhibitions deal with these aspects, but visitors may not experience all exhibitions on one visit or make connections among them. Spatial and thematic separation can imply isolation of tangata tiriti immigration from surrounding narratives. One visitor was disappointed to see these histories told separately and found the narrative of Passports biased towards representing immigration to New Zealand as free of conflicts, repressing stories of appropriation of land, discrimination and racial conflict (Visitor 13, Passports). In contrast, other visitors (Visitors 15, 12, Passports)

31 For instance Božić-Vrbančić (2003) notes repressed memories of intermarriage between Dalmatians and Māori, as well as any acknowledgment of amicable relationships between the two people.
perceived this separation as justified, as they saw Māori history as deserving of its own focus, as opposed to being subsumed in an overarching multicultural narrative. These divergent views reflect ongoing public discussions of how biculturalism and multiculturalism can be effectively embraced without compromising the importance of tangata whenua as First People.

Figure 10: Section ‘The New Country’. Passports. Te Papa 2013. Photo: Author. © Te Papa.

The history of genealogical groups, for instance, the highly successful Babich family, or community groups, such as Chinese gold miners, is presented through evocative illustrative objects and photographs that illustrate visual markers of ethnicity. In connection with the interpretative texts, stories of successful integration are presented, while preserving an ethnic identity within the wider framework of a multicultural New Zealand. This may be in the form of cooking practices, as exemplified by a set of traditional Indian cooking utensils imported by an Indian immigrant not obtainable in New Zealand (D 4, Figure 11), wine bottles and labels signifying the traditional Dalmatian
occupation of wine growing (D 14, Figure 12), or Chinese traditional cutlery connoting Chinese cuisine and ingredients (D 15).

Figure 11: Case with Indian cooking gear (D 4). Passports. Section 'The New Country'. Te Papa 2013. Photo: Author. © Te Papa.

The family stories provided span multiple generations, tracing a family's genealogy back to the original immigrant. Family history and an individual's legacy can form a mythos in its own way. The family's success is determined either by the hard work of the ancestors or the way tragedy is transformed over time. Either way, the original immigrant is represented as responsible for a prosperous future and, by extension, nation building. The histories of the Babich family and the Chinese community are good examples of forging a legacy through hard work; they endured discrimination on the gum fields or in mining, only to excel in an occupation associated traditionally with a specific ethnicity. The story of John Saxton (P 5), however, who failed as a farmer and, afflicted by severe depression, committed suicide, leaving a legacy in the form of his children, is an example of tragedy leading to an ultimately positive outcome. In this respect, ‘The New Country’ is ultimately a collection of success stories, even though it does not omit failure or adversity.

A secondary theme focuses on what immigrants were able to take with them on their journey, thereby connecting ‘The New Country’ with ‘Crossings’. An evocative object illustrating limitations is a dress, painstakingly disassembled to reduce its volume and for safety by Mary and Sarah Burnett (D 4). The interpretative text addresses the visitor directly, asking: “What's so precious to you that, if you shifted, you’d go to any lengths to take it?” (D 4). Such questions are asked elsewhere, too, suggesting the desire to engage visitors and entice them to self-centred perspective taking.

Another example is the famous painting ‘The Emigrants’ situated at the intersection of ‘Crossings’ and ‘The New Country’ (F 1, Figure 9 and The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2015c). While this painting illustrates the sizeable baggage allowance (including livestock, servants and even a prefabricated house) a well-to-do family could take along on a journey, as well as providing examples of period dress, it is also shrouded in some mystery. The interpretative text hints: “There was a mystery about this family, the MacKays. They seemed to be from the Scottish Highlands
... but were they? Find out in the Art and History Resource Centre” (F 1). The family ostensibly commissioned the painting to establish a connection with a Scottish heritage (being portrayed on Scottish shores), although this was very likely a fabricated connection. The painting can thus also connote the ability to forge a new identity in New Zealand and to embellish one’s past. However, no immediate resolution of the mystery is given: visitors are instead invited to visit the Research Centre on the same level (Figure 2), so this layer of meaning is less likely to be perceived by visitors. For those who pursue the suggestion, the information obtained might act as a normalising factor, not dissimilar to ‘Crossings’ depiction of immigrants as fallible.

One of the few mentions of tangata whenua and tangata tiriti interaction is a story of conflict accompanied by a reproduction of a watercolour painting illustrating an associated episode (F 2, Figure 13):

Love and war

Pākehā-Māori relations were fraught and complex. Jacky Guard allied himself with the chief Te Rauparaha. But Te Rauparaha’s enemies, Ngāi Tahu, sometimes attacked the Guards’ settlement. Once, when Jacky and Betty were returning from an Australian visit, their ship was wrecked on the Taranaki coast. Ngāti Ruanui took Betty and her children hostage. By devious means, Jacky got himself released, then sailed to Sydney and persuaded the Governor to send over troops. Soldiers massacred Māori and bombarded two pā in the process of rescuing the hostages. Despite everything, the Guards’ son John spoke Māori fluently and enjoyed a long, happy marriage with a Māori woman, Maria (F 2)

The Guard family are well-known early New Zealand pioneers. As Jock Phillips (1996, 120) elaborates, their status among some New Zealanders as settler heroes made it difficult to provide a balanced account of this incident. Accordingly some elements of the story are not represented in Passports: Jacky could have supplied gunpowder in exchange for his family’s freedom; instead British troops helped by the Guards made an example of Ngāti Ruanui. Jacky Guard was described by contemporaries as a racist hotspur (Marshall, 1836/1997), while his wife supposedly became the chief’s mistress (Markham, 1963). Soon after this incident, the Guards
became revered as heroes, and were stylised as victims of a savage people and an embodiment of pioneer values (Phillips, 1996, 121-122). The exhibition text does not glorify the deeds of the Guards, but it is also unable to fully debunk them. As Phillips puts it, the public expected "the pakeha exhibitions would help to define national identity, so a crude reversal of older mythologies would simply produce public antagonism" (Phillips, 1996, 122). This problem of balancing public expectations with nuanced and pluralistic accounts of highly regarded individuals is encountered in other museums, such as Waipu and Puhoi. With the public as a stakeholder in Te Papa, it is not free to depict history divorced from national mythologies. Still, in acknowledging conflict between the two people, without clearly siding with the one or the other, Passports connects with Māori displays elsewhere, if only in this one instance.

Figure 13: Reproduction of the watercolour painting 'The Rescue of John Guard' (1885) by C Watson (F 2). The painting accompanies the Guard family displays (D 5, D 6). Te Papa 2013. Passports. Section 'The New Country'. Photo: Author. © Te Papa.
The overarching theme that New Zealand is heavily influenced by varied ethnicities is expressed in a third element of ‘The New Country’. A circuit featuring mechanical interactive stations allows adults and children to raise lids that pose a question, with the answer becoming apparent (I 6-8). The origin of ‘Kiwiana’, such as jandals, Kiwi fruit, Rugby and Steinlager beer, is explained. Thus, visitors learn that jandals are an adaptation of Japanese designs, that Kiwi fruit originated in China, rugby was a British import and that the Steinlager beer brand can be traced back to a German immigrant brewer Louis Ehrenfried (see Bade, 1998a). The overall communicative goal here is to deconstruct symbols of national identity and reveal their foreign origin. However, this can also suggest New Zealand’s adaptability as a still young nation, happily and openly taking on inspiration from other peoples. This emphasises further the construction of an imagined ‘community of migrants’ and migration as the nation-
foundin experience or even birth trauma. As Gore (2003) illustrates, this is only one interpretation of what constitutes New Zealand’s identity. Without the context of the other exhibitions at Te Papa, this interpretation of national identity can take on dominance. In conclusion, even though the representation of New Zealand’s migration history in Passports may be contentious in proposing a multicultural society with highly integrative abilities from the outset of settlement, it is one way of conceptualising a New Zealand identity, with other, sometimes contrasting, options represented elsewhere in the museum.

4.3 Te Papa’s ‘Community Gallery’

Early on in the development of Passports, museum staff recognised the need to offer a more detailed account of specific communities than was realisable in the Passports space alone. While Passports was internally developed and designed as a long-term exhibition, the ‘Community Gallery’ was conceptualised as a short-term, changing community access gallery, inviting religious, ethnic and other immigrant groups to collaborate with Te Papa in representing their history. Fitzgerald (2009, 198) describes its function as “expressions of community in the context of diversity” and “markers of their visibility within the nation”. The exhibitions had an intended life-span of two-and-a-half years and were thus short-term foci, instead of long-term commitments. This relatively fast turnover of displays was thought to be a suitable method of refreshing and rejuvenating the adjacent Passports exhibition as well as reacting to the wish of migrant communities to be represented at Te Papa (Fitzgerald, 2009, 200).32

32 McGuire (2013, 31) criticises this as signifying “that the communities themselves should only be considered short term in the cultural narrative of New Zealand” instead of being markers of visibility on a permanent basis. However, the communities are already represented in Passports, making them a permanent feature of Te Papa’s displays from the outset.
Five exhibitions preceded the current *The Mixing Room* and are in chronological order: *The Making of a Chinese New Zealander*, *Nieuw Zeeland going Dutch*, *Aainaa: Reflections through Indian Weddings*, *Qui tutto bene! The Italians in New Zealand* (see Lambert, 2009) and *The Scots in New Zealand*. All these exhibitions subscribed to the multicultural paradigm embraced in *Passports*. They depicted the five communities as major contributors to New Zealand’s society, influencing art, literature, local customs and language. With regard to issues of discrimination, the negative experiences of the Chinese community, New Zealand’s wartime internment of Italians or the effect of New Zealand’s assimilationist tendencies on Dutch were represented, albeit less prominently than positive aspects. This somewhat biased picture can be the result of community input and its desire to present itself in a good light without too much focus on negative aspects, for instance the wish to avoid references to Mussolini in *Qui tutto bene* (Message, 2006, 181).

In choosing the communities for exhibition, potential groups were identified, the choice based on a checklist of criteria.\(^{33}\) Next, preliminary ‘Blue Sky’ sessions were scheduled, to which twenty to thirty community representatives were invited. These sessions, at times highly emotional, aimed to collect preliminary ideas and suggestions from the participants regarding stories and themes that they would like to see in the exhibition (Fitzgerald, 2009, 202).

While community consultation was intended to continue over the entire course of the exhibition development process, the session also aimed to nominate members of a smaller, more manageable ‘Community Advisory Group’ (CAG). The CAG was a group of six to eight people, ideally a representative sample of the community in terms of age, gender and geographical distribution, though this ideal was not always obtained

\(^{33}\) See Fitzgerald (2009, 202) for a detailed description.
In the case of *The Mixing Room*, this encompassed the group of refugee-background youth, but also key contacts of already established former refugees.

The representative sample feature flowed from the museum’s stated CAG role “to comment and offer critiques of exhibition content and design proposals” in the development process and intended, moreover,

> to ensure that the proposed exhibition avoids any stereotypical treatment of the community concerned, and that celebratory or authorized storylines focusing on ‘success’ be complemented by coverage of problematic aspects of a community’s experience in New Zealand (Fitzgerald, 2009, 203).

Exhibition staff Stephanie Gibson (personal communication, 2011) implies that even if serious issues are dealt with in the exhibitions, communities tend to choose a positive representation of their history and contemporary life in New Zealand. Susan Superville (personal communication, 2013) and Sarah Morris (personal communication, 2013), both involved in the creation of *The Mixing Room*, confirm this notion. The young refugees involved in this exhibition decided to focus on the adjustment process in New Zealand as opposed to the horrific experiences in their countries of origin. However, this does not imply whitewashing, as those experiences as well as negative encounters in New Zealand are expressed in some contributions. The refugee youth were free to select their contributions, while Te Papa, according to Sarah Morris (personal communication, 2013), while supporting the young people with their expertise in video editing, English language, singing, dancing skills, etc., restrained their editorial input. During the development of *The Mixing Room* the staff was guided to “deal with the dreams of the

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34 With regard to *Aainaa* and the Indian CAG, Wood (2005) and Ballard (2005) argue that Te Papa has not met the ideals described by Fitzgerald and that the CAG was merely a ‘content advisor’ and not a full partner. McGuire (2013, 32) criticises Te Papa for overruling the Scottish CAG with regard to the promotional photograph used to advertise *The Scots in New Zealand* exhibition (see Gibson & Mallon, 2010, 46-50). Through the appointment of a full-time community liaison in 2003, in the final phase of developing *Aainaa*, Te Papa addressed some of this critique, keeping in touch with community representatives and attending social gatherings or festivals of the group, and achieving overall improvements to its terms of reference for community involvement (Superville, personal communication, 2013; Gibson, 2003).
people with the utmost generosity that is within your power to manage” and to keep foremost in mind “that the process was as important as the product” (Morris, personal communication, 2013). This implies that even content that was — in Te Papa’s view — of low quality, had to be included:

Even if their film was shot really bad, bad sound — and much of it was, because people spent a whole life trying to learn how to make a film —...they were still included because they had wanted to participate in the project. We taught them some nice skills, it was their story and it was telling their story their way (Morris, personal communication, 2013).

Bearing in mind that Te Papa exhibitions usually go through a rigorous editing process, it is surprising that Te Papa staff enabled the young people to produce their own content with minimal editorial influence. This is particularly evident in view of the preceding five Community Gallery exhibitions which showed a much stronger editorial influence.

It is evident that *The Mixing Room* represents a marked departure from the preceding procedures employed with the ‘Community Gallery’. In almost every respect, the group of young refugees was different from the ethnic communities focused on previously. There is no one single leader or representative Te Papa could contact; thus the consultation process evolved as a much more demanding project for the staff, personally and psychologically, than for any of the preceding exhibitions (Superville, personal communication, 2013; Morris, personal communication, 2013). Arguably *The Mixing Room* was the first attempt to achieve a new understanding of the ‘Community Gallery’ and the very mission of the museum, but also aimed at benefitting the participants in providing a confidence building environment.35

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35 For a discussion of doing emotion work in museums, see Munro (2014). Munro understands museums’ community engagement programs as spaces of care (2014, 50). Museum staff thus often assume the role of counsellors, which can have beneficial effects for participants. However, this work is often undervalued and staff are not properly prepared to deal with situations that would require proper training. Munro asks for more awareness and training opportunities for staff (Munro, 2014, 54ff.).
4.4 The Mixing Room: Stories from Young Refugees in New Zealand

4.4.1 Genesis

Opened to the public in 2010, *The Mixing Room* (The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2015d) continues the series of temporary exhibitions in the Community Gallery. However, the target audience for *The Mixing Room* was envisioned as different in comparison to its predecessors. In addition to its focus on contemporary migration history, it focuses on a largely invisible group within Te Papa’s visitor profile. The target audience includes the refugee youth, their families and communities, other young people in general; all New Zealanders including Māori, Pākehā and all other migrant groups; as well as international visitors (“The Mixing Room”, 2010a, 4). One of the primary goals was thus to attract new audiences related to refugees; a second goal of equal importance was to offer mainstream audiences the opportunity to challenge preconceptions “by showing RBY [Refugee background youth] as they are — optimistic and vibrant; a community that wants to enrich New Zealand society by contributing to our cultural diversity” (“The Mixing Room”, 2010a, 4). The exhibition team’s aspirations for visitors were threefold: reflection on what it means to be a refugee; appreciation of the strengths and optimism of refugee youth as they settle into New Zealand society; and examination of their own views on refugee resettlement (“The Mixing Room”, 2010a, 4). Apart from these primary goals, a secondary goal was also defined. Visitors were to “understand that the exhibition is a collaborative and participatory project where refugee background youth have generated much of the concept and content themselves” (“The Mixing Room”, 2010a, 4).
The interpretative strategy, as intended by the development team, was based on the following principles:36

1. The stories were intended to affect the visitor emotionally.

2. Given that the exhibits were specifically produced for the exhibition during the workshops and were entirely digital, neither dependency on material culture nor the usage of material culture was intended.

3. A simple, powerful and inspirational way of delivering the subjects was to be used.

4. The focus was to be on the current situation of refugees and future prospects rather than on historical models.

5. A website with Web 2.0 capabilities was developed to encourage dialogue and user-generated content.

The interpretative strategy aims to enable participation not only for the refugee communities, but also for on-site visitors and online audiences. The stated intent of the exhibition is to give an overall positive impression of refugee communities:

Visitors will appreciate that refugees are individuals and New Zealanders — in this case young, energetic, ambitious, creative individuals. Contemporary in nature and movingly autobiographical in part, this is a process and a product that values the lively, the inventive, the surprising and the playful (“The Mixing Room”, 2010a, 11).

According to the refugee youth, the participatory model employed had positive, even life-changing, effects on participants.37 The design process and final product explicitly aim to counteract exclusion and, accordingly, ‘displacement’ as an ongoing condition.

36 The following principles are based on the ‘90% Developed Design’ document (“The Mixing Room”, 2010a, 11) and an interview with history curator Stephanie Gibson (2011).

37 Gibson and Kindon (2013) provide some anecdotes illustrating the impact of the model employed. One participant was prompted during the workshops to express a traumatic experience through the medium of poetry and is now a published author (Morris, personal communication, 2013), while in general a cathartic and confidence-enhancing effect on participants was reported (Superville, personal communication, 2013).
While the aims and goals of the exhibition did not change significantly during the development process, the exhibition’s design altered. The ‘50% Concept Design’ document still included a section in the entrance area of the exhibition, where:

Visitors will firstly move through an inverse global portal that will provide context by defining who a refugee is, the far reaching parts of the world that they come from and New Zealand’s role in re-settlement. Translucent in appearance, the globe (a three metre diameter dome) will be lit from above and illuminate hotspots of recent conflict around the world that have forced people to flee their homelands. On the left wall and enclosed within the sheltering effect of the globe, an intimate collection of family photographs will be densely displayed in different frames (“The Mixing Room”, 2010b).

While this area would have provided a suitable introduction to the subject, the leadership team felt that the density of information enriched by statistical data could overwhelm the visitor and that a more subtle approach was required (Gibson, personal communication, 2011). In the end, the entire segment was abandoned and the remaining segments spatially extended (Figure 15). As a result, emotionally engaging photographs on the walls in the entry and a brief timeline on the floor are all that is offered to suggest the idea of on-going global conflicts that the refugee youth have experienced.

Figure 15: Early Design concept showing the proposed position of an introductory section to The Mixing Room that was later abandoned. Taken from: “The Mixing Room”, 2010b, 18. © Te Papa.
4.4.2 Outline of the Exhibition Space

The space allotted to The Mixing Room is a single room, rectangular in shape, allowing visitors to grasp the dimensions of the exhibition immediately.38 The exhibition has two entrances/exits: one is marked by two flanking panels with life-size full-length photographic portraits of participants; the other is a small round-arched portal located in the far left corner. It leads to the neighbouring Passports exhibition and is thus bi-directional.

The walls on each of the longitudinal sides of the room have lightbox cavities varying in size and shape, each accommodating one or more photographs complemented with quotes and captions (Figure 17). The middle of the floor — beginning between the entrance panels and thus implying a preferred direction for the visitor — is defined by individual glass insets in a striated pattern, each accommodating one element of a timeline outlining pivotal points in New Zealand’s involvement in refugee aid (Figure 17). The design elements on both walls and the timeline — referred to in the design paper as the ‘Refugee Experience’ — incorporate the context necessary to fully appreciate the media presented on the interactive tables, such as details about the application process to the quota program and global events related to the individual refugee’s past and present experiences.

38 See Figure 4 for a layout of the exhibition space. Letters and numbers in brackets refer to this plan.
Figure 16: Left and right: Walls with lightbox cavities, each accommodating photographs with added quotes and captions. Interactive tables T 1-3 each equipped with a touch sensitive surface. Centre: Floor equipped with timeline. The Mixing Room. Te Papa 2013. Photo: Author. © Te Papa.

The three interactive tables with seating — two on the Passports side (T 1-2), one opposite (T 3) — occupy the area in front of the walls, while the space reserved for the timeline remains unobstructed. The interactive tables are equipped with a surface for the digital media projected from above. The surface is touch sensitive, enabling the visitor to select contents with a tap. Finally, the wall opposite to the entrance forms another projection area of 4 x 5 metres; it features a changing photo-mosaic constituting a portrait of one of the participants. In front of the portrait, there is an elevated area with two consoles for further digital content (C1-2) with adjacent seating.

Impressionistically, the general lighting conditions can be described as dim. The backlit photographs, the interactive tablets and the large wall projection are the primary exhibition light sources. The limited lighting in combination with the colours of the walls and the floor — which vary from a dark brown to shades of black and grey — focus attention on the backlit objects or interactive contents projected on either the wall or the
tables. While a “warm, café-like atmosphere” (“The Mixing Room”, 2010a, 22) was intended, the atmosphere could be described as cool, distanced and technical. This is a result of the use of white artificial light and the unembellished design of seating and tables. Most visitors interviewed perceived the overall atmosphere along the ‘distanced’ lines. The room itself shaped the atmosphere for one visitor who described it as “a bit claustrophobic, probably some kind of reflection to how the refugees feel in life when they come to a new country” (Visitor 10, Mixing Room). Others connected the diminished light levels to the evocation of moods or feelings. Darkness accounts for a sad feeling or mood as reflected by some: “I guess it is a little dark. It is not an uplifting type of mood” (Visitor 13, Mixing Room). Yet, for one visitor the darkness was counterbalanced by islands of light which lead to a more hopeful atmosphere in the final section of the exhibition: “The darkness kind of emphasises the gloom and the tragedy a lot of people’s lives have been involved with and then, in a way, what we have is a brightness that comes from the large photographs at the end” (Visitor 16, Mixing Room). Some visitors also described the atmosphere as “sombre” (Visitors 16, 17, Mixing Room). Another visitor described the atmosphere as “sympathetic and empathetic, but it is not sentimental. It is just presenting what it is like. You know I think it captures well the feeling of the people” (Visitor 12, Mixing Room). In the sample, perceptions ranged from an overall gloomy and sombre impression to a more hopeful and sympathetic atmosphere, reflecting the succession of the narration.
4.4.3 Main Entrance Section — the Contested ‘Sentinels’

Two photographs greet visitors entering The Mixing Room through the main entrance: a life-sized African male introduced as Patrick (P 10) and a group portrait of a selection of participants (P 9). The latter replaced an earlier problematic portrait. The participant, while born in a refugee camp, came from a country which is not considered to be in unrest any more. Some felt that the country’s current status had been misrepresented and questioned the refugee background status of the participant, leading to online bullying and psychological stress. Te Papa reacted immediately and removed the photograph to protect the participant. This incident suggests that The Mixing Room is seen as a political stage by some visitors (see Gibson & Kindon, 2013).

Figure 17: Main entrance of The Mixing Room: stories from young refugees in New Zealand. Te Papa 2013. Photo: Kate Whitley. © Te Papa, MA_I.182891.
Both photographs are accompanied by a short text using the stylistic device of a first-person narrator. The depicted youth introduce themselves as young refugees, with “fear of persecution” given as the reason for leaving their home countries. The relatively small number (1000) of refugees permitted under the New Zealand quota is also a topic. The small number combined with the life-threatening circumstances that lead to flight and refugee status communicates a relatively small impact on New Zealand society as a whole and confounds stereotypical preconceptions of refugees as burdens on the New Zealand welfare system.

In addition, the exhibition planning workshops held by Te Papa are mentioned and the collaborative nature of the exhibition is emphasised:

Hello, I’m Patrick from Sudan. This exhibition tells our stories about coming here as refugees and settling in New Zealand. Te Papa organised workshops for us to tell our stories in many different ways — through writing, film, photography, and all kinds of artwork. Come and see what we’ve been doing (P 10).

Te Papa is portrayed in the role of a benefactor, enabling the community to express themselves and be understood by others by means of artwork, thus not only presenting autobiographical accounts, but elevating the experiences of the refugee youth into the artistic realm.

Both photographs capture the participants in casual clothing, indicating that they see themselves as ordinary adolescents, indistinguishable from other New Zealanders. Patrick’s T-shirt is relevant to the subliminal messages communicated by the installation: the print reads ‘aroha aotearoa’\(^\text{39}\) and implies not only a successful assimilation of New Zealand’s pop culture, but also positive feelings towards the host country and the wish to subtly promote those feelings. Given that many international visitors may not have

\(^{39}\) Commonly translated as ‘love’, ‘aroha’ also has further implications like ‘affection’, ‘sympathy’, ‘charity’, ‘compassion’ and ‘empathy’. ‘Aotearoa’ is the Māori name for New Zealand. The ‘slogan’ can be found in many variations, designs and contextual meanings amongst the products of a multitude of fashion labels in New Zealand and overseas.
knowledge of the meaning of the Māori word, it is likely that this detail is directed primarily at New Zealanders or people familiar with New Zealand’s culture.

Facial expressions, physical postures and gestures of the participants portrayed also promote positive associations with the refugee youth. Participants are smiling and are portrayed in stances communicating self-confidence in a western cultural context. Arms akimbo and feet set apart imply a confident attitude towards their biographies and the artwork presented. Furthermore, Patrick is balancing a globe on the fingertips of his right hand, his arm bent. His introductory words “Hello, I’m Patrick from Sudan”, hover in front of the globe, making it possible to interpret them as representative of other refugee youth around the world. The symbolic meaning of control over his own fate and freedom to travel the world may be inferred from his playful handling of the globe.

4.4.4 ‘The Refugee Experience’ — New Zealand a Safe Haven for all?

On entering the exhibition space through the main entrance, backlit photographs on the left and right wall confront visitors with a gallery depicting the assorted stages of a refugee’s journey to New Zealand. Beginning on both sides with depictions of the conflict in the home countries, the storyline continues along both walls focusing on hardships and problems of the flight, life in various refugee camps to conclude with arrival in New Zealand and the subsequent changes that resulted. Complementing the photographs are quotes from the participants. On the left side, a poem ‘My Family’ by 15 year old Anita Azizi (Figure 18) printed on the wall offers an emotionally engaging entry into the often dark subject matter: An Afghan family is displaced after the death of the father attributed
to 'local terrorist groups'. Mother and children become refugees and are resettled in New Zealand. First impressions and the attitude of New Zealanders are also mentioned.

My Family
My father – killed by the Taliban
Six of us are left
My wonderful mother and my four siblings
We escaped to Tehran for more safety – and more family
But my mother, she wanted more freedom,
More education, more money, more opportunity…

Then we are able to come to New Zealand
We are refugees
Mixed feelings – not happy to be leaving
The country where I was born
But proud to be coming
To New Zealand

Mangere refugee centre
Tim-tams – yum
Queuing for food, for showers – not yum
A bell to wake us for breakfast
12 o’clock lunch, 5 o’clock dinner
So early! If you missed out – tough luck

Wellington – small and friendly
Beautiful harbour – green and blue
We are treated as equals
We can go to school freely
No longer having to be secretive
I feel as if I am now a New Zealander
(‘The Refugee Experience’, The Mixing Room, Te Papa)

One visitor was especially drawn to the poem and connected its contents to her own life circumstances:

It just moved me. I had to get my handkerchief out, it made me cry. It was just one person’s story and as a mother you just sort of feel for families and, yes, it is an emotional time for me anyway, because I have got visitors over from England (Visitor 18, Mixing Room).

In this case, the visitor’s own experiences are used to establish a link with the author of the poem leading to empathy. Current unrelated life circumstances — a visit from overseas and the resulting emotional impact on the visitor — make her more receptive to the emotional approach employed by curators. The personal connection
goes even deeper and a projection of her family history onto the template of an experience of ‘displacement’ occurs:

My father was a displaced person after World War II into Britain. He was Estonian and never ever saw any of his family again ... so he arrived into England as a displaced person who was looked after and assimilated into the culture. ... at the moment my own family is divided in between myself here in New Zealand, my husband hasn't settled in New Zealand, so he is back in England. I have one daughter in Australia and one daughter in London so this sort of ... Understanding of how difficult it is to live all over the world is I guess one that just makes it more emotional for me (Visitor 18, Mixing Room).

Family history and exhibition contents become connected. Arguably, the specific content of the section is not of importance, but rather the focus on the concept of ‘displacement’, enabling the visitor to invest emotionally. This is, however, not the same concept of ‘displacement’ expressed in the poem. While war and fear of persecution made the visitor’s father a displaced person, entailing a loss of home and of family, her current situation entails a concept of ‘displacement’ based on exceedingly mobile modern lifestyles. She perceives that this mobility causes a feeling of ‘displacement’, a separation from ‘home’ and her family. This ‘displacement’ for economic or lifestyle reasons is not the same as ‘displacement’ as represented in the young refugee's poem, which is caused by fear of persecution and violence. While an emotional connection is established, understanding of the situation depicted in the poem can for this visitor only be approximated based on personal experience.
Feelings of anxiety during the first month in New Zealand and the highly regulated life in the refugee centre dominate the second and third poem verses. The application process for the resettlement program is not explicitly addressed. The last verse — the moment of leaving the camp and settling in New Zealand — indicates a rather positive first impression of the host society. Negative aspects such as discrimination, problems connected with language proficiency or cultural habits are not the focus. The stages elaborated in the poem reflect the succession of the exhibition storyline and could condition the visitor to perceive the exhibition space in a simplified Manichean manner: all negative aspects are coded with the home country or the journey, while the positive aspects are associated with the host country. While such an extreme point of view is not explicitly expressed by visitors in the sample, New Zealand is perceived in largely positive terms. One overseas visitor perceived the representation of New Zealand as a welcoming country, which enables refugees to settle down: “The people all found a new home and were really accepted. This is also reflected in the
quotes. ‘I like it here, I want to stay here’. I like it that one is providing people with refuge’ (Visitor 11, Mixing Room, translation by the author). The visitor drawn especially to the poem quoted above perceived the exhibition in a similar way, but was more critical regarding omissions and possible bias:

New Zealand has welcomed refugees from all sorts of different areas and different circumstances and the stories are all very positive stories … probably there are some that haven’t had a good time since they came here and I haven’t seen any stories that said I had a lot of tragedies and not enough money, couldn’t get a job and so on. Quite how much bias is in there I don’t know, but actually you know as an area it is the kind messages I would take back (Visitor 18, Mixing Room).

The attempt to educate visitors about the positive impact of refugees on New Zealand society or, in reverse, of New Zealand on the refugees appears to be successful here. While a potential bias is assumed, it does not seem to influence this visitor’s final perception of the exhibition. ‘Displacement’ is apparently superseded by ‘belonging’ through acceptance and aid in settling down. Accordingly ‘displacement’ is represented as a process, ending with arrival in Wellington. To adhere to the mission statement and also respect the wishes of the participants, failure and ongoing ‘displacement’ cannot be a focus of The Mixing Room, leading to an unbalanced, if well-intended, narration on the wall story line.

The first set of lightboxes focusing on the countries of origin provides good examples to further support these findings (Figure 16). The three photographs in the upper lightbox show a young Kurdish shepherd blinded by an Iranian mine, Kurdish refugees returning to their demolished village of Qala Diza, and Vietnamese soldiers and prisoners surveying a display of captured weaponry. Associations like ‘child soldiers’, ‘loss of home’ and ‘collateral damage’ may be evoked by the subjects of the photographs. The meticulous scene arrangement, professional execution of the

40 All the pictures in the ‘Fear and Persecution’ sections were made either by National Geographic or UNHCR. Gibson (personal communication, 2011) explains the choice of those providers as they would represent a realistic approximation of the circumstances at the depicted places.
photographs, choice of perspective and lighting discourage association of the photographs with documentary footage or amateur photography. The depiction of these scenes with high skill and great emotional effect suggests an expression of art, potentially undermining the exhibition’s intended impact and aestheticising violence.

Most visitors in the sample were drawn to the picture of the injured Kurdish shepherd and the children wielding weapons, with one giving as a reason: “it pushes the emotional buttons… and the fact that, well, probably anyone with guns or weapons is worlds and worlds away or apart from our daily lives here” (Visitor 10, Mixing Room). For one visitor, the violence depicted was given as the main reason the image of the shepherd resonated (Visitor 13, Mixing Room), while for another visitor the contrast between innocent child and deadly weapon was given as the reason (Visitor 17, Mixing Room). Visitors in the sample did not directly acknowledge the photographs as expressions of art; rather, they engaged with the depiction of shocking violence or contrasting life circumstances relative to daily life in a stable country.

The theme of ‘loss’ is explored in a number of quotes accompanied by photographs: a refugee family hiding in a bunker and two teenagers adrift in the countryside of Iraq. In a third vignette, a Sudanese fighter is proudly waving a rifle: “I was three years old and I knew I was a refugee. My family had no home and not enough food to eat. We were running away from the war” (‘The Refugee Experience’, The Mixing Room, Te Papa).

When confronted with the quote, one visitor compared the situation represented with her own childhood: “When I was three, I think, I would not have fathomed such an idea” (Visitor 13, Mixing Room). Another visitor found it to be a contradiction of her idea of a sheltered childhood: “It is a child talking I suppose and then at three years old it would be playing [laughs] and not knowing you are a refugee” (Visitor 14, Mixing Room). Again, a connection of personal experiences with the contents of the exhibition is
established. However, in this case it is not a shared experience which enables visitors to become engaged emotionally, but rather a stark contrast between life realities.

One overseas visitor was prompted by the exhibition to comment on the dangers that come with exposure to such topics:

It is in actual fact total nonsense...that something like this is at all possible, that one produces refugees in one’s own country and those, who are reasonable, have to foot the bill. ... And one has to be careful, that one does not get too indifferent, that one says: it is their own fault, they wage war themselves, now they have to foot the bill and not always the others, don’t you think? (Visitor 15, Mixing Room, translation by the author)

While the exhibition is well intended and attempts to provide a reasonably objective representation of the causes and effects of displacement, in this case it also prompts scepticism or a self-conscious response. The visitor was torn between perceiving refugees as victims of circumstances they could not influence, or as being responsible for their own fate: in effect, questioning the visitor’s preconceptions and prompting an inner dialogue.

In all examples, the exhibition quotes as well as the photographs attribute the reason for having to leave to a state of war or civil unrest. The loss of one’s roots, one’s home and sense of belonging are the overarching themes. The passivity with which refugees had to endure the events destroying the life they knew and the helplessness the individuals experienced is communicated. For these young refugees, many of whom were subjected to bizarre circumstances, ‘displacement’ is represented as a loss of freedom and the loss of any ability to influence one’s own fate. In the narration of the exhibition it is not natural disasters that are causing ‘displacement’, but man-made conflicts.

The stage is now set for the next arrangement of photographs which encompass the flight and persecution of individuals, the logical outcomes of being ‘displaced’. The journey — depicted by quotes and photographs as extremely unpleasant, perilous and
demanding — ends in a refugee camp. The photographs in this section portray the harsh conditions in refugee camps, the dependence on mostly insufficient food and water, the lack of privacy and unsanitary conditions and finally the long and often futile process of applying for the resettlement program: a family with a small baby waiting in a dark and simple dwelling; a panoramic shot of a camp with very sparse living conditions; and finally a refugee portrayed sitting in front of an officer filling out an application form (Figure 19). A quote provides explicit insight into the camp living conditions: “Conditions were very poor. There was not enough water and we didn't have proper toilets. **People were very afraid**” (‘The Refugee Experience’, *The Mixing Room*, Te Papa). Malnutrition and sanitary issues are thus presented as a common feature in refugee camps, also implying that fatalities due to illness or undernourishment were possible. This is combined with constant fear, presumably of succumbing. The narration continues to a positive outcome: “One morning one of the officers came to our very old shelter and gave us a letter. ‘Congratulations to you all. You have been accepted’. **This was the way we came to New Zealand**” (‘The Refugee Experience’, *The Mixing Room*, Te Papa). It is suggested that the only way out of the difficult conditions in the refugee camps is acceptance into the program. It is portrayed as a matter of chance, one which might take years or decades or might never happen. The corresponding section on the opposite wall deepens this portrayal of the program’s nature. Photographs depicting the work of UNHCR officers at the camps are accompanied by quotes reflecting the role of fate and the refugee’s loss of agency: “**It’s just a list and if your name comes up, you get to go.** If it doesn’t then you just stay there. We were there for nine years, hoping, hoping, hoping to go” (‘The Refugee Experience’, *The Mixing Room*, Te Papa). A Nepalese refugee is quoted as having endured seventeen years in a camp, full of uncertainty, concerns and sorrows; the quote is accompanied by a photograph of a woman behind a wire fence.
The overarching theme of the loss of freedom and the ability to influence the future resonated especially for one visitor, who had a strong reaction to the photograph of the woman behind a fence: “She just looks like she wants to get out and she just can’t. I have never felt that way myself. You know, you feel that way, but you are never trapped as a Westerner really. There is always something you can do, but they obviously can’t” (Visitor 16, Mixing Room). The randomness of being selected in the program as represented by the quotes and photographs mentioned above was also an aspect of the refugee experience that engaged one visitor (Visitor 14, Mixing Room).

The experience of ‘displacement’ as a process caused by forced migration cannot be represented by any known means to visitors in a way that would enable them to fully comprehend it. Confronted with the incomprehensible, the visitor’s privileged position can serve as a counterbalance leading to an appreciation of how different a refugee’s lot is compared to the reality of life in New Zealand. The realisation of that
privileged position with its endless possibilities and the lack thereof in a refugee’s life can prompt understanding and reduce animosity towards refugees.

While the program is represented as the only option for leaving the camps, the miniscule quota of refugees being admitted relative to the massive numbers of the displaced globally is problematized. Given that no specific reasons are provided for the failings of the system in place, visitors may make the receiving countries responsible, due to their insufficient involvement; alternatively, they may assume that the countries with quotas do their best and that the fault lies with non-participating countries and insufficient contributions by first-world people and their governments. A more pragmatic viewer might take the situation as given, with little or no chance for change in the short-term and simply acknowledge the championship of New Zealand in this program; as perhaps intended by the curators, this was the preferred interpretation of visitors in the sample. While in some cases refugees live for decades in the camps, they are never represented as at ‘home’ or the camps as a replacement for the loss of ‘home’. Rather, they are represented as a necessary support feature of ‘displacement’, one preferable to the alternative of dire homelessness, but still being a form of limbo.

The final two sections on the left and right wall (Figure 20) focus on the arrival in New Zealand, the initial culture shock and subsequent acculturation. As might be anticipated, the transition from ‘displacement’ to ‘belonging’ is represented in this section. Another recurring theme is family reunification after a period of separation in the wake of resettlement. Scenes of families re-united at the airport or family members exchanging gestures of affection are accompanied by expressions of relief and a general positive outlook on the future. As opposed to the former sections, the photographs are now primarily press photos. As products of the moment, they differ from the photographs by National Geographic, whose high production quality hints at the staged, manufactured and the artificial. The press photos may appear more authentic, portraying real emotions of credible individuals, while the formal professional photographs may be perceived as
depicting general situations distant from the visitor’s personal experience. This is reflected in the opinion of one visitor regarding these photographs: “I saw photos of them being reunited with their families and photos from Auckland Airport. You know I go there, but seeing it with the actual people makes it feel more real. I think if it was New Zealand [in the pictures] it had more impact” (Visitor 17, Mixing Room).

Figure 20: Section ‘Transition. Applying for Resettlement’. The Mixing Room. Te Papa 2013. Photo: Author. © Te Papa.

The last element of the ‘Refugee Experience’ is the process of settling down in a new country. Depicted is the work conducted at the Mangere Resettlement Refugee Centre, one of the centres to which quota refugees for New Zealand are first sent. Museum visitors learn that in the course of the first six weeks individuals accepted into the program are taught about the culture, language and customs of New Zealand. After this period of training, they are provided with a dwelling and initial re-settlement help to acclimatize to the new environment. All visitors surveyed perceived this section as cheerful and in stark contrast to the other sections. On viewing a picture depicting a
moving-in scene, one overseas visitor even attributed traits to the now resettled refugee that he normally ascribed to New Zealanders: “How he is carried on the sofa: that looks funny. I would say, typically Kiwi, just laid back and easy-going. That is like: They arrived, that is a fact” (Visitor 11, *Mixing Room*, translation by the author). In his perception, the refugees arrived and immediately took on favourable qualities of the host population.

![Section ‘Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre. Moving into a new Home’](https://example.com/image.jpg)

**Figure 21:** Section ‘Mangere Refugee Resettlement Centre. Moving into a new Home’. *The Mixing Room*. Te Papa 2013. *Photo: Author.* © Te Papa.

In leaving the Mangere refugee centre, the refugee is transformed into settler, ‘displacement’ is superseded by ‘belonging’. If the storyline narration ended there, the exhibition would tend to oversimplify the complex process of resettlement, leaving visitors with the impression that New Zealand easily integrates refugees and turns them into ‘New Zealanders’.
4.4.5 The Interactive Tables – Dissonant Voices

While most visitors interviewed were not able to or did not choose to use the interactive tables, either due to time constraints or a preference for the photographs and quotes on the walls, these tables were designed to enable visitors to further engage with the individuals who contributed video clips, poems and artistic performances to the exhibition, and to obtain a more holistic experience. The three tables illustrate three different overarching concepts: ‘Freedom’, ‘Challenge’ and ‘Connection’. Each is divided into subcategories that span opportunities which arise in everyday life, such as educational opportunities and generational conflicts with parents, to challenges arising from exclusion and intolerance of New Zealanders, and finally to the valuing of family and their cultural background. The ‘Refugee Experience’ can appear as a complete narrative, taking the emphasis off the interactive tables. However, as the more complex topics are only accessible via the tables, the deeper and more nuanced understanding of the reality of life of youth with a refugee background is reserved for visitors who have the time and interest to engage with all elements of the exhibition.

Both ongoing ‘displacement’ and ‘belonging’ are represented through the creations of the young refugee participants. Using the video poem ‘Questions’ as an example, this more nuanced representation on the table level will become apparent:

Born in a place I don't know, stranger in a place I call home.
13 years and still they stare.
Where is my home? Where, where?
Many questions are also on my mind.
If I was in Rwanda more friends I would find?
Different is something I'll always be.
With no identity I am just me.
Where did you come from? Why are you here?
Questions I laugh about with fear.
Go back! Go back! They say all the time.

The summative evaluation (Te Papa, 2011, 15) also suggests an age bias. While younger visitors are more drawn to the digital media, older visitors preferred the narration provided on the walls.
I’ve been here since I was three. Is that such a crime?
In my heart I am more Kiwi than all of you.
But to my Rwanda I stay true.
New Zealand is my home. It is what it is.
Coming here was through war, but it ends in true bliss.
Friendship and opportunities endless in count.
In my heart there’s happiness no doubt.
I am proud to be me. That’s never going to change.
I’m Rwandese, I’m a Kiwi.

Confronted with exclusion and discrimination, her identity is not based on either
being Kiwi or Rwandese, but a mixture of both cultural backgrounds. The visitor learns
that integration into the host society is made difficult due to being constantly reminded
that she is different and does not belong here. Her self-identification as Kiwi being
questioned and her connection to Rwanda merely an early childhood memory, only an
identity rooted in herself seems feasible. This is an identity governed by an ongoing
sense of ‘displacement’, a self-imposed condition, reinforced by perceived exclusion.
While life in New Zealand has advantages and is dominated by happiness, the feeling of
being ‘displaced’ and not belonging to either culture represents the other side of the coin
for this young refugee poet. This conflict is not restricted to this one contributor, but is
also reflected in other poems and performances. While the positive aspects of the new
life in New Zealand still predominate, the struggles of the young people will become
much more apparent to visitors who experience the interactive elements of the
exhibition.

4.5 Conclusion

Passports can be viewed as an archetype of a new generation of immigration
exhibitions; in its interpretation of New Zealand society and identity, it was more
progressive than many other displays in sister museums (see Bell, 1996). Interactive
exhibition design, recreated environments with a highly emotive potential and community engagement are characteristics that are eminently prevalent in other New Zealand migration exhibitions today, but were less so when Te Papa opened. With the Passports exhibit, Te Papa established a marker for innovation; while it is not the sole trendsetter and inspiration for other New Zealand museums, it is, as the national museum, a role model for best practice when that is manifest. Further, its initiatives aimed at supporting and developing small-to-medium sized museums enhance its reputation (see The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 2015a).

The representation of immigration in Passports avoids the pitfalls of romanticising the journey and settlement and in equal measure attempts to avoid the heroisation of immigrants by depicting them as fallible human beings rather than paragons of virtue. The Mixing Room provides a connection with more contemporary developments and thus resolves some of the issues Passports encounters as an older exhibition.

In both, positive aspects of the immigration experience outweigh negative ones in the narrative, the latter less openly visible and accessible only with some effort on the part of visitors. New Zealand is ultimately represented as a welcoming country that allows immigrants to integrate without losing their cultural or ethnic identity. While immigration policies are discussed, they reflect past immigration legislation or only apply to refugees.

A multicultural paradigm is clearly communicated, but it only includes tangata whenua in one conflict-ridden incident, accordingly subscribing at the same time to the bicultural approach of the museum. While this may seem contradictory initially, Te Papa represents tangata tiriti as inherently multicultural and forming a separate entity from tangata whenua, making it possible to accommodate multiculturalism in a bicultural
schema.\textsuperscript{42} This may lead to a simplistic interpretation of the many interactions between the two and reciprocal cultural exchange not only within this exhibition, but also in the museum at large. It may also contribute to a depiction of Māori in an artificial, historicising way, without accounting for their vibrancy and their positive connections with tangata tiriti. In addition, just how multicultural New Zealand is depends very heavily on location, with the population of metropolitan centres more comfortably multi-ethnic than that in rural regions. New Zealand’s national identity is represented as being based on the shared experience of immigration, with hybrid identities being one aspect of national identity.

\textsuperscript{42}In contrast Macdonald (2009) sees Passports as a continuation of the bicultural paradigm, not allowing for a nested multicultural narrative (for further readings of Passports, see 2.1).
V. NEW ZEALAND MARITIME MUSEUM — TUGGING AT THE HEART STRINGS

Figure 22: Entrance to *The Immigrants*. NZMM, 2013. *Photo: Author.*
5.1 A Museum in the Making

Auckland’s waterfront gained renewed attention with the redevelopment of formerly industrial complexes into entertainment areas in anticipation of the 2011 Rugby World Cup (Tourism Media New Zealand, 2011); however, this was not the first time that the waterfront had been the subject of redevelopment. It was here, at Hobson Wharf, that the Auckland Maritime Museum opened its doors to the public in 1993, surrounded by pleasant vistas over the Hauraki Gulf. An earlier attempt by the Auckland Maritime Trust Board — formed in November 1981 — to establish a smaller museum at Princes Wharf in the mid-1980s had been unsuccessful due to the Auckland Harbour Board’s decision to pursue a comprehensive, integrated redevelopment plan for Princes Wharf, incorporating a museum (Wilson, 1993b, 6).

The museum’s design was first presented to the public in the Auckland Maritime Museum’s own journal ‘Bearings’, preceding its opening in 1993 (Wilson, 1989). It was planned that the museum structure would enclose the existing U-shaped basin between Princes Wharf and Hobson Wharf, thus taking in both wharves in their entire length and width and connecting them through walkways and the historic Launchman’s Building on Quay Street (see Wilson, 1989). This initial plan, however, had to be changed considerably, as conflicting external requirements, political changes, a depressed economy and the “exigencies of the planning processes” (Wilson, 1993b, 7) took their toll. Between 1990 and 1991 a new concept was created by Malcolm Deighton Architects which satisfied both the Trust board’s requirements and budget estimates (see Wilson, 1993b, 7). The museum’s final shape incorporated Hobson Wharf and parts of the Launchman’s building, but not Princes Wharf.

The museum building’s proximity to the sea and reminiscence of waterfront architecture of the past was intended to communicate its focus on maritime history well before visitors entered. Decks and verandas on two or three levels were planned to
make maximum use of the basin as a stage for events: “The water becomes an aquatic amphitheatre with the possibility of audience lining all decks and verandas for waterborne events ranging from floating exhibitions, model boat regattas, dragon boat racing, jazz or opera on a barge” (Wilson, 1989, 4).

Apart from galleries, the museum building was to incorporate a model maker’s workshop, a maritime library and archive, a traditional chandlery, a nautical fashionwear shop, special shops for nautical books and souvenirs, dining facilities and functioning public-access boat builders’ workshops (see Wilson, 1989, 4).

Architectural considerations were accompanied by an exhibition philosophy, again presented to the public through Bearing (Mackay, 1992, 51-52). The museum, now referred to as ‘Auckland Maritime Museum Hobson Wharf’, should encompass New Zealand’s maritime history in all its aspects and in its widest sense. This incorporated early Polynesian settlement and seafaring technology, the arrival of Europeans and the advance to international sea travel and trade, maritime sport and recreation and finally New Zealand’s maritime environment present and future. The museum was thus thought to be explicitly national in its scope, with a special focus on Auckland as the principal maritime centre of New Zealand (Mackay, 1992, 50). It was envisioned as making a “bold cultural statement about New Zealanders as a people of diverse origins, but sharing a common heritage and island home” (Mackay, 1992, 50). This would be achieved through themed displays featuring vessels, boats, models and equipment prominently presented in either a classical museum style or within ‘walk-in’ settings, that is three-dimensional re-stagings of the past.

Every effort has been made to avoid the museum experience of room after room, case after case, of objects deployed like small meats at the delicatessen with accompanying pages, of curling corner, typed labels. Instead naturalism has been introduced into the galleries, and objects are presented in environments similar to

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43 This idea of a national institution was further cemented through a name change to ‘New Zealand National Maritime Museum’ bestowed by Prime Minister Jim Bolger in 1996.
those from which they came, or, at least ones which excite emotions in the visitor appropriate to the object (Wilson, 1993c, 14).

The desire to avoid stereotypes and create a ‘modern’, authentic environment in which the audience’s encounters with objects would be facilitated is clearly stated. An emphasis on affective experiences is also apparent in these early considerations, and would become an important characteristic of its displays. Nevertheless, the aim to implement truly naturalistic environments must fail from the outset, as recreations of natural or man-made environments must always conform to architectural and practical limitations and can only represent an idealised or anamorphic version of reality (see Rugoff, 2000, 12ff.). It was further specified that interpretative information would be presented in “inviting and informal ways that are ‘classy but not elitist, populist but not tawdry, didactic but not pedantic’” (Mackay, 1992, 50). Functional vessels berthed in the water-basin would allow experiences on the water, while the workshop would promote the reviving and sustaining of a range of boat-building skills.

The overall communicative goal was intended to suggest that all New Zealanders share a maritime heritage and thus “can confidently celebrate their diversity” (Mackay, 1992, 50) in acknowledging this shared tradition. It was also hoped that the displays could contribute to a re-assessment of New Zealand identity. The exhibitions should facilitate the process of forging new identities amongst people of European descent, as it was understood by curators that people would increasingly locate their identities within a Pacific context (Wilson, 1992, 51).

The new museum’s collection policies aimed at preserving not only material culture, but also skills, which were regarded “as cultural artefacts of no less importance than the objects which form its collections” (Wilson, 1993a, 33). The already mentioned boat builders’ workshops were the crucial platform for the preservation of such skills and featured at the time of the opening a sailmaker, woodturner and woodcarver, all trading
workshops, in contrast to the volunteer-staffed model-maker workshop (Wilson, 1993a, 34). Visitor interaction ranged from simply observing to actively engaging in activities in evening classes and workshops. These would offer each visitor a “range of levels of participation according to their own needs” (Wilson, 1993a, 34). Nevertheless, in the following years the whole range of services could not be upheld due to financial constraints, although the workshops remain a crucial part of the museum in maintaining the historical fleet (Boyd, personal communication, 2013).

The museum’s opening ensemble featured three major thematic sections. ‘Landfalls’ focused on Polynesian seafaring and the settlement of New Zealand, the journeys of European explorers such as Abel Tasman and James Cook, and finally coastal trade in the nineteenth century. A second section, ‘New Beginnings’ comprised The Immigrants exhibition focusing on European immigration to New Zealand, a whaling gallery featuring a restaged environment of a whaling station, and an exhibition on the history of ferries. Finally, ‘Kiwis and the Coast’ provided an eclectic mix of maritime Kiwiana alluding to topics such as sports, border control, fishing, methods of navigation and successes as well as disasters of shipping. It also featured a recreated 1950s beach bach (a typical New Zealand holiday home) and shop.

Apart from the thematic sections, the ‘Edmiston Gallery’, supported by the Edmiston Trust, featured not only items of the trust’s collection such as paintings, sculptural work, ship models and handicraft, but also served and serves as a venue for special and travelling exhibitions.

In 2009, Blue Water Black Magic. A Tribute to Sir Peter Blake joined the already existing exhibitions. Apart from being dedicated to Sir Peter Blake’s biography and achievements, this permanent gallery also features a rich collection of objects related to the New Zealand yachting industry, most famously the NZL32 Black Magic, an International Americas Cup class yacht that won the 1995 race. In 2009, the museum
was renamed the ‘Voyager New Zealand Maritime Museum’ to “better reflect the museum's focus on the voyages of exploration and discovery that have helped to create our nation” (Voyager New Zealand Maritime Museum, 2014). At least in its title, the museum no longer had an explicitly national scope, but arguably did still narrate a national story of maritime history in its displays. In December 2014 the name changed again to New Zealand Maritime Museum (2015) to avoid confusion with companies that used ‘Voyager’ as part of their name.

The opening ensemble of exhibitions and later amendments embody the museum’s aspirations to encompass New Zealand’s maritime history in all its aspects. While not all sections were part of the museum’s offerings from the start, they all have followed an affective approach to exhibition design. While they primarily featured a chronological order and strong theming, immersive environments and a focus on lifestories were able to engage visitors emotionally. With its clear focus on affective exhibition design, one of the main questions that needs to be answered is what strategies the museum uses to emotionally engage visitors and to what end. How is the progressive multicultural paradigm set out by the planning papers implemented? To answer these questions, I move from the general to the specific in turning attention to the immigration displays.
5.2 The Immigrants

5.2.1 Changing Fashions, Migrating Themes

Part of the opening ensemble of exhibitions was *The Immigrants*, an exhibition which dealt with non-Polynesian sea-borne immigration during the last two centuries, as Polynesian settlement was explored in the separate permanent display *Hawaiiki*. *The Immigrants* was redeveloped in 2012, but kept its name and shares physical as well as thematic features with the preceding exhibition.

The first incarnation of *The Immigrants* was intended to explore the theme of sea-borne immigration to New Zealand graphically, to show visitors how people travelled to the country in the past two centuries (Mackay, 1993, 54). The centrepieces of the exhibition were two recreated environments: a steerage-class cabin found in sailing ships of the 1840s and 1850s, fitted with a mechanism that would make the cabin rock as visitors explored it, and a four-berth cabin from a passenger steamer of the 1950s. Both environments were based on contemporary descriptions, dimensions and illustrations, yet modified to comply with the museum’s spatial constraints, accessibility demands, and government guidelines for fire proofing (Mackay, 1993, 54). These environments were integrated into the museum building and represented a substantial financial investment. It is thus not surprising that they were carried over into the second museum incarnation and fulfil the same function as they did in the first. Nevertheless, both environments feature new (audiovisual) contents and updated interpretative text.

Another major difference between the older and subsequent displays was the reliance of the narrative structure in the old exhibition on seven life-sized figures in nineteenth- and twentieth-century period clothing. Accompanied by photographs and memorabilia as well as interpretative text, they represented the life experiences of seven
real immigrants (Mackay, 1993, 56-57). The updated exhibition avoids the use of mannequins completely, but offers visitors the opportunity to follow the life story of one immigrant through a passage ‘ticket’. Visitors can take these from a randomised stack in the entrance area of the exhibition, which gives a brief introduction to an immigrant’s personal circumstances, but not his or her ultimate fate (Figure 30). In the final section, the visitor can spin a ‘wheel of fortune’ featuring the full biographies of the immigrants on the tickets. They can match the name and fate with their ticket or peruse other biographies if they wish.

5.2.2 The Genesis of The Immigrants

The new planning process for The Immigrants was initiated in 2010 through a series of staff workshops in which ideas for and visions of a new immigration gallery were debated. These brainstorming sessions were designed to identify shortcomings of the old gallery and encourage staff members to voice their hopes and ambitions for a redesigned experience (Boyd, personal communication, 2013). Early discussions focused on a definition of the target audience, but also proposed early ideas of sections, topics and themes to be developed. The basic contents were determined in these workshops, but changes in detail continued throughout the entire planning process (Boyd, personal communication, 2013).

The notes from the first workshop (“Voyager”, 2010, 1) define as the primary target audiences cross-generational Auckland visitors, the intention being to transform these individuals into ‘advocates’ of the museum. This was a reflection of the museum’s location in central Auckland and its policy to grant free admission to Auckland residents. Secondary target audiences were conceptualized as cross-generational New Zealand
and overseas visitors with linkages to New Zealand heritage. Recent New Zealand residents were categorized as a stretch target audience.

During the initial workshops not only potential audiences were considered, but also the qualities of the new galleries. The early stages of development were not constrained by expected budget limitations, but rather asked what would represent the most successful Voyager immigration experience possible (“Voyager”, 2010, 1). Staff members responded as follows: the Voyager brand should be reinforced by contributing to a cohesive, but not homogenous overall visitor experience. This experience should act as a highly dramatic and emotive ‘impact moment’. This meant that expectations should be turned on their head by actively engaging visitors in a participative “‘warts and all’, uniquely New Zealand” (“Voyager”, 2010, 1) experience, encompassing both migrants and tangata whenua. The emphasis was thought to lie in the difference of everyone’s experience of and attitude to immigration.

These preliminary ideas were further amended in 2011 and the definition of the target audience and outline of the projected visitor experience refined accordingly. Nine points were formulated of what visitors should be able to take from the experience in the immigration galleries. The first four were:

1. Understand that New Zealand is a nation of migrants and gain an appreciation of the way this history has shaped New Zealand as a society today.

2. Learn about the immigrant journeys of the 19th and 20th centuries. Gain a strong sense of the cramped, gloomy conditions endured by emigrants on voyages of three and four month duration in the 1800s.

3. Comprehend the changes in travel conditions experienced by immigrants of different time periods.

4. Understand the motives that prompted people to immigrate to New Zealand (“Immigration’, 2011, 1-2).

New Zealand’s representation as a nation of immigrants, stated explicitly, goes hand in hand with the implementation of a multicultural paradigm, the latter not
being possible without the former. The second point indicates a wish to not whitewash the harsh conditions of long distance travel or to romanticise the fortunes and misfortunes of early settlers in New Zealand. This approach was probably favoured because of the already existing re-creations of period ship environments, well suited to create a sensory experience featuring not only visual stimuli. The cabins from two different periods of time also illustrated the change in travel conditions in an evocative and easily accessible manner. Finally push-and-pull factors were thought to be an important part of the narration, too, allowing not only critique of recruiting practices, but also a representation of the positive and negative effects of immigration to New Zealand on settlers.


Point five addresses the representation of effects of European settlement on tangata whenua, but also implies the effects of interactions with Māori on tangata tiriti. The wish to represent both perspectives in equal measure; to include stories of conflict and cooperation, differentiates the new concept from the past immigration gallery, as this was not as pronounced a goal in the first exhibition.

6. Recognize the hardships immigrants endured in settling in a new country.

7. Feel inspired by personal stories from immigrants of different nationalities ("Immigration", 2011, 1-2).

Point six and seven allude to a balance of fortune and misfortune. While all aspects of immigrant life should be portrayed, inspirational or outright success stories should not be discarded because they are not representative of all immigrants. Further different ethnicities and nationalities should be represented, avoiding a monocultural or Eurocentric depiction.
8. Gain an awareness of the changes and effects of evolving immigration policies during the 19th and 20th centuries on the ethnic origin of immigrants and ultimately, New Zealand society ("Immigration", 2011, 1-2).

While not explicitly stating it, this refers to the highly restrictive immigration policies in the nineteenth century and second half of the twentieth century, especially towards non-European, non-white immigrants. A successive opening up of New Zealand’s society and removal of discriminatory policies should also form a significant part of the narration.


Point nine is a pivotal statement. The immigration gallery’s purpose is to celebrate New Zealand’s ostensibly multicultural society. This also implies that ongoing conflicts and contemporary issues surrounding immigration should be represented.

According to Rick Pearson, Director of Pearson & Associates Architects Ltd who were responsible for the exhibition design, the scope of the exhibition was mainly budget and collection driven and had to incorporate the two existing re-created environments, as well as a section on Logan Campbell, given the substantial financial contribution of the Sir John Logan Campbell Residuary Estate Trust (Pearson, personal communication, 2013). The rediscovery by museum librarian Marleene Boyd (personal communication, 2013) of a deed over the purchase of land with Campbell’s signature further necessitated the representation of this aspect of Auckland’s history. An emphasis on Campbell in some sections of the exhibition will provide a good opportunity to compare his representation with other ‘founding fathers’ such as Martin Krippner (see 7.4.4) or Norman McLeod (see 8.2.4) at the Puhoi and Waipu Museums respectively.

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44 Due to unexpected staff changes, it was regretfully not possible to interview Karolina Spaseska, who was heavily involved in the development of _The Immigrants_; however, members of the design and development teams were interviewed.
The design team fostered the idea of a journey of emotions: visitors should experience a variety of affective emotions reflecting the immigration experience by means of colour, sounds and lighting: from forlornness to being full of hope, from feeling confined to gaining a sense of openness (Pearson, personal communication, 2013). According to Pearson, the colour-coding of the different sections of the exhibition was thought to be a major contributing factor. The entry section, focusing on push-and-pull factors and the life in industrialised Britain, uses brown and earth tones, intended to reflect heavy pollution. In contrast, the final sections of the exhibition dealing with the fate of immigrants after their arrival in New Zealand use blue and green tones to convey a sense of hopefulness. The colour red is prominently featured in an interactive gallery display featuring portraits of a variety of immigrants with diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds. Pearson regards this section as a “heart strings experience”, designed as an inward-looking space, focused on creating a personal relationship between visitors and portraits. This overarching design goal of allowing a personalized affective experience is further supported by the individual biographies represented on the tickets, and also by the wheel of fortune. Pearson intended it to conjure up an uncanny feeling in visitors, the success or demise of the person being a matter of chance, supported by a “creepy clown theme” that the wheel might connote for visitors.45

*The Immigrants* aims to affect visitors viscerally, to take them on an emotional journey reflecting the immigration experience. Through a combination of re-created environments, conscious design of the exhibition space and the creation of a personal relationship between visitor and a specific immigrant’s biography, an emotional response should be prompted, facilitating the nine communicative goals.

Whether this approach also engenders the revival of extant memories of visitor experiences, or alternatively creates in the visitor ‘prosthetic’ empathetic memories of

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45 This alludes to the monster clown trope of the funny, light-hearted clown who turns into a depraved, evil creature responsible for people’s doom.
immigrants past and present, is an important question (see Arnold-de Simine, 2013 and 3.3). Visitors might not make the memories of immigrants from the 1840s their own, but the memories on display — in the form of texts or audio readings of diary entries and specific case studies of successful or not so successful immigrants — may powerfully interact with memories visitors have of their own experiences of immigration and travel. A family history of immigration retold during family gatherings could also be a connecting point between personal memory and the memories on display. Given the museum’s focus on forging a New Zealand identity, these points are important as exhibition design and goals do indeed hint at the purposeful creation of an environment that fosters the creation of a national identity based on a shared immigration experience. It is not unlike what Baur (2009) attests for the role of the Ellis Island New York Immigration Museum in creating an imagined ‘community of migrants’. However, a close reading of the exhibition has to be undertaken for a full assessment of *The Immigrants* and the applicability of Baur’s conclusions in the Auckland museum.

**Figure 23:** Site plan New Zealand Maritime Museum as of September 2014. *Source:* <http://www.maritimemuseum.co.nz/webfiles/NationalMaritimeMuseumNZ/files/Map_December_10.pdf> © NZMM.
5.2.3 Outline of the Exhibition Space

*The Immigrants* is separated into three major sections: ‘Departure’, ‘Journey’ and ‘Arrival’ (Figure 23). Its inherent structure thus reflects the immigration experience spatially. 46 Although it is possible for visitors to enter the exhibition space through the exit leading to the ferry history displays (E 2) as opposed to the intended entrance (E 1, Figure 24), this is unlikely, given the general outline and flow of the museum and the succession between galleries, a plan that fosters a defined circuit as opposed to encouraging visitors to saunter freely. Furthermore, all visitors receive a museum map on entry, one that encourages them to follow the suggested itinerary.

The entrance section focuses on the circumstances that compelled people to leave their homes and venture into the unknown. Push-and-pull factors are elaborated on as well as immigration schemes and the history of the New Zealand Company. 47 Sketches, cartoons and posters to attract immigrants to settlement ventures in New Zealand form the main object category in this area (P 2, Figure 28 and Figure 29); however, models of immigrant ships (D 1, Figure 29), boarding tickets and contemporary literature for aspiring settlers (D 2-3) are also on display (Figure 27 and Figure 32). While earth tones dominate this section, the ceiling features mesh which in combination with the lighting cast a grid pattern onto the walls (Figure 28). This could well connote ‘imprisonment’, especially in combination with the often dire life circumstances of prospective immigrants presented in the interpretative text of the section. This is indeed one of the stated effects the design team intended (Pearson, personal communication, 2013). Most prominent visually is a wall of suitcases (D 4, Figure 31), signifying ‘travel’

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46 See Figure 24 for a layout of the exhibition space. Letters and numbers in brackets refer to this plan.

47 This controversial organisation, founded in 1837 with the aim of promoting the systematic colonisation of New Zealand, became notorious for its questionable business practices, including deliberate deception of prospective immigrants.
and ‘journey’; they are positioned at the transition point, between the ‘Departure’ and ‘Journey’ sections (Figure 24).

The ‘Journey’ section encompasses the two re-created environments of mid-nineteenth-century and 1950s cabins (Figure 33 and Figure 34), separated by a ‘transition’ space elaborating on advancements in technology and their effects on journey time and comfort (P 5). The mid-nineteenth-century exhibition cabin accommodates ten berths, nine of which are furnished with bedding and period dresses, which are used during programs by the education department (Walters & Dale, personal communication, 2013).  One berth, however, features a screen with a looped videoclip of the reenactment of a family’s daily routine during the journey (A1, Figure 35).

In the middle of the cabin is a table with period cooking items, i.e., utensils, pots, pans, etc. (T 1, Figure 34). Part of the table is used as a projection space, creating the illusion of passengers eating or writing at the table, while an audio reading of diary entries of passengers further enhances the immersive potential (Figure 36 and Figure 37). The 1950s cabin features period-appropriate furnishings also, but includes objects connected to one Dutch immigrant’s personal travel story of immigrating as a child (D 6); it does not feature audio-visual content (Figure 39).

The third section — ‘Arrival’ — comprises a portrait gallery, directly after the transition space (Figure 40), with a number of illustrated case studies focusing on the life stories of selected immigrants, including Logan Campbell, a ‘founding father’ of Auckland (Figure 43, Figure 44 and Figure 46). The exhibition closes with the wheel of fortune which reveals the fate of the visitor’s ‘personal’ immigrant (Figure 50). Additionally, there is a wall that encourages visitors to record their own immigration experiences on a sticky note and add it to those of others (Figure 52). As well as many photographs, the ‘Arrival’

48Apart from guided tours, the museum offers overnight stays in the rocking cabin for select groups of students together with parents and teachers (Walters & Dale, personal communication, 2013).
section features personal items associated with the case studies, and is the section that is richest in material culture (Figure 49).

The narrative structure of the exhibition can be described as a common form for exhibitions about migration, as observed in other museums in New Zealand, and also overseas. The layout not only structures the narrative chronologically, but also restricts visitor movement to only one possible path. In addition, the over-arching theming of the clearly separated sections suggests the intention of the design and planning teams to restrict the potential meanings of the objects exhibited, to create a tightly focused approach: the immigration topic concentrates on the realities of traveling, the reasons for it and its outcomes. Non-seaborne travel and modern immigration to New Zealand are not included; rather an affective story of historical sea-borne immigration is told, a choice appropriate for a maritime museum.

5.2.4 Push-and-pull Factors — Opportunities and Deception

Visitors entering the exhibition are greeted by a large, poster-size black and white photograph of the ship Rangitane anchored in Wellington (P 1, Figure 26), while in the foreground a crowd of people await the ship's arrival. In combination with the introductory text, which is layered over a photograph of people standing at the railing of a ship (Figure 25), the thematic focus of the exhibition is announced: “Take a journey with The Immigrants – people who left their homeland from the 1840s to the 1960s, for a life-changing voyage across the oceans to New Zealand” (P 2). Clearly, museum visitors will accompany arriving immigrants on their journey to New Zealand, vicariously experiencing the immigrant's story. Apart from providing a visual introduction to the exhibition theme, the entrance section also presents the most common push-and-pull factors, effectively answering the question of why people left their homeland for the
unknown. Industrialisation, the resulting unemployment and societal change, as well as the aftermath of the First and Second World Wars, are the main factors cited that motivated people to emigrate: “The despairs of poverty and hunger, the threat of war, no jobs and no hope, pushed many people to escape to a better life” (P 4).

Figure 25: ‘The Immigrants’ (P 2). The Immigrants. Section ‘Departure’. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.
The most striking aspect of this section is the open critique of immigration schemes to attract immigrants. In many cases, misleading images of New Zealand were used to describe it as a land of ‘milk and honey’ where, with minimal effort, one could turn one’s life for the better. Contemporary posters from that period (P 3, Figure 29) depict New Zealand as a locus amoenus, an idyllic ‘pleasant place’, while slogans lure prospective immigrants with feelings of security and guaranteed success in the new country. One visitor in the interview sample compared the posters to war-time propaganda (Visitor 3, The Immigrants), and regarded them as the most memorable objects in the exhibition, because of their deceitful content.

Figure 28: Push-and-Pull factors (P 2). *The Immigrants.* Section ‘Departure’. NZMM 2013. *Photo:* Author.
It is important to note that the critique of immigration schemes and policies is rooted in the past and is common in numerous New Zealand museums. The long defunct immigration schemes promoting the idea of a ‘better Britain’ free of undesirable aspects, with enticements to attract desirable immigrants (Dölling, 2008, 45ff.; 193ff.), can now be dissected and the fallacies exposed. This focus on critique of the past suggests that these old schemes and policies have been replaced by fairer, more inclusive ones. This advances a superior moral stance towards this aspect of immigration history in visitors, and presumably it also guided the design team. Without any comparative critique or discussion of contemporary twenty-first-century schemes and policies, the exhibition implies that none of the problems encountered by immigrants in the past are present today, representing New Zealand’s advances in its immigration legislation in a much more positive light than may be justified. This issue also raises the question of whether
the exhibition will remain in a comfortable distant historical zone or will also focus on contemporary issues of immigration later in the narration.49

Furthermore, founding fathers of New Zealand, such as Wakefield, have lost their almost holy lustre and can now, with more than a century of distance, be assessed more objectively (see Belich, 2001, 314):

As soon as the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840, the New Zealand Company strived to attract British people to "a paradise on earth". This commercial venture was set up by Englishman Edward Gibbon Wakefield, based on his ideas of creating a model English society. It painted a grand and rosy picture of the new country. Through books and pamphlets, New Zealand was promoted as ‘a Britain of the South’ — a fertile land, free of starvation, class divisions and overcrowded cities (P 3).

Wakefield’s brother Arthur’s untimely end during the ‘Wairau Affray’, the first serious clash between European settlers and Māori and his role in the escalation of this incident, is not part of the narration; it also does not address the negative effects of the incident on migration numbers and the relationship with tangata whenua (see 6.6.1.5). While spatial limitations might account for the selective nature of this segment, this was a pivotal event in New Zealand’s history and when the news of it spread, it had a profound effect on migration, making its inclusion desirable.

The narration in the departure section draws a general picture of ‘the immigrant’. Due to the government’s policies, predominantly British immigrants were targeted; however, a specific ethnicity or nationality is not singled out, and the interpretative text covers European immigrants in general, and also specifically Asian and Australian labour immigrants. This absence of specificity permits a more general critique of schemes and policies. Nevertheless, the tendency to portray immigrants as victims lured to a promised

49 In comparison, a number of Australian museums, for instance the Melbourne Immigration Museum (see McFadzean, 2010), make the critique of contemporary immigration legislation an important aspect of their displays. In a New Zealand context, an awareness of inconsistencies in the selection process and potentially unfair treatment of applicants does not seem to be as pronounced a topic in the migration exhibitions analysed, except at Te Papa, which makes policies regarding refugees a topic in its special exhibition (see 4.4).
land that, as the museum visitor will soon discover, had more in store for them than they had bargained for, prevails in this initial section of the exhibition. As can be seen in other immigration displays in New Zealand museums, for example, the Puhoi Museum (see 7.4.5), victimisation may lead to heroisation. If initial struggles and subsequent triumphs are rendered as a rite de passage, they have the potential to transform the immigrant into a settler hero (von den Hoff et al., 2013). The seed for such a transformation is implicit in this section, but it remains to be seen whether it is realised in the ‘Arrival’ section or is in equal measure deconstructed as are past immigration schemes in ‘Departure’.

This ambivalent outlook on New Zealand’s early immigration history is further emphasized through a dispenser of tickets bearing text that clearly states the dangers of emigration: “Winner or Loser? Moving to New Zealand is a gamble. Will your life be better or worse? Take a ticket — see what fate has in store for you!” (I 1). The ticket (Figure 30), addresses the museum visitor directly, with the intention of making this a participatory experience, another design strategy employed in The Immigrants. The identity of the museum visitor and the immigrant are fused in the text. Visitors not only follow the fate of an immigrant as neutral observers, they are encouraged to take on the identity of an immigrant vicariously during the duration of their visit. If a visitor does assume the identity of an immigrant with the potential to experience victimisation — and possible heroisation — the visitor is subsequently styled as settler hero.
Dominick LaCapra (2001, 78) criticised visitor identification with the victim of a traumatic experience to the point of becoming a surrogate victim who has a right to the victim’s voice or subject position. While the immigration experience must not be traumatic, it is certainly a possibility depending on the circumstances of an individual. LaCapra rather asks for what he terms empathic unsettlement in a secondary witness to a traumatic experience “it involves a kind of virtual experience through which one puts oneself in the other’s position while recognising the difference of that position and hence not taking the other’s place” (LaCapra, 2001, 78). It is likely that the exhibition designers aimed for such empathic unsettlement and not fusing of visitor and immigrant.

The ticket’s design suggests both homage to a period ticket and a playing card, given the use of the ace of spades as a dominant design feature. This further cements the idea of emigrating or immigrating as a gamble, but it also has other implications. It
can be seen as the highest card in a set, even though this can vary from game to game, encouraging the perception that chances for successful immigration are high, visitor and immigrant hold a 'good hand'. However, it also hints at a much darker possible outcome: the ace of spades is associated with death in folklore and popular culture. Combining both the potential of success and demise, the ticket design is apparently intended to arouse curiosity in visitors and to encourage their investment in the fate of the immigrant whose individual experience of emigration and immigration they share. A wall of suitcases forms the transition between 'Departure' and 'Journey' (D 4). The suitcase may be the most commonly used object in migration displays, connoting 'travel' or 'journey', but also signifying a selection process experienced by every migrant (see Bretz, 2003, 7ff.; Henrich, 2011): which items can be taken to the new destination, how much space is allotted to each immigrant and is it necessary to leave some personal belongings behind? The suitcase also alludes to the frequently noted absence of material culture in migration exhibitions, of tangible objects that represent the journey. The suitcases might be empty, but in the imagination of the visitor they are filled with personal belongings, no doubt reflecting more what the visitor regards as important than what immigrants of the nineteenth century would have deemed essential for their new lives in New Zealand. Depending on their manufacture — materials used, decorations, etc. — suitcases can also communicate class status and provide information about the period when they were used. Labels in different languages can also attach origins and ethnicity to the different suitcases (Bretz, 2003, 7).
The suitcases on display here differ in size, colour and material, but strict class divisions are not easily apparent. While some torn labels are still evident, the writing on them cannot be easily deciphered. Through the varied suitcase designs the wall provides more of a colourful visual stimulus than an invitation to inspect each object separately, as they lack distinctive characteristics. While visitors cannot easily date the suitcases on display, and no information about them is provided, all are weathered and are made of materials uncommon for modern travel suitcases, with the potential to conjure feelings of nostalgia in visitors, akin to the era of steam ship travel. One visitor in the sample imagined the suitcases stacked at the dockside, making them evocative of the journey
that lies ahead and providing an idea “how it could have been” shortly before departure (Visitor 6, *The Immigrants*), perhaps suggesting an imaginative recreation of a past that never existed. Such a display of suitcases can also provide a common denominator between visitors’ own experiences and the immigration experiences on display. Grandparents or parents are remembered as having possessed such an item, or a similar suitcase is still stored in an attic. Such memories match concepts of nostalgia as being “evoked through a deliberate misreading, an evasion, a seduction and beguilement in which both sides (curators and visitors) collude in an idealized narrative” (Arnold-de Simine, 2013, 54). There is evidently the intention to evoke memories of ‘My grandmother had one of those’ scenes, and thus engender a strong sense of nostalgia, and a longing for a simpler yet fulfilled life, is apparently intended to connect the display to family history.

An eclectic ensemble of sometimes contradictory connotations is combined in the ‘Departure’ section: an idealized version of the past connoted by the suitcases and the photographs of the glamorous steam ship era, is juxtaposed with the imperfect reality of the wilful deceit in recruitment posters and the ultimate arbitrariness of fate suggested by the ticket dispenser. Thus both the longing for a backwards-looking utopia, but also the furtive pleasure in witnessing tragedy, suffering and trauma — ‘dark nostalgia’ as Arnold-de Simine (2013, 59) calls it — are evoked in the ‘Departure’ section, further enhancing the design endeavour to transform the visitor from observer to participant.
5.2.5 The Steerage Cabin – an Affective Environment

Via a ramp, visitors enter the re-creation of a nineteenth-century steerage cabin, but it must remain an approximation of the real conditions encountered by immigrants (Figure 33). One visitor (Visitor 7, The Immigrants) questioned the authenticity\(^{50}\) of the cabin, because of its dimensions in comparison to the museum ship Endeavour which he had earlier visited. Still, he could imagine life in such close quarters for a lengthy journey despite his uncertainty regarding the cabin’s authenticity. A claustrophobic feeling in the confined space of the cabin was the dominant aspect for another visitor in the sample,

\(^{50}\) Here, I follow Walter Benjamin’s definition of authenticity: “The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on the authenticity, the former, too, is jeopardized by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter. And what is really jeopardized when the historical testimony is affected is the authenticity of the object” (Benjamin, 1999, 243).
again suggesting that spatial limitations on board were experienced and appreciated by this visitor despite any dimensional inaccuracies (Visitor 5, *The Immigrants*). Other visitors did not necessarily feel ‘transported’ to the period, but, as one put it, it served to put him in the mood (Visitor 11, *The Immigrants*).

Unpleasant olfactory sensations and unsanitary surroundings could be recreated in a museum, but would clash with the promotion of the museum as an inviting destination for recreation. The design team envisioned the cabin as somewhat unnerving for visitors, yet not a terrifying or unpleasant experience (Pearson, personal communication, 2013). Even though the cabin is a compromise between these aims, accuracy and safety requirements, the re-created cabin invites visitors to encounter audio-visual contents and period objects in an affective setting; it can be evocative, as verified by some visitors.

![Cabin trunk and table (T 1) with crockery. Cabins with period dresses. *The Immigrants*. Section ‘Journey’. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.](image)

**Figure 33:** Centre: Cabin trunk and table (T 1) with crockery. Right: Cabins with period dresses. *The Immigrants*. Section ‘Journey’. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.
There are two audio recordings and three audio-visual stories: two diary entries by passengers read by credible actors; a short three-minute video-clip depicting a condensed daily routine of a family of three, a mother and her two children (A 1); a projection of a dining scene; and finally a projection of a writing scene, with the latter two both on the central table (T 1). The five alternate, but never overlap, permitting visitors to focus on one at a time, catering to their preferred mode of presentation: auditory, visual or both.

The recordings of genuine diary entries emphasise the dire conditions on board an early nineteenth-century sailing ship, especially when travelling in steerage class. The origin of the narrations is not revealed to visitors, but style and topics suggest reports by passengers on such a ship:

There never was a bedlam on this earth to compare with our compartment at bedtime and morning. I cannot describe it, but you know what two or three babies are when crying one against the other. Then just fancy 26 of them, add to that the
thumping and stamping of feet on deck just over your head (‘Journey’, The Immigrants, NZMM).

This account narrated by a male illustrates the lack of any privacy or personal space, as well as the constant noise of other passengers, crew or infants. In combination with the re-created ship environment, the recordings encourage visitors to imagine the conditions immigrants had to endure; it is also possible that parallels to modern travel are drawn. While travel times have decreased dramatically and the general comfort of travel has improved, noise caused by fellow passengers is a commonality of past and present, permitting visitors to connect their own travel experiences with those of early immigrants. Shared experiences encourage better understanding of the emotional impact such conditions have on an individual, and may result in an affective experience for visitors, thereby enhancing immersion.

Unsanitary conditions and the presence of rats on board are the theme of the second recording, again a diary entry:

Last night I had a very bad headache. The rats raced up and down the side of the ship and into my berth the whole of the night so that I am not any better this morning than when I went to bed. It was a dreadful night and I had no sleep at all. To make matters worse I found my new boots both eaten by rats and quite spoilt. I am too vexed (‘Journey’, The Immigrants, NZMM).

This report is likely to cause revulsion in visitors. While exposure to and close contact with vermin such as rats, fleas and bed bugs are rare in a first-world country, these animals are still regarded as pests, as spreaders of disease and as a sign of unsanitary conditions. The knowledge of damage such vermin can cause is another shared experience between the immigrants and the modern visitor.

The apparent aim of both diary entries is to enhance immersion by providing first-hand reports of sea travel, which visitors can project vicariously onto the re-created environment, thereby forming a more personal relationship with individual immigrants.
already foreshadowed with the tickets in the ‘Departure’ section. When successful, visitors realise that, even though differences with modern improved travel conditions are considerable, they share some experiences with these people removed in time.

Figure 35: Audiovisual display showing a videoclip of the daily routine of an immigrant family (A 1). *The Immigrants*. Section ‘Journey’. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.

The short video-clip featuring the three-member family’s life on board begins with the morning routines, the mother tending to her children’s hair and instructing them to wash themselves. The children then proceed to play — the boy with domino blocks, the girl with a doll — but they end up bickering over them, prompting the mother to distract the children with reading from a book. The clip concludes with the three going to sleep again (Figure 35).

Being a video-clip and a performance by actors represents a dual disconnect with reality: actors in period dress are already a substitute, but they are not even present, only a recording of their performance. The performance itself is one possible interpretation of history, but it fails to reconstruct the past (see Pleitner, 2013, 231).
Given the brief duration of the clip, time is compressed for the sake of giving visitors an idea of the daily routine in the few minutes they will spend in the cabin. Moreover, the attire of the three protagonists is tidy and clean, the children’s hair not matted and their complexions healthy. Not unlike the cabin itself, the scene depicted can only be an approximation of reality. While the authentic appearance of passengers on such a ship after weeks or months at sea and a truthful re-creation of their daily routine cannot be achieved, the clip advances some understanding of the necessity of a daily routine and the need to occupy oneself during such a mostly uneventful journey. Visitors who have young children themselves are once again able to connect with the experience of immigrants, as they will be accustomed to the need to keep children occupied. This also fosters an appreciation for the difficulties in accomplishing this on board ship with very limited resources and difficult conditions. Another noteworthy aspect of the production is the absence of the father. It is left to the imagination of the viewer to account for this feature. Three of perhaps numerous scenarios are that the absence implies that the mother is widowed, or the father may have gone ahead, with his family joining him, or, given the gender roles of the period, the mother is the exclusive child carer.

The conditions of travel are further elaborated through two projections on the table. One illustrates the low quality of the daily food on such a journey: a short video sequence portrays people around the central table eating bread and some kind of soup or hash (Figure 36) and is accompanied by a diary reading focusing on the less than agreeable quality of the food provided.\footnote{\textup{I have been on this ship for almost three months and all the food has gone bad. We have run out of butter, the sugar tastes like tram oil and the drinking water has turned bright green and is thick and horrible. Yuck! This morning for breakfast we had oatmeal porridge – or burgoo as we call it – tasteless slop! I am not much looking forward to dinner. It will be salted beef again. It is always so tough and is scarcely edible. The bread is moldy and unfit to eat. As for the biscuits, they are so hard they almost break my teeth” (‘Journey’, \textit{The Immigrants}, NZMM)!}} The sequence is followed by another projection illustrating the difficulties in performing activities such as writing a letter during rough weather (Figure 37). A man’s hand is depicted writing a letter with some difficulty and is

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again accompanied with a reading emphasizing the necessity to anchor oneself when performing such a delicate task when the seas are rough.\textsuperscript{52} Both presentations focus on the differences in comfort when compared to modern travel. It is unlikely that visitors will have shared the experience of such poor food while travelling, and even less likely that they will have written a letter by hand with a quill pen on stormy seas. Indeed, few visitors will have first-hand experience of travelling long distances by sailing ship.\textsuperscript{53}

Figure 36: Projection of eating scene (T 1). \textit{The Immigrants}. Section ‘Journey’. NZMM 2013. \textit{Photo}: Author.

\textsuperscript{52} “To write at sea is not quite such an easy piece of enjoyment – as when writing at home. In the first instance you have to hold on by the box which is your table, also to twist one leg around your stool to keep your seat from running away, and each time the ship gives a roll, you run away from the table, and then when she rolls over on the other side you ‘come to’ with the nice whack in the chest against the corner of the box and dig the point of the pen through the paper” (‘Journey’, \textit{The Immigrants}, NZMM).

\textsuperscript{53} As part of the visit the New Zealand Maritime Museum offers harbour tours on a variety of heritage ships. If visitors include the tour with their museum visit, they will have first-hand experience of traveling on a sailing ship, admittedly only for a limited time and not on a typical immigrant ship.
While the three other presentations focus on travel aspects that visitors might have experienced first-hand, these examples illustrate the differences, and the advances of our time. Yet all five provide personalised stories of the immigrants’ unpleasant experiences on a ship of the period. The lack of comfort, the difficulties and dangers associated with rough seas and rotting food, and the tedium experienced during such a long journey are represented. One visitor interviewed was of the opinion that the people represented are honoured by the exhibition because of the hardships they endured and she could not help but admire the people portrayed: “It [the exhibition] is certainly respectful of the people. It is almost honouring these people for the hard time they had and it gave me a sense of wow, these people have a lot at stake and went through a lot” (Visitor 1, The Immigrants). The diary excerpts were especially powerful for another visitor:

I found it very powerful, the audio information, the verbal that was going on in the ship experience, with a guy that was writing and a women that was hungry and so
on. Also when we first came into the door there was an Irish immigrant talking about his experiences. That was quite engaging and powerful. Being able to see the link to your own experience and your own family (Visitor 9, *The Immigrants*).

She found the contrast to modern ways of travel striking, but also made connections to her own family’s immigration history. While visitors are encouraged to empathise with immigrants, no visitor among those interviewed followed the prompt to take on the identity of an immigrant named on the ticket, implying a clear self-other differentiation and empathic unsettlement.

A simple yet striking feature of the cabin is its rocking movement, emulating the gentle movement of a ship during relatively calm weather. This feature is only noted by visitors who spent more than a few moments in the cabin, but for them it was a memorable part of their experience. One visitor in the sample did not initially perceive the rocking, but on realising it found it slightly disturbing given her pre-disposition to seasickness. Still, it apparently improved her immersion in the topic, as it signified to her what the immigrants had to experience on a daily basis, always with the potential of rapid changes in weather conditions and “everything going crazy” (Visitor 1, *The Immigrants*). This is also suggested by the experience of a visitor couple who sat at the central table to watch its projections after they watched the audiovisual material from the berth. While one partner, after watching the projection of the eating and writing scene, imagined herself partaking in these activities, the other reflected on the enclosed surroundings, putting himself in the situation of being forced to stay in this small space for months on end (Visitors 2, 3, *The Immigrants*). Both had an immersive experience, which enabled them to appreciate the harsh realities of immigrant travellers during this period, despite the experiential disconnect between past and modern ways of travelling.

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54 This Australian visitor, whose parents came from the United Kingdom, visited when in Auckland for her son’s graduation. Her son’s interest in history prompted a family visit to the museum. She connected her family’s history of migration with that of the immigrants on display. While aware of the differences in experience, she also detected similarities (Visitor 9, *The Immigrants*).
The steerage-cabin is also a central element of educational programs for groups of students accompanied by their teachers and chaperones. According to Walters and Dale (personal communication, 2013) two programs — ‘Immigration & Identity’ and ‘Ara Moana Ocean Roads’ — are offered, with the option of an overnight stay in the steerage cabin, complete with harbour tour on a sailing ship and simple fare consisting of cheese and crackers. Educators in period dress assume the role of immigrants, staying in role for the entirety of the program. Students are encouraged to ask questions and share their own or their family’s history of immigration, with an emphasis on exchanging experiences and prompting students to explore the topic further afterwards.

During the program, the steerage cabin is transformed into a lived-in space, especially for the overnight stays. While audio-visuals establish a lived-in feeling, educators in period dress and the students’ occupation of the berths turns the experience into living history. Again, this can only be a performance of history, not a re-creation of the past. Some concessions are necessary to offer an effective learning environment: the rocking motion of the cabin is turned off to avoid seasickness in participating students; the mattresses are anti-allergenic and far more comfortable than those endured by the immigrants, and the food is of far higher quality (Walters & Dale, personal communication, 2013). Again, this raises questions of authenticity, but also of maintaining a balance between historical accuracy and retention of interest and attention. Educators assume the role of an immigrant, mixing humour, drama and instruction. The recreated cabin provides a complete historical context, though the authenticity of the restaged environments and authenticity of the atmosphere can always be questioned (Goodacre & Baldwin, 2002, 59). Nevertheless, absolute historical authenticity or ‘truth’ is as much an illusion as turning the cabin into an authentic lived-in space.

Gable and Handler’s (1996) famous study of Colonial Williamsburg can serve as a point of comparison. They introduce two forms of authenticity commonly encountered
at historical heritage cites, but also restaged environments inside museums: authenticity-as-verisimilitude and authenticity-as-impression-management. The former is to “not confuse the reproduction with the real. Instead, [being] aware that what they [staff at the respective site or museum] are creating is ‘verisimilitude’- something that will convince an audience or be congenial to an audience’s sensibilities” (Gable & Handler, 1996, 575). The latter is to “use constructivist arguments to justify supporting good myths over bad facts, or authenticity as a model for, rather than a model of, a reality. (Gable & Handler, 1996, 575). At the Maritime Museum, both forms can be encountered. Staff are aware of the artificial nature of the cabin, but attempt to imbue the space with a reasonably authentic atmosphere. The goal is not a truthful construction of the past, which is impossible, but rather to make students (and adult visitors) curious and to motivate them to engage with immigration history, to conjure empathy for immigrants, and thus to create a reflexive space (see also 9.3.7 and 9.3.9).

Most visitors in the sample who spent significant time in the cabin while watching the clip in one of the berths and the table projection reported feelings for the hardships of sea travel during this period. This was attributed to the recreated environment including the rocking motion and also the audio-visual content that introduced a personal aspect to the re-creation and to an extent generated shared experiences. One’s own susceptibility to sea sickness was an important factor in reports of how unnerving the environment seemed. Past experiences with historical ships and the ability to compare those with the re-created exhibit also prompted some to question the authenticity of the display. Visitor responses suggest, however, that the cabin is successful in being an affective environment that prompts visitors to imagine themselves in such a situation or at the very minimum sets the mood for subsequent sections focusing on sea travel. A focus on the negative aspects of sea travel in this period, in combination with the ‘Departure’ section, further creates the opportunity to victimise the immigrants depicted, but also prepares
the visitor for the next section dealing with the striking differences to sea travel in the
1950s.

Interestingly, if Coplan’s (2011, 6) definition of the attributes of empathy is followed (see 3.3), none of the visitor or student experiences qualifies as truly empathetic, as they all lack ‘other-oriented perspective taking’ or ‘affective matching’. They reported that they did experience similar emotions to immigrants, such as claustrophobia and sea sickness, but these were apparently the outcomes of emotional contagion, implying that the emotions are not experienced imaginatively or in relation to another; but rather they are experienced as our own (see Coplan, 2011, 9). Perspective taking was limited to the self, what it was like for the visitor or the student to be in the immigrant’s situation, not the visitor or the student imagining ‘being’ an immigrant in the 1840s. While the exhibition is intended to be an affective experience, its objective is not to entice visitors to feel ‘true empathy’ for the individuals on display in Coplan’s sense, but rather to encourage a self-oriented experience and to engender sympathy, or LaCapra’s ‘empathic unsettlement’ if traumatic experiences are alluded to. This will advance an appreciation of immigrant travel conditions and push-and-pull factors, but is unlikely either to make visitors assume the role of surrogate victims or to lead to extreme objectification of immigrants and resultant distancing from their fate. It will thus not be possible to fully understand immigrants (that is the ‘other’) on an emotional level; instead, a ‘Pedagogy of Feeling’ (see 3.3) is implemented through the restaged environments visitors encounter.
5.2.6 A New Era — A Change for the Better?

The rapid development of technology and its effects on the comforts of overseas travel are introduced by interpretative text located at the exit of the steerage cabin before a small transition space connecting the steerage cabin to the 1950s cabin, then the portrait gallery:

You are now leaving the bedlam of the 19th century steerage cabin and are about to enter the comforts of a 1950s cabin. Both are third class accommodation but look at the difference a century can make. What a long way we have come (‘Journey’, *The Immigrants*, NZMM).

Again, visitors are addressed directly, casting them as protagonists in the immigration narration, going on their own journey across time. The emphasis here lies on technological advances, embodying a belief in progress. This is further reinforced by a diagram comparing travel times between the 1840s, 1890s and 1950s, being reduced by almost 80 percent (P 5), and a selection of menus of the 1950s accounting for advances in refrigeration and fresh water collection (D 5, Figure 38). After the dimly lit, dreary steerage cabin, the difference of the simple, yet tidy 1950s cabin, lit by warm-tone lights, is striking (Figure 39). The contrast between the hardships of nineteenth-century travel and the cruise ship period with its many comforts suggests that visitors will assess immigrants of the 1950s differently from those depicted earlier. The push-and-pull factors are different, and the perception of victimisation is less likely, as the differences to today’s travel are less obvious; furthermore, they could well be romanticised when compared to economy class air travel, which offers a much faster mode of travel, but at the cost of comfort, privacy and food quality.
Figure 38: Comparison of travel times in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth century (P 5). *The Immigrants*. Section ‘Journey’. NZMM 2013. *Photo*: Author.

In isolation, the re-staged environment also enables visitors to connect it to their own memories, as the period of sea travel depicted will have been experienced by a number of visitors first-hand. One visitor in the sample was affected emotionally by stepping into the cabin “which brought back personal memories of going to farewell my grandmother on a ship when I was … now in my late fifties and I would have been maybe four, five years old. So it actually brought that back very evocatively” (Visitor 9, *The Immigrants*). Her personal memories also overwrote the interpretative text in the cabin, as she focused solely on this early childhood experience triggered by the re-staged environment. Bidding farewell has negative connotations, but remembering a deceased relative in an early childhood memory (even though it might have been transformed in the course of time) is also related to nostalgia, to the longing for an imagined past, that only exists in one’s memory. Conjuring nostalgia must not be negative. Instead, the display acts as a trigger for an emotional response and is thus able to engage visitors in a way that other forms of display, such as text or singular objects, could not achieve so easily.

A display case integrated into the wall of the cabin focuses on the diary of a young Dutch immigrant, while interpretative text on the opposite wall provides further information about post-war immigrants with a special focus on the Dutch.

In the 1950s, with a scarcity of jobs and houses in the Netherlands, 20,000 Dutch people came to New Zealand, sponsored by the government. Skilled workers were especially welcome. In their new land many worked on farms, railways and dam building projects (‘Journey’, *The Immigrants*, NZMM).

The push-and-pull factors for immigration to New Zealand are elaborated in a seemingly objective way, i.e., the government’s interest in skilled workers, especially in construction, suggested a welcoming attitude to the Dutch. In combination with the diary entries and interpretative text, Dutch immigration and integration are represented as seemingly effortless. Historical studies of Dutch immigration (Roggeveen, 1996) largely
support the claim of a relatively unproblematic integration of Dutch immigrants. However, there is no mention in the exhibit of the resentments of a small number of Dutch immigrants of this period regarding New Zealand’s assimilationist policies at the time (see Fitzgerald, 2009, 202). For this minority, these policies resulted in a perceived loss of Dutch language and culture, as they were apparently aimed to block the formation of a Dutch ‘enclave’ or ‘ghetto’ (and other such ethnic communal experiments) in settlement areas (see Doornbos-Lugtenburg, 2005, 41). Furthermore, the sometimes hostile attitude towards Dutch immigrants (and other ethnic minorities) by some New Zealanders, were also part of this difficult history, but are not part of the narration. Arguably they were not as prominent as discrimination against Chinese or other minorities, but, even if only affecting a minority, an account including all aspects of the immigration experience would be more balanced.

In general northern European immigrants, especially Irish, Scandinavians and also Dutch, were preferred as labour immigrants, as they were seen as being compatible with and easy to assimilate into the predominant British immigrant culture. An unofficial list of preferred ethnic origins existed in the post-war years (see Lochore, 1951). Southern Europeans were rated as less desirable, and Asians were not even mentioned on this list. The factual and positive interpretative text in the 1950s cabin, however, simplifies this uncomfortable history: “After World War II New Zealand opened its borders and welcomed in more people. Most of these immigrants travelled in a cabin like this, basic but comfortable” (‘Journey’, The Immigrants, NZMM). This very brief summary of post-war immigration, a lack of information about the selection process and its biases,

55 However, the Dutch tended to keep a low profile in public, while the preservation of Dutch distinctiveness took place mostly in the private sphere (Leek, 1990, 9).

56 This was expressed predominantly in objections to Dutch immigrants using their language to converse with each other while New Zealanders were present (Doornbos-Lugtenburg, 2005, 45), or not being accepting of immigrants in general, accusing them of taking away jobs from New Zealanders (van Uden, 1999, 35). An extreme example is an alleged attempt to run a Dutch immigrant over with a vehicle after a spat in a small town in southern New Zealand (van Uden, 1999, 37). Interesting as these reports may be, they are anecdotal in nature and sometimes biased. Still, they hint at the difficulties that a minority of Dutch immigrants encountered when first settling in New Zealand.
and the overall positive depiction of Dutch immigration, leads to a one-sided, selective narration that is not in accordance with point eight of the museum’s mission statement: “Gain an awareness of the changes and effects of evolving immigration policies during the 19th and 20th centuries on the ethnic origin of immigrants and ultimately, New Zealand society” (“Immigration”, 2011, 1-2).

The 1950s steerage cabin exhibit exemplifies the many layers of meaning any object arrangement embodies, but also that not all of them will be discerned by any one visitor. Here the lack of context does not allow any negative perceptions of a Dutch immigration experience without further pre-knowledge. The interpretative text also alludes to New Zealand immigration policies, as well as typical immigrant experiences after arriving in the host country, thus positioning the cabin as a transition space. Difficult, or negative aspects of Dutch immigration history are not referenced; rather, positive experiences are the focus. Finally, the cabin was designed to also serve as an effective trigger of visitor memories of similar experiences; thus, it may prompt nostalgic feelings, in some cases obscuring the content provided by curators. While not the case in the sample, the cabin could also prompt feelings of uneasiness or could trigger difficult memories, for instance, if a visitor connected memories of an unpleasant journey to New Zealand with the cruise ship cabin or recalled discriminatory experiences when confronted with Dutch immigration history. However, this is not intended by the scenography.

### 5.2.7 Gallery of Settlers – Seeing Past the Pictures

The gallery adjacent to the transition room not only features a variety of immigrant portraits, but also nineteenth-century artwork depicting major harbours and cities in New Zealand. Portrait photographs and reproductions of the artworks are framed
and hung on the red painted wall, some of the frames serving as covers for small alcoves that provide short information about the settlers or the landmarks (I 2, Figure 40). To obtain more information about a specific individual, ethnic group or site, visitors must actively engage with the frames, which have small handles on the right top corner, labelled “Open me”. The portraits are representative of a variety of ethnicities that have made New Zealand their new home and thus communicate the museum’s desire to represent New Zealand’s past and present as multicultural. Croatians, Chinese, Samoans, Germans, Scandinavians, Dalmatians, Pacific Islanders, Irish, Scots and other ethnicities are represented by photographs and interpretative text. While this opening up of New Zealand only began in the 1980s with significant policy changes, pre-treaty New Zealand can be described as a culturally diverse environment (see 2.4 and 2.5).

Figure 40: Gallery of Portraits. *The Immigrants*. Section ‘Arrival’. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.
Portraits are by their nature staged, the photographed subject aware of the camera, commonly posing to achieve a visually pleasing result. This applies less to group photos. In most cases, the subjects wish to be represented in a dignified manner; in later photographs taken with more advanced equipment, they are often smiling (a long exposure time is not conducive to holding a smile), and in attire that reflects a certain formal perception of self. Depending on whether the photographer is professional or amateur, and whether the photograph was solicited or not, the results will differ. The gallery of portraits contains in most cases portrait photographs that appear to have been taken by a professional, and solicited group shots; in all cases in a positive manner. Based on these characteristics, a number of visitors perceived the immigrants portrayed as happy and contented after arrival (Visitors 5, 12, 13, The Immigrants), suggesting easy integration and successful establishment.
It is noteworthy that interaction with Māori is only represented by one artwork, which depicts Te Rangihaeata's address to Governor-in-Chief Sir George Grey in 1851 (Figure 42). This important aspect of the immigration experience is not only a side note in this section, but also the case in *The Immigrants* as a whole. The Maritime Museum has, however, entire galleries dedicated to early Polynesian seafaring and settlement of Aotearoa, which may explain the focus of the immigration galleries on other ethnicities. This spatial separation of the two spheres suggests a bicultural basis to the museum's narration, setting apart the story of Polynesian naval history from the naval history of other ethnicities, primarily European. This is a similar set-up to Te Papa, but it is not embedded in the museum's architecture, and is an effect of the chronological succession of galleries. It is also arguable that *The Immigrants* focuses more on the journey of
European immigrants, and less on their experiences after they arrived, hence the minimal reference to indigenous interactions. Yet two of the five sections explicitly deal with life in the new country, but include only superficial mention of tangata whenua—tangata tiriti interaction, such as trade, intermarriage, conflict and long-term effects of immigration on Māori. While the museum is bicultural in layout, *The Immigrants* is multicultural by design, but this largely excludes Māori.57

While Māori interaction is not a focus, the darker sides of European immigration are an important theme developed in the portrait gallery. The arrival of refugees, expelled from their homes by the Second World War, is represented by a selection of photographs portraying their arrival in New Zealand; however, no substantial interpretative text accompanies them (Figure 41). New Zealand’s restrictive immigration policies at the time, as well as discrimination against minorities by the majority of white, male, British settlers is, however, a prominent part of the narration. The harsh treatment of Samoan and Tongan ‘overstayers’, the discriminatory behaviour of British competitors to Dalmatian gum diggers that resulted in their exclusion from this trade, discriminatory legislation and racial stereotyping of Chinese are all subjects of the discussion:

In the 1950s and 1960s, when New Zealand needed more workers, Samoans and Tongans were welcomed into the country. … Migration-laws were tightened in the mid-1970s and dawn raids were held on homes of people thought to be overstayers. Now quotas allow only certain numbers of Pacific Island migrants into New Zealand each year (‘Arrival’, *The Immigrants*, NZMM).

Discrimination from British gum diggers eventually forced the hard-working Dalmatians out of the gumfields. So in search of new ways to survive, they set up their own restaurants, orchards and vineyards, and helped start New Zealand’s wine industry (‘Arrival’, *The Immigrants*, NZMM).

The Chinese who came to New Zealand … were men of courage and inventiveness. Those who could not read were willing workers; those who could read became successful merchants. Although they worked long hours and lived simply, most of the 5,000 Chinese migrants were victims of prejudice — they looked different, ate foreign foods and spoke another language (‘Arrival’, *The Immigrants*, NZMM).

57 In historiography, moments of contact and exchange between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti are increasingly woven into what were, in the past, ‘white settler’ histories that focused on the history of tangata tiriti alone (see for instance McCarthy, 2007; Belich, 2001). This change of focus is slowly taking hold in the museum context, while often maintaining a bicultural setup.
The choice of quotations suggests that the museum sides with the immigrants and condemns discriminatory laws and questionable behaviour by British settlers and those in power. Dalmatians and Chinese are referred to as ‘hard-working’; the Chinese are described as courageous and creative. The narration follows the same pattern in all three examples. Immigrants are invited or encouraged to come to New Zealand because of a shortage of workers. They encounter discrimination, but are able to turn this experience to ultimate success. Pacific Islanders are able to stay (yet are faced with a quota); Dalmatians and Chinese go on to establish themselves successfully in different industries. Discrimination appears to be rooted in the past; the groups that endured it were still able to make a living and establish themselves in New Zealand and become part of the nation’s success. Victimisation and heroisation can be detected in these short narrations, mirroring the master narration of the exhibition. Ongoing discrimination against immigrants is not a focus as these episodes appear to belong to the past. Admittedly, *The Immigrants* focuses on past immigration to New Zealand, yet the blanket statements in the interpretative text suggest an outcome that is overly positive and optimistic when contemporary occurrences of discrimination are considered (see 2.6). In addition, visitors must pro-actively engage and open the frame-covers to read the interpretative text to learn about past injustices; simple observation of the photographs only communicates the diversity of ethnicities that came to New Zealand and make up its population today, and in photographs that generally imply a positive outcome for immigrants.

### 5.2.8 Becoming New Zealanders — Stories of Success

The hero archetype must endure great hardship and overcome it through bravery, strength and wits, to finally emerge triumphant. In an immigration exhibition this entails the hardships and tribulations endured in the home country, the perilous and arduous
journey, the confrontation with a challenging new environment and sometimes prejudice in the new country, and finally the culmination in successful establishment and perhaps even contribution to a nation’s success. This idealised model is a common narrative in the stories of traditional immigration countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand. However, while this common narrative structure can be identified in The Immigrants, the narrative also includes failure as well as success. This becomes apparent in the final section of the exhibition featuring case studies of a select few immigrant biographies, the wheel of fortune and visitor contributions. The reversal of the ‘victimisation into heroisation’ theme proceeds in this second element of the ‘Arrival’ section. The interpretative text located close to the entrance of this section foreshadows this structure:

Becoming New Zealanders

Starting anew in a fledgling nation was another challenge for the immigrants. But by nature they were brave and innovative, willing to make sacrifices and toil hard for their future generations.

Meet some of the people who made New Zealand their home (‘Arrival’, The Immigrants, NZMM).

Aptly named ‘Becoming New Zealanders’, the section ascribes natural bravery and innovative resourcefulness to the immigrants, sacrificing their own well-being to forge a future not for themselves alone, but also their children, if not their community. This initial period of establishing themselves is referred to as yet another challenge the immigrants had to overcome before they could call themselves ‘New Zealanders’ and become part of the nation. After the settler heroes endured multiple hardships, their perseverance finally pays off: the ultimate prize is to be considered a New Zealander and to cease being an immigrant. It can be expected that in this section the ‘othering’ of the immigrant is replaced by integration into the host country. According to the mission statement, this should also lead to the conclusion that today’s New Zealand society is multicultural.
The section with the case studies is the most object rich, as specific objects associated with individual biographies are on display, while the preceding sections featured re-creations, reproductions and only a limited range of material culture. The biographies on display are representative of different classes and genders, but focus only on white British immigrants. While some of them do feature unfortunate turns of fate, the overall impression is positive. All were able to improve their lives and all established themselves in New Zealand. Any negative experiences are attributed to economic and health reasons, not due to discrimination or prejudice.

Figure 43: ‘The Father of Auckland’ and ‘Diary of a Voyage’ (P 6). The Immigrants. Section ‘Arrival’. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.

The most prominent figure featured is Logan Campbell, also called the ‘Father of Auckland’ (P 6, Figure 43). His successful business career and philanthropic benevolence, as well as initiatives to provide a lasting legacy to Auckland, are the narrative focus. The factual narration does not tend to glorify Campbell and gives a balanced account of his itinerant early life and later years dedicated to forging a legacy.
His donation of Cornwall Park to the public is presented as his lasting legacy to Aucklanders. Campbell’s influence on the development of early Auckland is not to be underestimated, but other individuals who had comparable influence on Auckland’s development are not part of the narration: the exhibit designers in effect present Campbell as the single most influential immigrant. As previously mentioned, his being featured so prominently in the exhibition is probably due to the recently acquired and displayed land deed, and the trust’s financial support of the museum.

By contrast, the story of a plumber is located next to him. Forced to save for the steerage class passage, he was only later able to reunite with his prospective wife in New Zealand. Their seemingly happy life together offers a success story of a lower class immigrant, but one that ends on a sad note: his untimely death as the result of an accident. However, not his death, but rather his diary of the third class voyage to New Zealand is the focus of this section. Selected quotes reinforce the impression visitors had formed of the steerage cabin: sea travel was cumbersome, the food of low quality and the journey lengthy. The long-distance relationship with his prospective wife also illustrates the necessity of making sacrifices in personal relationships, a not uncommon fact of life among museum visitors in an increasingly globalised world.

A female immigrant, Catherine Newmann, is presented next (D 7, Figure 44). While the section about Logan Campbell only featured the land deed, and the story of the plumber displayed no material culture, Catherine Newmann’s story is richly illustrated by tangible objects: a hairbrush and manicure set; a portable writing desk and a woven basket that allude to the journey, as she transported her dresses in the basket and wrote in her diary on such a desk; and finally a collapsible cot, that — according to interpretative text — was used by her family and future generations (D 8, Figure 45).
Figure 44: Left: Catherine’s belongings (D 7). Centre: Collapsible cot (D 8). Right: Hames family treasures (D 9). *The Immigrants*. Section ‘Arrival’. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.

Catherine Newmann is the only female immigrant amongst the five case studies. The objects on display connote traditional female characteristics: fertility and caring for children, interest in beautification and consideration for appearance. The portable writing desk signifies that she was able to read and write and thus had the benefit of an education before the journey. The selection of items is necessarily dependent on those handed down and preserved by future generations; thus personal items of great emotional value or items with practical use are dominant. Nevertheless, they all relate to ideas of womanhood in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The interpretative text focuses primarily on her relationship with James Thomson, a young Scotsman who emigrated to New Zealand. Already engaged before the voyage, she followed and married him after arrival. Her marital status is the dominant factor in the narrative as well as her role as a mother. While this story exemplifies the fate of many female immigrants, it does not discuss the role of women or female immigrants in society at large, apart from alluding to typical gender roles if not explicitly then by merit of the objects on display.

The remaining case studies focus on an English gentleman turned farmer, Charles Hames, and his family; James Meads, the forebear of All Blacks player Colin Meads; and finally a jeweller who established a successful business in Auckland despite some adversities caused by the Depression and military service.
Figure 46: Left: Jeweller’s tools (D 10). Centre: Washing machine (D 11). Right: Exit to ferry display and wardrobe trunk (D 6). *The Immigrants*. Section ‘Arrival’. NZMM 2013. *Photo:* Author.

Figure 47: Hames family treasures (D 9). Book *Paradise Lost*, a telescope and a coin purse. *The Immigrants*. Section ‘Arrival’. NZMM 2013. *Photo:* Author.
Figure 48: Jeweller’s tools (D 10). The Immigrants. Section ‘Arrival’. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.

Figure 49: Wardrobe trunk (D 6). The Immigrants. Section ‘Arrival’. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.
Objects associated with the jeweller and the Hames family have the potential to connote ‘labour’ and ‘inquisitiveness’, including a selection of jeweller’s tools and astronomical devices (D 10, D 9, Figure 47 and Figure 48). Further, a psalm book and a copy of Paradise Lost, similar to one owned by the Hames family, can signify religious conviction. A small folding table, acquired by Charles Hames for the journey to New Zealand, suggests a frugal lifestyle during the long months of travel by ship, but can also stand for upholding family traditions, such as eating together, even in adverse circumstances.

The male immigrants are represented by their craft or interests, their roles as family patriarchs or as founders of a grand legacy; this is in contrast to the traditional female qualities signified by the objects associated with Catherine Newmann. Gender roles, while alluded to by the selection of case studies and objects, are not the conscious focus. Similarly, the case studies are not representative of the alleged multicultural makeup of early New Zealand immigrants suggested by the Gallery of Portraits. However, they do represent different classes and suggest that despite such differences, and adverse circumstances in some cases, all five families prospered.

5.2.9 The Wheel of Fortune — Stories of Failure

While the case studies focus on predominantly positive immigration experiences, the wheel of fortune introduces less fortunate fates (I 4, Figure 50). Of fourteen accounts — all accessible through turning the wheel and matching the outcome with the name on the ticket — two have tragic undertones, while a number of others feature temporary setbacks or changes of fate for the worse. The ultimate fate of Hannah Ward Barron — whom we earlier encountered in the ‘Departure’ section — serves as an example of a positive story: “You run a shop for gold miners and then a successful hotel in Bluff. One
of your children, Sir Joseph Ward, becomes Prime Minister of New Zealand. You die in 1898, aged 69. A strong and resourceful woman” (‘Arrival’, *The Immigrants*, NZMM).

Each of the fate scripts ends with a general assessment of a life.

The fate of Dave Gallaher and Jane Finnie illustrates the other side of the coin. The former, a successful All Black, dies in Flanders during the First World War, his life wasted in a conflict viewed by many as without sense or reason. The latter dies of blood poisoning at the young age of 23 after giving birth in prison while incarcerated for prostitution (Figure 51). Both stories are powerful and visitors who follow the story of the two immigrants are likely to be affected emotionally by their fates. Still, such stories of misfortune and failure make up only a small part of the predominantly positive narration.

![Figure 50: Left: Jeweller's tools (D 10) and washing machine (D 11). Centre: Wheel of fortune. Right: Visitor's contribution wall. *The Immigrants*. Section 'Arrival'. NZMM 2013. Photo: Author.](image-url)
The wheel signifies that life is in many aspects dependent on chance, the outcome not entirely based on one’s conduct, but rather on family circumstances, class, religion, gender, ethnicity and race. The harsh contrast between the positive accounts on display and the horrible fates of a select few could be even more evocative than a balanced representation because of this unexpected dramatic change in tone; however, visitors must engage with more than one biography to realise this. In reminding visitors of the fragility of health, fortune and a social network, and with the wheel's placement as the last exhibition element, it affirms that the positive accounts encountered earlier cannot be taken for granted nor assumed to be the norm. The Immigrants thus has the potential to provide a more balanced account of the aftermath of immigration. The more nuanced representation, however, will only be realised if the less accessible elements of The Immigrants are explored by visitors. With only a short stroll through the displays without engaging with the interpretative text in the gallery of portraits or the negative
accounts the wheel of fortune holds, the over-arching narrative may leave the impression of a difficult journey, but successful and mostly conflict-free establishment in New Zealand for immigrants, no matter their background. Heroisation and admiration of immigrants may be the outcome, with the exhibition seen to conform to conventional immigration displays.

5.2.10 Visitor’s Notes — Becoming Part of the Narrative

*The Immigrants* not only strives to emotionally engage visitors, but also to engage them directly through various participatory elements: doors have to be opened, wheels to be spun, visitors are faced with the rocking cabin, and finally they are invited to provide their own story of immigration. Near the wheel of fortune, a ‘memo’ wall encourages visitors to share their personal stories on post-it notes and add them to those of other visitors (I 4, Figure 52). This activity is not simply an end in itself; museum staff collate these notes at regular intervals and transfer a selection of them to the museum archive, but they are currently not available to visitors. According to Boyd (personal communication, 2013), more mundane examples are not preserved, but exceptional and content-rich stories may serve as a basis for future displays. Visitors are thus enabled to contribute their own case studies, in effect becoming part of the exhibition’s narration. The act of writing down one’s own story of immigration is a conscious decision to self-identify as an immigrant or to recall ancestors who immigrated. In this process, visitors are not only emotionally and physically engaged, but are also encouraged to see themselves as being part of the groups of immigrants represented. Most notes are a factual account of a familial immigration story: “My father came here on the Captain Cook boat from England in 1956. He lived here in N.Z. for his whole life” (*Arrival*, *The Immigrants*, NZMM). However, some of the notes have a more personal content: “I came to N.Z. in 1976 on ‘The Australis’. An amazing fun journey & I met my husband on the
boat too. What an adventure!” (‘Arrival’, The Immigrants, NZMM). In this case, the visitor had a very pleasurable immigration experience. Her identification with the later immigrants represented by the 1950s cabin is a distinct possibility, as she would have had a similar experience. Certainly, the potential for these displays to conjure memories of the journey are manifest in her note.

![Visitor’s contribution wall.](image)

**Figure 52:** Visitor’s contribution wall. *The Immigrants*. Section ‘Arrival’. NZMM 2013. *Photo: Author.*

### 5.3 Conclusion

The Immigrants began as an ambitious project that did not simply base every decision on budgetary considerations, but rather evolved out of workshops involving all staff members, in which they were challenged to formulate their visions of the best possible experience a new immigration display could offer. Such an open-ended approach to collecting ideas necessarily implies that along the way not all of them can be
realised. However, a number of the nine goals the development team formulated in the mission statement were achieved.

Motives for emigration and the choice of New Zealand as a new home are presented in the first section of the exhibition; in other sections the reasons for immigration of later immigration streams are outlined as well. Misleading information provided to prospective immigrants and questionable practices of recruiters are scrutinised as part of the narration, yet this critique is rooted in the past. This approach also contributes to an impression of victimisation of immigrants, and in equal measure encourages ‘dark nostalgia’ to take its course.

Travel conditions experienced by immigrants in different periods are represented by the two recreated environments. The steerage cabin enables visitors to experience the cramped and gloomy conditions of sea travel in the nineteenth century. While some visitors in the sample did question the authenticity of the environment, others found the environment immersive and emotionally engaging, leading to an appreciation of the hardship endured, but also identification with the immigrants, imagining oneself in their situation. Listening and reading personal stories further involves visitors to the point of admiration for the immigrants due to the hardships they endured and the way they coped. Nevertheless, ‘true empathy’, as narrowly defined, for the individuals on display is not achieved; rather, a self-reflective space is created for visitors.

The achievement of the exhibition goals may have the unintended consequence of victimising immigrants through emotionally engaging depictions of various hardships, and in turn heroising them when they arrive in New Zealand and are able to forge a new life. The initial years of settlement are represented as a struggle. Often confronted with tragedy or discrimination, it takes time for the immigrants to establish themselves as New Zealanders. But when this transformation takes place, hardships and discrimination are relics of the past; ongoing discrimination extending into the present is not mentioned.
This approach inhibits the effective integration of policy changes and the effects of evolving immigration policies into the narration. Selection criteria are not a focus of the narration, although visitors will be able to gain insight into the type of individual deemed a desirable immigrant. Discriminatory legislation against Chinese and Pacific Islanders is part of the narration, although only accessible by pro-active engagement by visitors. Again, this relatively superficial treatment of policies grounds such injustices in the past, but does not allow comparison with present immigration policies.

Visitors will easily grasp the idea that New Zealand is a nation of immigrants when confronted with the portrait gallery and its many representatives of diverse ethnic backgrounds; however, the relationship between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti and the effects of immigration on Māori is ignored, and taken alone the exhibition does not effectively convey an idea of how the life of indigenous people was affected. Although, in combination with other galleries in the museum, a more holistic picture can be assembled by the engaged visitor, The Immigrants only tells a story of tangata tiriti immigration and life.

Because it only incorporates tangata tiriti, the goal of celebrating New Zealand’s multicultural society is thus only partly achieved. The struggles and successes of various ethnicities and their transformation into New Zealanders as one of the main communicative goals of the exhibition suggests a conscious decision to counteract the often encountered phenomenon of immigrants continuing to be seen as ‘the other’ by the host society. While retaining their distinctive cultural traits, immigrants are represented as finally becoming bona fide New Zealanders. This is in line with present interpretations of New Zealand as a multicultural society, although it is a simplified representation of New Zealand’s complex societal structure. Tangata whenua’s exclusion from the exhibition’s multicultural paradigm, channelled into a separate section, risks a different kind of alienation and the potential for marginalisation of their status. Whether the paradox of a multicultural society nested in a bicultural understanding of tangata whenua and tangata
tiriti relations will be resolved in future incarnations of the immigration display will depend on the integrative power of the multicultural paradigm influencing New Zealand’s museum landscape at large.
VI. AKAROA MUSEUM — REPRESENTING FRENCH MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

Figure 53: Special exhibition Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.
6.1 Akaroa: Resort, Historic Town, French Town?

Walking down Akaroa’s Rue Lavaud, crossing Rue Brittan and Rue Croix, passing by old cottage-style houses turned into shops, cafés and backpackers’ accommodation — named evocatively Chez la Mer, Bon Accord or Pot Pourri — the visitor may wonder how such a seemingly typical New Zealand township developed its advertised ‘French connection’ (Figure 54). Is it merely a tourist ploy or is there more to it, and, if so, how is this ostensibly unique migration story represented in the local Akaroa Museum (2015)?

In fact, Akaroa is the sole permanent French settlement in New Zealand and is widely acknowledged throughout the country as a ‘French town’.58 It attracts a small but steadily increasing number of retirees and lifestyle migrants (see Fountain & Hall, 2002, 161),59 in addition to a regular stream of national and international day and short-stay visitors. Akaroa’s economy is primarily reliant on these travellers (see Deloitte, 1994; Butcher, Fairweather & Simmons, 2003). Since the February 2011 Christchurch earthquake, there has been an ever-increasing number of cruise ships anchoring in Akaroa (see Wilson & Shone, 2013; Lincoln University, 2013; Burrowes, Klaessens & Appels, 2003), as traditional anchorages on Banks Peninsula, for instance Lyttelton, were severely damaged by the earthquake. The rural solitude of the township, on a natural harbour surrounded by a ‘barrier’ of hills, is, in fact, readily accessible by sea or road (see Shone, Simmons & Fairweather, 2003; Stephenson, 2010).

58 Tremewan (2010) provides an excellent account of the early years of the settlement and an in-depth analysis of the settlement’s social and economic arrangements.

59 The number of Akaroa residents has remained relatively stable in the past decade; however, a slight increase of 9% to 624 in 2013 suggests a heightened attraction of Akaroa in recent years (see Statistics New Zealand, 2012; 2015a; 2015b).
6.2 A French Settlement?

In such a setting, the local museum plays an important role in disseminating Akaroa’s diverse history, including its historical French connection. But to what extent can Akaroa actually claim to be a French settlement? Do 45 poor French peasants who settled here and eventually adopted British citizenship constitute a ‘French connection’? The original 57 settlers — twelve of German descent — arrived at Akaroa Harbour on board the French vessel *Comte de Paris* in August 1840; they had been recruited by the Nanto-Bordelaise Company in Le Havre and Rochefort in France. The French were nearly all poor peasants — carpenters, gardeners, stone-masons or labourers (Tremewan, 2010, 61) — while the Germans were tradespeople from south-western Germany (Bade, 1998b, 114-116).60 Initially, some upper-class emigrants considered the venture, but did not join. It seems that it was not as attractive as the French had hoped. However, an offer of free passage to New Zealand, a generous allotment of land and support by the company for the first months of establishment enticed working class people to enlist (Tremewan, 2010, 65).

Before the arrival of these bi-ethnic colonists and their subsequent settlement, Banks Peninsula was already populated by European whalers and Māori; the latter made it necessary for the settlers to enter into negotiations with local tribes to acquire land for settlement or other purposes (Minson, 1998, 54). Moreover, it was soon to come under British sovereignty. Jean François Langlois, later Captain of the *Comte de Paris* and initiator of the Akaroa settler venture, was one of several French whaling captains who explored business opportunities in New Zealand in the 1830s and acquired land for personal use or later resale. In most cases, those transactions occurred either before British annexation or before it was made public; thus, there was considerable confusion.

60 Some of the German settlers separated themselves after arrival at Akaroa and founded German Town in the neighbouring bay of Takamatua or ‘German Bay’ (Bade, 1998b, 114ff.).
about land rights and the legitimacy of purchases (Tremewan, 2010, 34). Langlois’ land claim remained doubtful, due to his failure to obtain agreement with Māori located elsewhere on the Peninsula who had rights to the land in question (Tremewan, 2010, 31). The French government, through its representative Captain Cecille — in charge of French whaling around the South Island — favoured making the South Island an independent territory under Māori rule, but as a protectorate under the control of the French government. Cecille may have encouraged the Langlois land purchase in order to establish a claim to the South Island. Thus, the French sought acknowledgment by the British authorities of its claim.

The situation was further complicated when Charles François Lauvaud, Captain of the French vessel *L’Aube*, was sent ahead of the *Comte de Paris* to prepare for the reception of the settlers; on reaching the Bay of Islands in July 1840, he learned that the British annexation of the North Island had taken place in 1839 (Tremewan, 2010, 99). As *Commissaire du Roi*, and thus having the authority to declare French sovereignty over occupied territories, Lauvaud was initially hoping that the South Island could be declared independent under French protection. He was sorely disappointed to learn that the British had already extended their sovereignty to the South Island. Lauvaud negotiated an agreement with the British Lieutenant-Governor Hobson, which at least guaranteed Lauvaud’s authority over the French settlers (Tremewan, 2010, 111). Under this dispensation, Akaroa was divided into French and English sections.

For the following ten years, the land on which Akaroa was built remained contested; subsequently, the remaining French and German settlers applied for British citizenship, chiefly to secure their still-doubtful land claims (Tremewan, 2010, 300-301). Furthermore, within three years, the British settlers, attracted by the economic opportunities offered by the new settlement, were in the majority. Both groups were outnumbered by local Māori, who were in turn outnumbered by immigrants when the
settlements of Christchurch and Lyttelton were established in 1849 (Tremewan, 2010, 181).

6.3 The Creation of Akaroa’s French Place Image

A French venture that included German settlers, followed shortly afterwards by a merger with British settlers, raises the question of how Akaroa acquired its identity as the ‘French’ settlement which tourists and village entrepreneurs cherish today. In her study of touristic place images61 in Akaroa, historian Joanna Fountain (2002) argues that a ‘tourist gaze’62 has been constructed retrospectively, to focus predominantly on Akaroa’s ‘French connection’. In the 1960s the small township woke to the promotional potential of Akaroa’s ‘French connection’, a useful, attractive distinction from other seaside New Zealand towns. Based on a map dated 1852 bearing French names, new street signs were erected in 1960; in this project, English street names were replaced with French names, and the use of the French word ‘rue’ was also extended to more than the small number of streets recorded in 1852 (“Revert to French Rue”, 1960). Guidebooks subsequently emphasised Akaroa’s French origins and attempted to focus the ‘gaze’ of visitors on this particular aspect of the township’s history. Some went so far as to ascribe a distinctive French atmosphere to the village’s architectural heritage. However, Wilson and Beaumont (2009) demonstrated conclusively that the attribution of a unique ‘French character’ to Akaroa’s built heritage is a myth. Presently, there is not a distinct French architecture or influence of French architectural styles that makes Akaroa’s built heritage unique; however, the number of preserved buildings in the ‘Colonial Vernacular’ style

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61 For a definition of this term see Fountain (2002).
62 Fountain (1995, 27) states that it is not the sights themselves which are of importance but the meanings and discourses in which a place or object is enmeshed; thus, the ‘tourist gaze’ is a cultural construction similar to ‘heritage’, necessitating ‘experts’ to focus the gaze through signs, maps, guidebooks, lectures, tours, etc.
makes Akaroa an outstanding example for colonial New Zealand architecture in general.\footnote{\textit{Nevertheless, at least in the 1840s, buildings at the French north end of the settlement displayed some characteristics influenced by French precedents. However, only two buildings from this early period have survived, namely the Bouriaud and the Langlois-Eteveneaux house. Both buildings have undergone major changes and conversions and are thus no longer representative of an early colonial French style (see Fearnley, 1986).}}

\textbf{Figure 54:} French themed butcher’s shop on Rue Lavaud. Akaroa 2013. \textit{Photo: Author.}
venture predominantly organised and catered by the business community. Few people expressed an affinity with the French heritage promoted, as most members of the community had British and not French ancestors (Fountain, 1995, 30). In 1995, opposition to the festival climaxed when nuclear testing by the French resumed in the Pacific; subsequently, any notions of a ‘French connection’ were summarily dismissed and the festival was renamed ‘Akaroa’s non-Nuclear Festival’ (Fountain, 1995, 25).

Against this backdrop — the renaming of the festival, the open community protest and lack of sponsor support (LeLievre & LeLievre, 1995; Hunt, 1995; Lynne, 1995) — the festival still opened (“Akaroa’s Non-nuclear Festival”, 1995). After the nuclear testing ended and the relationship with France improved in the following years, the festival was gradually reinvigorated (“French Senators”, 1998). The attempt was made to include other ethnicities, however — English, Irish, German and Chinese — and to also focus on regional Māori groups (“Heritage Festival”, 1998). In 2002, Fountain (2002, 234) expressed uncertainty regarding the embrace of Akaroa’s ‘French heritage’ in the future; however, in the following decade the ‘French connection’ has again gained some traction. Currently, it is promoted in brochures (Christchurch & Canterbury Tourism, 2013) as ‘French Fest’ (Christchurch City Council, 2015) and associated with the Akaroa museum. In this transformation, ‘heritage’ “must be seen as a contemporary product which is constructed according to political, economic and cultural values of the time. It is created and packaged, and can be recreated and repackaged, as values change” (Fountain, 1995, 25).
In December 1964, the museum opened, coincidentally with the ‘re-discovery’ of Akaroa’s ‘French connection’; this was reflected in the initial exhibition and the historic ensemble of buildings in which it was located: the Langlois-Eteveneaux house fashioned as period rooms, with a separate purpose-built structure housing office, storage and exhibition space (see Chapman, 1969, 24 and Figure 59). During the development of the museum, community concerns were voiced decrying its commemorative focus on the French settlement and the omission of other ethnic groups that had shaped Akaroa’s past and contributed to its present (“Questions Asked”; 1961; “Not just for French Relics”, 1963). The exhibition was developed by Rose Reynolds and Ralph Riccarton of the Canterbury museum; however, John A. Hendry, the architect involved in the museum construction, also had a strong influence on the final shape of the exhibition and selection of objects (Hendry, 1962).

Figure 55: Langlois–Eteveneaux house on Rue Lavaud. Akaroa 2013. Photo: Author.
Figure 56: Period room in the Langlois–Eteveneaux house in 1964. Photo: Akaroa Museum.

Figure 57: Exhibition gallery Akaroa Museum in 1964. Photo: Akaroa Museum.
The museum complex was planned to comprise two elements: first, the Langlois-Eteveneaux house (see Turner, 1977) re-designed in provincial Louis Philippe style; in its redevelopment, its built structure was modified so that visitors could view the two front rooms through a continuous glass pane, which replaced a wall (Hendry, 1962). The second museum element, a new building, was connected via a passage to the house and signalled a much wider scope than the French connection alone; it was planned to feature a kitchen alcove, sections for military costumes, weapons, women’s costumes with accessories, a Māori ethnological collection, small-scale agricultural, whaling and nautical material and a selection of early maps of the Peninsula (Chapman, 1969, 29-30; “Display Plans”, 1963). The museum organisers hoped that all of these objects could be acquired through donations prior to opening; however, only a small number was available from the outset. Subsequently, a public appeal was successful and most of the requested items were acquired locally and nationally (“For Displays at Museum”, 1963; “Displays for French House”, 1964). The museum finally opened to the public in December 1964.

A series of amendments to the museum’s built structure followed between 1978 and 2009, all focused on providing more exhibition space and alleviating storage problems caused by the steady acquisition of new objects (Figure 59). This also included the acquisition of the adjacent historic Court House which was managed as part of the museum from 1976 onward (Figure 58). The installation of audiovisual equipment in the galleries in 1985 and of a theatrette in 1997 (Holderness, 1985; Lowndes, 1997a) were accompanied by the creation and screening of two museum films: one focused on the year 1840, the year of the French settlement of Akaroa; the other, Akaroa the Long Harbour, provided an outline of Akaroa’s general history (“Chairman’s Report”, 1999). The French Connection exhibition, intended to “foster the community’s ongoing connection with France” was established in 1998 (Lowndes, 1997b, 3). Between 1998
and 2013, *The French Connection* permanent exhibition remained largely unchanged, apart from small additions and object interchanges.

*Figure 58:* Court house on Rue Lavaud. Akaroa 2013. *Photo:* Author.
Figure 59: Akaroa Museum in 1996. Not true to scale. Plan: Author.
Any re-design or re-development plans were brought to a halt by the 2011 earthquake, which prompted the Christchurch City Council to assess buildings within the region for their structural soundness. The Akaroa Museum, while suffering only minor damage, proved not to be in compliance with the new earthquake-proof requirements. This resulted in a complete closure of the museum in June 2012 and the dismantling of all exhibitions, while the building was reconstructed to comply with the new guidelines. This project, while not fully finished in mid-2013, permitted partial reopening of the museum in July 2013. Initially, the complete closure was viewed as a setback; however, in time it was appreciated as it provided an opportunity to fully redesign all exhibitions, rather than just reassembling the old ones (Wallace, personal communication, 2013). *Horomaka* is the first exhibition after reopening and marks the beginning of a new era for the museum.

### 6.5 Past Exhibitions — A Slow but Steady Paradigm Shift 1964-1997

Chapman’s (1969, 31) description of the 1964 exhibition permits a glimpse of the initial arrangement and range of topics covered (Figure 56 and Figure 57): while the period rooms, furnished with French-style table, bed and cabinets, predominated and made a connection to Akaroa’s early French history, other immigrant groups such as the German settlers were also represented by handicrafts or curios. Furthermore, pre-European Māori settlement of the Peninsula was also a part of the museum display.

The period room’s interior underwent only minimal modifications and has remained largely unchanged (Wallace, personal communication, 2013). It did not and does not depict the reality of life experienced by the early settlers. The furniture reflects the
sophisticated lifestyle of a middle-class French family; it is highly unlikely that such items were possessed by the early settlers, as most were from a working-class background. This criticism flourished in 1963 when discussions of the nature of the displays were in full spate, and the furnishings were described as being too ‘elegant’. Hendry, the architect, responded: “the style of the furniture would be elegant to a degree and perhaps a trifle out of character, but that would not detract from its interest” (“Museum”, 1963). The critical voices were apparently silenced and the nature of the displays remained unchanged.

This outcome is an example of the oft-encountered sanitisation of domestic life in representations of the settler era (Stephenson, 2011; Bell, 1996). Given the incomplete record, it is impossible to determine whether the subconscious desire to portray one’s ancestors in a favourable way, or contemporary stereotypes about French sophistication played the determining role in the creation of the displays. It appears, however, that when the ambassador of France was requested to aid with the acquisition of furnishings appropriate to the period, with a special emphasis on historical accuracy, no mention was made of the 1840s Akaroa social context (Hendry, 1962; Felix, 1963). So while the objects finally obtained may be of the Louis Philippe 1840s period, they do not credibly represent the life circumstances of a lower-class settler family. The diverse provenance of the items on display, in combination with the significant changes to the house’s built structure, cannot evoke an authentic place and may diminish the ‘aura’ of the ensemble for informed visitors. While the house is in part original, all other aspects of the display are reconfigurations of elements acquired elsewhere. What remains is a quaint attempt to reconstruct a past that never existed, heavily influenced by now obsolete museological trends. In the absence of accurate information about the exhibit, it seems likely that visitors with no prior knowledge of the period and of Akaroa’s history will form a false picture of the life circumstances of the early settlers, based on this historical fantasy of the 1960s.
Apart from the period room, a surprisingly small number of special and permanent exhibitions have focused exclusively on Akaroa’s French immigration story since the museum’s opening. The purpose-built parts of the museum have featured a variety of special exhibitions on a wide range of subjects: the cultivation of cocksfoot on Banks Peninsula, toys and games of the past, Pubs of the Peninsula, and the Akaroa Fishing Industry, to name only a few of dozens of exhibitions since 1964. While some of those exhibitions focused on the lives of early settlers or touched on the topic of French immigration, it was only in 1990 with the creation of the film *1840* (Lowndes, 1990) that the French immigration story gained more attention in the museum. The film focused on the brief period of French Akaroa viewed through the lens of an almost exclusively European community; such a framework imparted to viewers a selective account of Akaroa’s history, as none of the other ethnicities which influenced Akaroa were named. Further, interaction with Māori was not part of the narration, apart from a cursory mention of intermarriage between whalers and Māori women. The film further implied that the establishment of a permanent French colony on the South Island would have been realised, if only they had arrived some months earlier. The situation was much more complicated than that suggested by the film. As one of the few elements other than the period room that focused directly on the period of French settlement, with no supplementary text or object display, the film fostered an inflated view of the influence of French settlers.

In contrast to *1840*, the film *Akaroa the Long Harbour* (Parker, 1998), did not focus on the French immigration story. Narrated by then museum director Steve Lowndes, it replaced *1840* summarising the history of Banks Peninsula, starting with its geological formation and concluding with modern-day Akaroa. On arrival, visitors were informed of the film’s availability. In many cases, viewing the film informed their visit of the permanent exhibition *The French Connection* mounted in 1998. Immigration to Banks Peninsula was presented, if not explicitly, as a constant factor influencing the natural
environment and the indigenous people living in the area. Akaroa appeared much like a
typical British settlement, given the brief appearance of the French and German settlers.
No mention was made of other ethnicities contributing to Akaroa’s development apart
from the bicultural group that established it. The ‘French’ place image — being
constructed in the town at the same time the documentary was created — was not part
of the narration about contemporary Akaroa. Surprisingly, the film provided a much more
factual, objective picture of Akaroa’s history than the accompanying exhibition *The
French Connection*. The French were portrayed as just one episode in a long stream of
immigration movements; the filmmakers resisted the impulse to comment on Akaroa’s
Frenchness as the exhibition did.
6.6 Deconstructing Frenchness — Permanent and Special Exhibitions 1998-2012

6.6.1 The French Connection

6.6.1.3 Outline of the Exhibition

*The French Connection* was not a separate exhibition; rather, it was inserted into an assortment of pre-existing displays and object arrangements that occupied the space in which the new elements would be exhibited (Figure 60). In 2010, the exhibition space comprised sections on; Akaroa’s geological history (P 4, Figure 64); Māori pre-settlement (Figure 71); whaling (Figure 67); the Treaty of Waitangi (P 2, Figure 63); the French connection (Figure 67) and related to this the French contribution to Botany at Akaroa (P 3, Figure 65); as well as a collection of community trophies (C 1, Figure 62). Half of the room was arranged as a theatre with chairs and audio-visual equipment to screen the movie *Akaroa the Long Harbour* (Figure 61).

Māori pre-settlement of Banks Peninsula was represented by segments employing an ethnographical mode of display; these were comprised of a diorama of a coastal landscape accompanied by objects of Māori provenance (Figure 70); a model of the Māori pā on Ōnawe peninsula (Figure 71); a life cast of the head of the local Chief Tangatahara (1772-1847) placed in the entrance area in front of the model (D 13, Figure 68); a number of photographs of revered Ngāi Tahu ancestors; and finally display cases featuring Māori dress (D 11-12, Figure 66).

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64 The botany section was transferred from the displays in the Court House in 1981 (Holderness, 1981), while the Māori section featuring a diorama with a Māori mannequin was acquired in 1994 ("Minutes", 1994), and the life cast of Tangatahara in 1991 as a gift from the French Prime Minister (Stott, 1991). The model of Ōnawe Peninsula and pā was created in and displayed from 1997 ("Shaun Huddleston", 1997).

65 All letters and numbers refer to the layout provided in Figure 60.

Figure 62: Community trophies (C 1). Permanent exhibition. Akaroa Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
Figure 63: Treaty of Waitangi display (P 2). Permanent exhibition. Akaroa Museum 2010. Photo: Author.

Figure 64: Geography of Banks Peninsula (P 4). Permanent exhibition. Akaroa Museum 2010. Photo: Author.

The early European settlement was represented by whaling equipment (Figure 67); a scale diorama (D 3), featuring a construction scene of a blockhouse; and a display case (D 9) with European objects inspired by Māori designs (Figure 75 and Figure 69). Interpretative texts for the sections on French Akaroa were surprisingly sparse; the succession of display cases were not organised chronologically and there was no coherent thematic pattern. The section consisted of four display cases containing porcelain vessels and souvenirs (D 8), dolls of different make in the possession of the settlers (D 5), various objects affiliated with Akaroa families, the journey to and life in early Akaroa (D 4), and nautical instruments as well as ship models (D 6-7, Figure 72; Figure 73).

Visitors were welcomed into this section by the life cast of Tangatahara with interpretative text describing him as a “renowned fighting chief”; further, it connected the cast with the history of nineteenth-century science, Dumont D'Urville’s voyage and the life casts made by Pierre Marie de Dumoutier (D 13, Figure 68). Accordingly, the life cast connoted intimate contact between French explorers and Māori. Given that Māori regard the head as *tapu*, Tangatahara’s agreement to this procedure seems shocking. While the casting process did not inflict any harm, it probably caused considerable discomfort, and the underlying motives for creating such casts created an unsavoury suspicion vis-à-vis this form of contact between the two cultures, although this was not discussed in the interpretative text. The motives for making such casts to record various racial types exceeded neutral scientific curiosity, imbuing them with discriminatory presumptions and ultimately suggestions of racial inferiority (Rankin, 2011, 95ff. Rochette, 2003). The plaster cast was also related to the short-lived celebrity of the controversial ‘science’ of phrenology, a pseudo-scientific project to categorize character and intelligence based on protuberances and depressions of the head (see Le Fur, 2011; Kamehiro, 2011). Through the casts, racial characteristics could be defined and thereby peoples could be ranked, which was necessary to justify European dominion over them (Rankin, 2011, 94). In the exhibition the cast’s function was to honour Tangatahara, but it also suggested amicable relations between the two peoples. Pre-existing knowledge determined what visitors perceived in their encounter with the life cast, as with other historical objects. If the difficult history is disregarded as it was in this case, what remained was an aesthetically pleasing object, imbued with gravitas.

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66 D’Urville undertook two expeditions to the Pacific including New Zealand, the first between 1827 and 1829, the second 1837 and 1840, when Dumoutier accompanied him to collect plaster casts of the heads of indigenous people, later displayed in France, among them Tangatahara.
A case located adjacent to the life cast contained assorted objects, including walking sticks with Māori-inspired carved detail, pipe holders featuring Māori designs, a tea cosy made of New Zealand flax and tobacco boxes with designs influenced by New Zealand’s fauna and flora (D 9, Figure 69). Interpretative text contextualised the assortment of objects for visitors and connected it to the cast: “These items, chosen from the Museum’s collections, illustrate the use of Māori artifacts, imagery and language in conjunction with European objects. The most intriguing example of this juxtaposition is the life cast of Tangatahara made by Demoutier [sic] in 1840” (D 9). While all the objects stem from different periods and differ in provenance, the focus was exclusively on the possibility of one-way cultural exchange: Europeans using or even appropriating Māori designs, as opposed to Māori being influenced by European fashions.
Figure 69: Smoking utensils and other objects influenced by tangata whenua designs and forms. A tea cosy — made by Mrs Ruru, Port Levy — displayed opposite to the other objects was later re-used in Horomaka (D 9). Permanent exhibition. Akaroa Museum 2010. Photo: Author.

Figure 70: Diorama of a coastal scene featuring a mannequin depicting tangata whenua. Permanent exhibition. Akaroa Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
The landscape of New Zealand and life of Māori before the arrival of Europeans was represented by the diorama, featuring a naturalistic painted backdrop of a coastal landscape, with a life-sized male Māori mannequin placed among original Māori artefacts (Figure 70). The mannequin displayed realistic body language, facial expression and dynamic positioning; however, it still evoked an uncanny feeling as a fabricated reproduction of a human being, which became especially apparent when the ‘skin’ was inspected more closely to reveal its artificiality. The figure was situated amongst tools ostensibly being used to clean a fish, and looked up to meet the gaze of the visitor, as if interrupted at the task. This pose suggested an ‘awareness’ of being examined. Being physically separated by glass and exposed to the gaze of visitors gave the impression of ‘racial performance’, as occurred in the entertainment industry of nineteenth-century Europe. Given that dioramas are a common way of representing animals in natural history collections, this could even have suggested a zoo environment, with the representation of a Māori restrained behind a barrier and expected to perform his daily deeds for the pleasure of the curious onlooker. Sandra Dudley’s concept of ‘gaze’ can be employed usefully to describe the power relations that can be communicated by such a display. For Dudley (2015, 44), ‘gaze’ signifies a psychological relationship of power in which the gazer is superior to the object of the ‘gaze’. The museum object is apparently rendered effectively weaker than the incomer from the distant world outside. In this the museum encounter is analogous to the colonial encounter, at least as far as it initially appeared to colonials traveling from metropole to periphery: the traveler from afar (the museum visitor) comes to a wondrous place full of strange and amazing objects, where things are done very differently and all is unfamiliar; yet, although she is a visitor, out of her comfort zone and far from home, it is still her way of seeing that apparently comes to dominate the engagements between herself and the dwellers (the objects) in this foreign land (the museum) (Dudley, 2015, 44).

67 A prominent case of exhibiting humans in a depreciatory manner is that of Khoikhoi (the native people of southern Africa) Saartjie Baartman (see Rankin, 2011). Sold into slavery at an early age she was displayed in Europe as the ‘Hottentot Venus’. Her ‘exotic’ appearance was the focus of contemporaries and the reason for her exploitation. According to McCarthy (2007, 37ff.) Maori had more agency when they were part of a ‘living exhibit’. Being voluntary participants they did not conform to racial stereotypes and did not necessarily feel subservient in such a role. This illustrates the complexity of colonial encounters.
However, as Dudley points out, colonial encounters were never unidirectional, and were characterised by ambivalence and shifting power relations (Dudley, 2015, 46). We thus have to take the agency of the object into account, which leads to other, less negative connotations: the Māori mannequin’s awareness of being looked at could have been seen as an ironic statement that took into account changed perceptions of traditional modes of displays and new museological trends, thereby chastising the absurd idea of exhibiting people in the same fashion as artifacts. In addition, since the Māori pre-settlement section focused on interaction between Māori and Europeans, the encounter could have been interpreted as signalling the exhibition’s layout: visitors ‘meeting’ not only the mannequin, but also Tangatahara’s life cast as the first objects on their circuit through the exhibition, emphasising this moment of initial contact. A diorama may be a discredited form of display, but it communicated from the outset that immigration invariably implied contact with indigenous people: visitors looked at the Māori mannequin with curiosity, just as he looked back at them. The display thus embodies, if not consciously, the multidirectional nature of colonial encounters using a simple scenographic strategy: the returned ‘gaze’, in effect questioning power relations and traditional modes of display. It can also be read as showcasing the relational nature of the ‘other’. Visitors might be prompted to imagine themselves in the position of Māori encountering Europeans for the first time, allowing for multiple perspectives.
The model of Ōnawe peninsula, a volcanic plug inside Akaroa Harbour, contained, not unlike the diorama, an assortment of Māori artefacts — adzes and pendants (*hei tiki*) — found at the site, with accompanying labels offering brief information on provenance and object type (Figure 71). Additional information was provided on the geology of the Peninsula, its mythological importance and the *pā* constructed there. Again, the *pā* illustrated interaction with Europeans, as — according to interpretative text — the introduction of musket warfare influenced the design of the *pā*, which was specifically built to meet the threat of Te Rauparaha’s raids into the South from the North Island, facilitated by his acquisition of European weaponry.\(^{68}\) The Ōnawe peninsula display thus hinted at the effects of European immigration on inter-tribal

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\(^{68}\) Chief Te Rauparaha (c. 1760-1849) was a war leader of the Waikato region (North Island) Ngāti Toa tribe. Forced out of their land by intertribal warfare, the tribe engaged in a military campaign to subdue tribes of the southern parts of the North Island and the northern parts of the South Island, thereby greatly extending their influence, including raids into the Akaroa region. This brought them into conflict with Ngāi Tahu, the principal tribe of the South Island and its chief, Tangatahara.
warfare and its escalation in the early years of settlement, but also the national migration of Māori tribes resulting from these clashes. The often asymmetric conflicts between tribes had devastating effects and in the case of Ōnawe led to the outright massacre of the unsuccessful pā defenders. However, the text on the pā did not use the word ‘massacre’, nor did it focus on the fate of the defenders. Rather, it provided the political prelude to and the aftermath of the sacking in 1832 and a detailed discussion of how it was accomplished, with less focus on the following violence. Interaction between Māori and Europeans was thus presented as having negative effects, in addition to any positive effects represented by peaceful initial encounters or Tangatahara’s curiosity-driven interaction with French explorers. The Treaty of Waitangi was presented as a stabilising element in this narrative, assuring “lawful authority” for both tangata whenua and tangata tiriti (P 2, Figure 63).

### 6.6.1.5 French Settlement — A Precarious Situation

After learning about early interactions between Māori and tangata tiriti, and potentially the broader botanical and geographical history of the region, visitors did encounter a brief introductory text on Akaroa’s French history printed on one of the display cases in the centre of the room (Figure 67). It contained various objects connected with Akaroa’s past such as pistols, ceramics, whale bone carvings, a doll, etc.

In August 1840, 57 French and German settlers arrived in Akaroa Harbour with a French naval escort. The French had purchased the land in 1838 and if the Treaty of Waitangi had not been signed in February 1840 the South island would have become a French colony (D 4).

The French and German composition of the group that initially settled Akaroa was acknowledged. Langlois’ land purchase was introduced to suggest that a claim of the French to the South island was only prevented by the Treaty of Waitangi. This simplified
narration did not address the numerous complexities of the French land claims; rather implying that the French claim was uncontested and the establishment of a colony a certainty without the Treaty. This compression of information into two sentences likely misguided visitors with no knowledge of Akaroa’s early history. Here the museum did not allow for alternate perspectives, as its authoritative voice suggested a clear-cut, uncontested history of Akaroa’s establishment without any controversies.

Figure 72: Personal effects of German and French settlers and their descendants, ship models and photographs (D 4). The French Connection. Akaroa Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
Figure 73: Dolls and assorted other objects with a connection to France (D 5). The French Connection. Akaroa Museum 2010. Photo: Author.

Figure 74: Porcelain vessels and French mementoes (D 8). The French Connection. Akaroa Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
The contents of the display case were all personal effects of French and German settlers (D 4, Figure 72). Intricately carved snuff boxes, incised ivory of high artistic quality and an engraved glass suggested upper class, privileged ownership. Many of the objects were either brought from France or were associated with a family of French settlers; however, they were either not dated or of a much later date than the initial wave of immigration. The incised ivory was an exception, being created by an artist who lived for four years in early Akaroa. The objects primarily attested to what the immigrants were able to acquire later as a memento, rather than keepsakes brought with them from France, especially taking into account their peasant origins. They also indicated Akaroan-French relationships, particularly in the case of a vase richly decorated with designs resembling fruit: it was the gift of the French President on the occasion of the centennial of the French landing in 1940. This theme continued in another display case featuring a mixture of high quality porcelain vessels and French souvenirs (D 8), suggesting a refined lifestyle on the part of the settlers.

A black doll, made by a French immigrant on board the Comte de Paris for the children of the German Breitmeyer family, suggested interaction between the two settler groups and demonstrated the existence of craftsmen amongst the settlers (D 4, Figure 72). It also alluded to the lengthy journey to New Zealand, during which passengers occupied themselves with activities such as doll-making to pass the time. The journey itself was otherwise not part of the narration in The French Connection. No mention was made of the hardships of the journey or the three deaths occurring on board the ship. Neither were the reasons why the first settlers left France and Germany for New Zealand addressed in the exhibition.

A focus on the light-hearted aspects of the settler life was evident in another display case; it also contained a selection of dolls, one identified as a possession of the Breitmeyer daughters, the others with no affiliation and only vague dating (D 5, Figure...
73). The dolls suggested that children were able to play with and possibly to obtain new toys during the early phase of settlement or even during the journey.

These three display cases, one simplifying the historical background of the acquisition of land, the other two fostering a positive impression of the journey, suggested the desire to portray the initial group of settlers as craftsmen or artisans with a sizable collection of high-quality goods in their possession. The presentation of items brought from France or created at Akaroa suggested that the settlers attempted to maintain a connection to France and to preserve their identity; this endeavour was still recognized by the French President one hundred years later. Nevertheless, as discussed earlier, ties to France were only recently consciously fostered, with the creation of the French Festival prompting visits by French officials and honouring the few families of French descent that still remain in Akaroa. These developments after the centennial were not part of the exhibition narrative, nor were the controversies about Akaroa’s adopted ‘Frenchness’ and the conflict in connection with the French Festival. Finally, the focus on the initial French and German settlers neglected other ethnicities which in later years contributed to the development of Akaroa. Given their small number and their rapid absorption into the British enclave, the exclusive representation of the French immigration story, displacing any other narratives including British, Chinese and Portuguese, was problematic.
A darker side of the early years in the Akaroa Township establishment was represented by another scale diorama portraying the construction of a blockhouse, a defensive structure (D 3, Figure 75). With a painted backdrop of a coastal landscape to create the illusion of depth, the diorama appeared realistic. The soil texture, the freshly hewn appearance of the wooden structures and the realistic proportions of the miniature settler figures erecting a palisade around the finished blockhouse contributed to make the diorama a convincing and aesthetically pleasing exhibit. The palisades, the central structure resembling a medieval keep furnished with embrasures, and its location close to the sea on the coast line, all suggested a defensive function. A set of interpretative text panels elaborated the reasoning behind erecting such defensive structures:

**Akaroa Blockhouses**

The effect of the Wairau massacre on the Colony at large was to throw it into a state of paralysis; immigration was almost stopped for a number of years...The feud over land beside the Wairau near Blenheim caused the Akaroa settlers to build three blockhouses to defend themselves should unrest travel south (D 3).
While the conflict at Wairau in 1843 resulted in the deaths of 22 Europeans, amongst them Arthur Wakefield — his brother being the famous Edward Gibbon Wakefield, the ‘founding father’ of New Zealand — and four Māori, it is questionable whether the term ‘massacre’ appropriately describes the conflict. The choice of ‘massacre’ instead of ‘incident’, ‘affair’ or ‘affray’ — all of which have been found in documents discussing the happenings at Wairau — was indicative of a conscious decision to imply an unequal conflict, ending in indiscriminate and brutal slaughter. The text did mention detrimental effects on immigration numbers, but not the broader context: what began as a surveying mission, initiated by the New Zealand Company in territory they thought they had bought from Ngāti Toa, ended in an armed conflict. Ngāti Toa interrupted and evicted the mission and claimed that the land had not been sold, which provoked the surveyors to send for armed forces to arrest the Ngāti Toa chiefs Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata.69 During this attempt, a stray shot killed Te Rangihaeata’s wife Te Rongo, followed by an exchange of fire which ended in the surrender of the European forces, and the execution of the captives to avenge her death. While small in scale, this conflict was the first serious incident of armed conflict between Europeans and Māori after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. While surely not unheard of in a European context, the execution of captives without trial was considered ‘barbaric’ by contemporaries. The reaction of Ngāti Toa, considered from a Māori perspective, could be seen as a justified reaction to the death of a chief’s wife. The term ‘massacre’ was thus a rather strong word choice and lacked objectivity, favouring a European interpretation of the events at Wairau. However, since the incident was generally known as the ‘Wairau massacre’ until recently, the use of the term may have been to make the event recognisable to visitors; nevertheless, it had negative implications.

69 After consolidating his conquests, Te Rauparaha engaged in land trade with Europeans around what would later be known as Nelson and Golden Bay. However, the increasing numbers of settlers made him wary of selling more land, leading eventually to conflict with European settlers as the New Zealand Company had promised them more land than they could provide, making Wairau contested ground.
The text’s mention of a negative impact on immigration affirmed the perceived severity of the conflict, implying that it was not only a locally known clash of cultures, but that knowledge of it spread worldwide, resulting in a drop in immigration numbers. The Wairau conflict represented a vivid example of push-and-pull factors in migration, embedding the subtext of the reasons why a specific country appears more or less attractive to potential immigrants.

6.6.2 Transformation of The French Connection: Heritage Partnerships and Laying the Foundations

The manufactured nature of Akaroa’s ‘French’ place image was a conscious museum focus under Lynda Wallace’s influence, after she became its new director in 2001. Two twenty-first century exhibitions — Heritage Partnerships (November 2003 to February 2004) and Laying the Foundations. An exhibition about Akaroa’s early builders (September 2006 to March 2007) — critically assessed Akaroa’s built heritage; further, they deconstructed the myth of its French-influenced architecture, and illustrated the mixed ethnic origin of Akaroa’s early settlers. Buildings such as the Langlois-Eteveneaux house were scrutinized and any French elements identified were acknowledged as later additions, as opposed to originals from early Akaroa. The museum had marketed the ‘French’ quality of the Langlois Eteveneaux house in its early brochures (Eteveneaux House Committee, c.1962-3); under Wallace, there is a clear change of direction towards making locals and visitors aware of the mythos of a ‘French’ Akaroa. In addition, portraits of early settlers from various ethnic backgrounds were exhibited — French, German, Chinese, Portuguese, English and Māori — illustrating the mixed ethnic composition of the early settlement.
This change also influenced the permanent exhibition. Financial constraints did not allow a complete refurbishment of *The French Connection*; instead, a new panel was added featuring under-represented stories of other ethnicities who either accompanied or followed the French settlers (P 1, Figure 76).

![Interpretative panel added to *The French Connection* to represent the ethnic diversity of the early settlers (P 1). Permanent exhibition. Akaroa Museum 2010. Photo: Author.](image)

**Figure 76:** Interpretative panel added to *The French Connection* to represent the ethnic diversity of the early settlers (P 1). *Permanent exhibition.* Akaroa Museum 2010. *Photo:* Author.

Despite the still-prevalent promotion of Akaroa as the ‘French Town’ (see Christchurch & Canterbury Tourism, 2013, 11), it is apparent that Wallace (personal communication, 2013), the current director, is interested in creating a more balanced representation of the township’s history: she perceived the old display as perpetuating the idea of a French Akaroa, which did not represent the community outside the museum’s door. Furthermore, the interpretation and object arrangement was suboptimal in her opinion, with original objects from the 1840s intermingled with mementoes from the 1990s. She believed that visitors were more confused than enlightened by the displays, and endeavoured to amend this with supplementary information.
The keywords for this modified narrative are ‘cosmopolitan’ and ‘polyglot’, with a focus on how and when Akaroa became this “wonderfully mixed ethnic make-up” (P 1). While a bicultural European-Māori narrative was predominant in the earlier iteration of the French Connection, this was broadened into a multicultural narrative. The text communicates that from the outset of the settlement, the settlers of Banks Peninsula were a cosmopolitan, multinational, multi-ethnic mixture, one that became increasingly diversified in the decades to come. Nevertheless, we must also ask whether this is a representation of historical reality (as much as it can be reconstructed), or whether it is a representation of contemporary desires to portray Akaroa, and by extension New Zealand, as being pioneers of multiculturalism. If defined in a broad sense, ‘polyglot’ and ‘cosmopolitan’ can be used to describe the early composition of Banks Peninsula. It is, however, also possible that the reader would assume from these terms that the early settlers were able to read, write and speak multiple languages and that Banks Peninsula was a hub of cultural interchange globally. While this was true to a limited extent, polyglotism could only be found amongst wealthy, educated settlers or those of a higher social standing; clearly, such individuals were in the minority of Akaroa settlers. The somewhat limited cultural interchange could not paint the entire region as ‘cosmopolitan’, in the sense of blurring nationalities to the point of extinction. The new label may conform to contemporary twenty-first century fashions designed to make Akaroa appear less a uniquely French settlement and more part of a mainstream, multi-ethnic population. The choice of the word ‘wonderfully’ to qualify ‘mixed ethnic make-up’ confirms that the intention was to present the existence of multiple ethnicities positively.

70 Ulrich Beck (2005, 57) defines cosmopolitanism as “the recognition of difference, both internally and externally. Cultural differences are neither arranged in a hierarchy of difference nor subsumed into a universalism, but are accepted for what they are.” It would go too far to ascribe such qualities to all early settlers of Banks Peninsula. Nevertheless, it could well be the case that some individuals felt this way.
6.7 Horomaka — a Cross-cultural History of Banks Peninsula

6.7.1 Genesis

The exhibition *Horomaka*, the indigenous name for Banks Peninsula used by the Ngāi Tahu tribe, was curated by collection manager Daniel Smith, who was appointed in 2010. The design process was heavily influenced by *iwi* politics, community and council expectations, as well as prior exhibitions and existing collections. The staff agreed that for this exhibition there were a number of objects that had to be displayed. Wallace insisted on the inclusion of a recently acquired and restored landscape painting by local artist Will Watkins (Wallace, personal communication, 2013). In Smith’s view (personal communication, 2013), it would confirm Akaroa Museum as a professional institution with a high standard of object care. Similarly, the curator valued the inclusion of a recent gift to the museum: a canteen of cutlery with intricate Māori-inspired designs carved by John Henry Menzies, a Banks Peninsula artist. Smith argued that in addition to its considerable aesthetic and historical value, its display might encourage the descendants of Menzies to donate other works by the artist. In both cases, the design of *Horomaka* was influenced by the dual desires to broaden the scope of the collection and to fill existing gaps while representing the museum as a professional institution competent in caring for artefacts, and displaying them following current museological trends.

Regional *iwi* politics influenced the design of the *Horomaka* exhibit markedly. To satisfy that constituency, it was imperative to include the life cast of Tangatahara as well as historical photographs of important Ngāi Tahu personalities — both featured in *The French Connection* since its inception. During the dismantling of exhibitions, museum staff invited Ngāi Tahu representatives to perform the rituals necessary to move *taonga*
according to their customs (Smith, personal communication, 2013). Those consulted established that Tangatahara would not wish to be moved into storage and that he would want to have an unobstructed view of the street, to see life passing by. The museum honoured this preference and left the cast in its original position; later, it was moved, again after renewed consultation, to the entrance area of the museum when the doors to the old exhibition galleries had to be blocked due to safety requirements. Strengthening the relationship with local Māori and honouring their tradition, values and belief systems is a significant part of the museum's mission, as stated in its vision statement. Although Smith had been working with local Māori since his appointment, Horomaka was the first exhibition in which iwi politics had such a strong influence on the inclusion and positioning of objects and their presentation. Wallace (personal communication, 2013) emphasises the importance of good working relationships with the tribal council and also views their investment in Tangatahara positively. For Wallace, opening the museum up for such rituals and interactions is intrinsic to the museum's responsibility to be a place for both tangata whenua and tangata tiriti.

For Horomaka, Smith was limited to the use of the former gallery at the museum entrance (Figure 77), a relatively small space. In addition to the obligatory objects for inclusion referenced earlier, he added three woven objects of Māori provenance, some included in The French Connection, to illustrate the history of cultural exchange between Māori and tangata tiriti; a small number of other objects related to Menzies; two pendants (hei tiki); along with two photograms. According to Smith (personal communication, 2013), the mission statement of Horomaka was threefold: to include Māori and tangata tiriti perspectives in the narration; to represent the changes brought by the immigration of Europeans to New Zealand; and finally to reflect the effect of immigration on personal biographies as well as object biographies. Both Smith and Wallace did not want to reproduce the experience of the past display with its disproportionate focus on Akaroa’s

71 A photogram is made by placing objects directly onto the surface of a light-sensitive material and then exposing it to light.
French history and its ethnographic approach to Ngāi Tahu; they hoped to strike a balance between the French and other histories.
6.7.2 Outline of the Exhibition Space

Within the room’s stark white walls a selection of objects, each focusing on an aspect of the history of Banks Peninsula, is presented. Material culture is displayed in cases, while framed photographs and paintings are hung on the walls. Each is accompanied by a text label or wall panel elaborating its significance or connection to Akaroa’s history (Figure 53, Figure 77, Figure 78 and Figure 79). No orders of succession or directions are provided; however, a small, easily accessible booklet in a wall-mounted brochure rack offers some curatorial notes. The centre of the room is free of exhibits, and there are no subdivisions. The life cast of chief Tangatahara forms the visual centrepiece (D 1).72 Resting on a plinth in front of a slightly raised, blue segment of the back wall which features the exhibition title, it at once separates and connects the left and right sides of the room. The plaster cast is the only object elevated on a plinth and not enclosed in a display case. A treasured greenstone (pounamu) (D 2) and fresh leaves are arranged ceremonially in front of the cast. These design choices confirm that the plaster cast is a central key in the exhibition narration and that it is displayed according to Māori protocol.73 On the left side — in an anti-clockwise direction — five photographs of Ngāi Tahu ancestors (F 1-5) are followed by various Māori artefacts in display cases (Figure 80): a rain cape (D 9); a fish hook-shaped breast pendant (D 8); and a woven tea cosy and basket made from New Zealand flax (D 7). On the right side, clockwise, the artist Will Watkins’ landscape painting of the Akaroa Harbour (F 6) is accompanied by a medicine case and medals attributed to the Watkins family (D 4) in the corner. Two pendants follow in a display case (D 5) with two photograms of these

72 All letters and numbers refer to the layout provided in Figure 77.

73 The leaves signify that the object has the status of a living thing (see Mead, 2003), as does the fact that some visitors converse with or hongi Tangatahara (Wallace, personal communication, 2013).
objects hung above the case (F 7). Next are artefacts related to the local artist John Henry Menzies (Figure 81): a photograph of the central hall of Rehutai house, which Menzies designed and decorated (F 8), a book of original drawings of Māori patterns (D 5), and a canteen of cutlery (D 6).

White soft-tone lights illuminate the exhibition space. Their reflection off the walls further enhances a light-flooded ambiance reminiscent of traditional art gallery spaces following the ‘white box’ template (Figure 79). Two visitors noted this association in interviews (Visitors 1, 2, Horomaka). The blue element in the exhibition does not conform entirely to this template; rather, it adds a visual accent, which visitors may (explicitly) associate with Akaroa’s environment (Visitor 3, Horomaka). Most visitors found it a welcoming and peaceful setting (Visitors 6, 7, 8, Horomaka), with the ‘softness’ and ‘cleanliness’ of light given as a reason for this impression (Visitor 6, Horomaka). While the interviewed visitors perceived the design as very ‘simple’, they felt ‘drawn’ to each element in the room. The light defines the space itself and the objects in it; accordingly, one respondent remarked that one is drawn to where the light sets its foci (Visitor 10, Horomaka).
Figure 78: Life cast of chief Tangatahara (D 1) with a greenstone (D 2) and fresh leaves placed in front of it. Horomaka. Akaroa 2013. Photo: Author.

Figure 79: View towards entrance/exit leading to the shop and reception area. Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.
Figure 80: *Left:* Tea cosy, woven basket (*D 7*) and fish-hook pendant (*hei matau*) (*D 8*). *Centre:* Rain cape (*kahu toi*) (*D 9*). *Right:* Photographs of revered Ngāi Tahu ancestors (F 1-5). *Horomaka.* Akaroa Museum 2013. *Photo:* Author.

Figure 81: *Left:* Will Watkins painting of Akaroa Harbour (F 6) and family artefacts (D 4). *Centre:* Hei tiki (D 5) and photograms (F 7). *Right:* Photograph of Rehutai by Neil Pardington (2005) (F 8), Menzies pattern book (D 5) and canteen of cutlery (D 6). *Horomaka.* Akaroa Museum 2013. *Photo:* Author.
6.7.3 Horomaka — Introductory Panels

Although no explicit direction is given as to how to proceed through the exhibition, it is likely that the curator assumed visitors would be first drawn either to the life cast of Tangatahara or to the tea cosy and woven basket, as two wall mounted labels with identical text are placed next to these artefacts:

Horomaka is an earlier name for Banks Peninsula. Horomaka is named after the waka (canoe) that brought Ngāi Tahu to the area. It is this region that forms the collecting interests of Akaroa Museum. This gallery contains 22 objects from the Museum's collections. These objects are tied to seven stories about people's lives that tell a history of Horomaka. The stories and objects are all connected to the several decades when Māori and Pākehā began interacting, and record some of the variety of meetings of these cultures (P1, P 6).

First, the visitor learns about the meaning of the exhibition's name, which would be unintelligible to international visitors as well as New Zealanders unfamiliar with the Māori language. Using the earlier name ‘Horomaka’ instead of the English name ‘Banks Peninsula’ acknowledges the Māori history of the region and sets the tone for the exhibition. A direct connection is made with the collection interests of Akaroa Museum, which covers the entire Banks Peninsula, thus correcting any misconception that the museum might be dedicated to Akaroa's history exclusively, or to the period of French immigration and settlement alone. Visitors learn further that this exhibition is object-based, and that they are used to illustrate seven personal stories with presumably biographical anecdotes. In addition, it signals that all the stories are connected to a period of Māori and tangata tiriti interaction.
6.7.4 The Effects of Immigration on Ngāi Tahu

Horomaka focuses on both amicable cross-cultural exchange between settlers and Māori, and conflict and the detrimental effects of immigration on Ngāi Tahu. In this respect, it is similar to old permanent displays. As in the preceding exhibition, the life cast of Tangatahara represents early European journeys of exploration, but also racial theories of the time (see 6.6.1.4). An interpretative text (P 2, Figure 83) provides a selective account of Tangatahara’s life and achievements, as well as the circumstances under which the life cast was created. Seven framed photographs — both full-length and portrait — of Ngāi Tahu ancestors are connected by an interpretative text (P 9, Figure 85) to the effects of introducing European weaponry to Māori culture, and the destructive effects of intertribal warfare and Europeans siding with one war party against another. Two figurative Māori pendants found at Ōnawe establish via interpretative text a connection with the massacre (D 5, P 3); they, in effect, stand in for the model of Ōnawe and the scale-diorama of the blockhouse in the earlier display (see Figure 96 and 6.6.1.4).

Figure 82: Life cast of chief Tangatahara (D 1). Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.
TANGATAHARA (1772–1847)

The plaster life cast of Tangatahara, a Horomaka rangitira (chief), was moulded by the French phrenologist Pierre-Alexandre Dumoutier (1797–1871) in 1840.

Tangatahara was born near Onawe, Akaroa Harbour in 1772, a younger son of a high status family of the Ngāi Tahu tribe. During his lifetime he was able to witness the gradual changes brought to Māori society by contact with the outside world, particularly the escalation of traditional Māori warfare through the introduction of the musket.

Tangatahara was deeply involved in the rebuffing of the attacks on Ngāi Tahu rohe (territory) led by the Ngāi Tōa chief Te Rauparaha. He killed Rauparaha’s lieutenant Te Pehi in 1829, organised the ill-fated defence of the Onawe pa in 1832, and led the canoe from Akaroa in the Ngāi Tahu reprisal during the 1832–3 fighting season.

In 1840 Tangatahara was in Otago and Dumoutier moulded his head on board the French ship Astrolabe captained by Dumont d’Urville. Dumoutier moulded the heads of many indigenous people on his journey on the Astrolabe. The resulting busts were displayed in France on their return. In 1991 this copy was gifted by the French Prime Minister Michel Rocard to Akaroa.

The most astonishing thing about the cast is that someone with Tangatahara’s mana (prestige) would allow his head, the most tapu (sacred) part of his body, to be handled by Dumoutier. Whether it was Tangatahara’s intention or not, in an era before photography, this likeness ensured a measure of immortality that few of his contemporaries share. To his many descendants he remains a powerful presence.

Figure 83: ‘Tangatahara’ (P 2). Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.
Figure 84: Background: Photographs of revered Ngāi Tahu ancestors (F1-5). Front: Life cast of Tangatahara (D 1). Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.
Thematical, Māori are cast as witnesses to a changing world brought about by the gradual introduction of muskets by Europeans, which led to increased tensions and fostered military campaigns between Māori tribes, especially Ngāi Toa who invaded the South Island at the time. The asymmetric nature of warfare between Ngāi Tahu and Ngāti Toa, initially a much stronger opponent, is highlighted. Ngāi Tahu are represented as the subjects of several attacks, which are characterised by a slaughtering of people, inferior in weapons and numbers. Two events are mentioned that support a sympathetic view of the struggle as a fight of the underdog against a ruthless attacker. First, the Elizabeth incident connects the intertribal conflict with European intervention, exemplifying the often controversial role the settlers played. Captain John Stewart of the Elizabeth collaborated with Ngāti Toa by transporting warriors to Akaroa where they slaughtered resident Ngāi Tahu, destroyed their settlement, and took prisoners including...
the local chief and his daughter, while using the ship as a base for the attack. Secondly, the depiction of the Ōnawe massacre (Figure 98) followed by “ritual cannibalism” (P 3) — according to the interpretative text — may evoke a strong emotional response in the viewer. The insertion of this gruesome detail, as opposed to a factual account of the prelude and aftermath of the taking of the pā in the earlier display, may prompt disapproval, disgust and contempt for the invader along with sympathy for the slaughtered defenders. However, ritualistic cannibalism was common in this period; thus, it can be assumed that Ngāi Tahu would have acted similarly if the roles had been reversed. In addition, the initial years of this conflict indeed favoured Ngāti Toa; however, Ngāi Tahu repelled their opponents and launched counterattacks. The interpretative text thus tells only a selective story and may prompt bias in visitors.

Tangatahara played an important role in these events, and this is outlined in the interpretative text (P 2): he took part in raids and campaigns against Ngāti Toa; killed one of their chiefs, Te Pēhi Kupe, in 1829;75 organized the ill-fated defense of Ōnawe pā in 1832, but escaped; subsequently, he led a charge against Ngāti Toa between 1832 and 1833, repelling their invasion. This alleged ambivalence of Tangatahara, who could be described as a warlord, a murderer, or, on the other hand, for his role in pacifying the region, a beneficiary of European settlement of Banks Peninsula, is not a subject of further discussion in the interpretative text. It aims at objectivity and does not use emotive, judgemental words, but nevertheless falls short of a multi-perspective narration.

Surprisingly, visitors in the sample focused on the cast’s aesthetic qualities, with less attention to the associated history. For a visitor from France, Tangatahara ‘looked’ like a chief, an impression of high status possibly enhanced by the exhibition design: “Artistically speaking very impressive, yes, also you are looking at the features of a chief,

74 See Taylor (1950/2001) for the Ngāi Tahu, Travers and Stack (1906) for the Ngāti Toa and Reed (1948) for the whaler’s version of this story.
75 Allegedly Te Pēhi Kupe was consumed by his murderers and his bones used to carve fishhooks. This detail is missing, but would showcase similar practices on both sides.
you know it is a chief. He gives a very charismatic impression. I said to my sons, look at it, it is a museum piece, a piece of art.” (Visitor 3, Horomaka). Another perceived him as a documentary record of the past appearance of tangata whenua and imagined him as if alive: “What a handsome man he must have been…He looks lovely” (Visitor 2, Horomaka). The same visitor perceived him as an example of a ‘real’ Māori. For her, modern Māori are of mixed race through intermarriage with immigrants. Authenticity of tangata whenua is thus dependent on how much their phenotype diverges from the ‘original’, the authentic ‘real’ one ostensibly represented by Tangatahara’s life cast. In this way, its function becomes surprisingly close to its original pre-museum European purpose: to showcase difference, only here to relate it to modern-day tangata whenua, in contrast to the original intention to compare it with European types. The successive increases of European immigrants led, in this visitor’s mind, to a ‘watering down’ of the ‘real’ Māori as represented by the cast.

The curator attempted, not always successfully, to overwrite old notions of racial superiority and racial stereotyping connotated by the cast. However, these can never be totally erased and are but one of many layers of meaning in the object. The more prominent layer, fostered by the design choices and interpretation, as perceived by visitors, is that of veneration and acknowledgement of Māori as the first immigrants to New Zealand. In addition, visitors exited with strong impressions of intertribal warfare and the detrimental effects of European immigration and involvement in Māori politics.

6.7.5 Objects of Hybridity — Art and Crafts

A number of objects in Horomaka are manifestations of reciprocal cultural exchange and amicable interaction between Māori and tangata tiriti: a flax tea cosy, a pendant, a Māori rain cape and three objects by local artist John Henry Menzies showing
strong Māori influences. All are presented as objects of hybridity, illustrating cross-cultural exchange between the two peoples. While Māori or European influences on some of the objects are obvious, in other cases the interpretative text is necessary to establish the connection.

The Māori design, material and weaving technique of the tea cosy made of New Zealand flax was ostensibly inspired by the imported activity of tea consumption (D 7, Figure 86). The tea cosy might prompt surprise, as it is not an object associated with pre-settlement Māori culture, thereby alternating between the extremes of familiarity and exoticism. Cultural exchange is suggested and confirmed by the nearby wall-mounted text (P 7, Figure 87). The 1908 date of creation prompts a brief digression on the life circumstances of its creator, Mrs Ruru, and a turbulent period of change due to the increased immigration of tangata tiriti with their need for farm land, intertribal warfare and environmental changes initiated by European settlers. The connection between the English tradition of drinking tea and Māori weaving suggests the impact of ‘change’ and ‘exchange’ on the traditional way of Māori life mentioned in the text. The object is transformed into a tangata whenua-tangata tiriti hybrid, a stark contrast to its presentation in The French Connection where it was part of an ensemble of items reflecting inspiration of Europeans by Māori designs. Visitors generally regarded the tea cosy positively and as a curious item, “a very English thing that had a Māori twist in it” according to one (Visitor 2, Horomaka), as “fantastic” in its mixture of Māori and European by another (Visitor 5, Horomaka). The tea cosy is thus closely connected to the influence of European immigrant customs on Māori daily life, and demonstrates that not only were Europeans influenced and inspired by Māori forms and designs, but Māori adapted European customs, an unusual display of reciprocity.
Figure 86: Tea cosy (material *harakeke*), made by Mrs Ruru, Port Levy, and woven basket (material *kete*) (*D 7*). *Horomaka*. Akaroa Museum 2013. *Photo*: Author.

Figure 87: ‘An Introduction: Mrs. Ruru’s Tea Cosy’ (*P 7*). *Horomaka*. Akaroa Museum 2013. *Photo*: Author.
The rain cape and pendant resembling a fish hook (D 9, D 8, Figure 89 and Figure 88) are connected to stories of object emigration and repatriation, but also the emigration of people (P 8, Figure 90). After marrying Hinahina, the daughter of a local chief, in 1830, Sjogren, a Swedish whaler, took her back to Stockholm where she shortly afterwards died of smallpox: a tragic story of early contact with Māori. The circumstances of their meeting and subsequent marriage are not described; Sjogren's pendant functions as a reminder of the relationship between European settler and Māori, but also as a symbol of mourning and remembrance regarding the fatal outcome. However, Sjogren bartered a musket for the pendant, suggesting the importance of weaponry for Māori in that period, but also hinting at conflict between Māori and European settlers as well as intertribal warfare. Here however, the focus lies on the possibility of peaceful relations between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti, and a personal story of immigration and emigration which imbues the object with an emotional quality it might not have possessed earlier. The object is also a reminder of the fragility of life in this period and the smallpox epidemic in Europe which killed thousands.

The object history of the rain cape is directly connected to the first French settlers to Akaroa. Kept by a young girl with an English mother and French father, later adopted by her French god-parents, it is a keepsake of her childhood in New Zealand. It is not clear how the young girl came into possession of this object, removed from its original context, but it speaks of settler-Māori interaction. It also connotes the early mixing of French and British settlers, and reminds the viewer that not all settlers established themselves successfully in the colony, since her god-parents returned to France. The reasons for their departure from New Zealand remain unknown to visitors; however, the cape introduces an alternative, contrasting view to the stories of successful settlement and integration that have been dominant national narratives.
Figure 88: Fish-hook pendant (*hei matau*) (D 8). *Horomaka*. Akaroa Museum 2013. *Photo*: Author.

Figure 89: Rain cape (*kahu toi*) (D 9). *Horomaka*. Akaroa Museum 2013. *Photo*: Author.
TRAVELLING TAONGA

Taonga means both treasure and heirloom. Taonga are entwined with the lives of individuals, and with the arrival of Europeans taonga passed into Pākehā lives too, often leaving the country.

Swedish whaler Sven Sjögren took a Māori bride back to his homeland in 1830 after visiting Akaroa harbour. He had married Hinahina the daughter of a local rangatira (chief) Te Waaka-Rapa. Unfortunately Hinahina died of smallpox soon after arriving in Stockholm. A tangible reminder of this encounter though was a hei matau (fish-hook shaped pendant worn on a necklace) that Sjögren had bartered for a musket.

The history of the hei matau in Sweden is not currently known, but it appears to have remained there for over a century, with the story of its origins intact. In 1972 Akaroa Museum was able to purchase this taonga at auction and bring it back to the harbour it had left 142 years previous.

A kahu tōi is a rain cape. Although it seems a strange choice for a seven year old girl, this kahu tōi is one of two that was taken to France in 1863 by Emilie Libeau (1856–1938) apparently as a memento of her birth country.

Emilie was the Akaroa-born daughter of French immigrant Joseph Libeau and English immigrant, Mary Ann Hedgeman. Emilie was adopted by her god-parents, the childless couple, Jacques and Louise Benoit, who were passengers on the ship Comte de Paris with Libeau. Unlike most of the other Comte de Paris settlers, the Benoits returned to France, taking their god-daughter with them.

Emilie never again left France. The Māori cape passed down through her family, as a link to their (Pākehā) New Zealand relatives. It was returned to Akaroa by Emilie’s grand-daughter as part of the sesquicentennial celebrations of 1990, after a 127 year absence.

Figure 90: ‘Travelling Taonga’ (P 8). Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.
With regards to Menzies' work, visitors may assume a genuine appreciation of Māori carving; some may suspect a fascination or obsession. One visitor expressed great surprise that an Englishman imported Māori culture into his art (Visitor 2, Horomaka). It is thus not his life or biography that is central to the representation, but rather a selective ensemble of his work that pertains to his inspiration by Māori designs.

All three of Menzies' artefacts on display illustrate this association. The photograph by Neil Pardington exhibited is a view of the entrance hall of the house Rehutai, richly adorned with ostensibly Māori carvings that Menzies designed, built and decorated. The photograph alone does not tell the viewer whether it was built by tangata whenua or tangata tiriti. If the nearby interpretative text is read, it will become apparent that the house is Menzies' work; thus, the emphasis shifts to the exchange of ideas and in this case the influence of Māori carvings on a European artist-settler. The second artefact, a pattern book, is opened on a page showing an expertly executed drawing of a Māori carving (D 5, Figure 93). Given the substantial work required for the detailed drawings of the 29 designs, Menzies’ interest in and dedication to Māori carving is clear, even to the casual viewer. Finally, a canteen of cutlery with inlaid eyes made of Paua shell (D 6, Figure 92) attracted a number of visitors in the sample. Some connected it to a personal interest in woodwork (Visitors 1, 6, Horomaka) while the object was also perceived as representing cultural exchange: “It was a white person who had the mana or the permission from Māori people to involve themselves in such a way…The respect cross-culturally is quite interesting” (Visitor 4, Horomaka). In addition, one visitor used the object as an entry point into an imaginary emigration experience: she was fascinated with the idea of filling the object, lifting it onto the ship and safeguarding it on a long ocean voyage (Visitor 1, Horomaka). Further, she imagined that due to its dimensions and weight, its owner would prefer to leave it in one place. This imagination of travelling practicalities may have been prompted by a preconception that it or similar canteens would have been transported by ship to New Zealand. This would contradict the
information provided, which was that the canteen was created in New Zealand. Rather, the object served as an entry point to an imaginary voyage.


Figure 92: Canteen of cutlery created by John Henry Menzies in New Zealand (D 6). Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.
Clearly, the three objects associated with Menzies suggest to visitors an open-minded artist, a keen student of Māori carving technique and design with a genuine interest in Māori culture. The extent to which this interest went beyond formal visits to houses and museums remains unknown; similarly, his personal opinions of and relationships to Māori are not the focus of the representation. Thus, the ensemble remains a positive narration of cultural exchange, if one-sided (see also 6.6.1.4).

In summary, the metacommunicative goal is not to illustrate the technical, symbolic or cultural value of either Māori design, weaving techniques or carving through the pendant and rain cape. Rather, it is to present them as examples of object migration and to illustrate stories of emigration and immigration through the biographies of the objects and the individuals who owned them. However, this approach also implies a “diversion of commodities from their original nexus” (Appadurai, 1986, 28) or their original context. This can lead to “intensification of commoditization by the enhancement
of value attendant upon its diversion" (Appadurai, 1986, 28). The objects on display gain value through the stories and biographies attached to them. Neither ‘production knowledge’ nor ‘consumption knowledge’, that is, how a commodity is made and how it is consumed or used, are of importance in this display (see Appadurai, 1986, 41). What is at the centre of the display is the ‘cultural biography’ of the objects (see Kopytoff, 1986). The redefinition of the objects and their use as mementos of cultural exchange is emphasised by a focus on the biographies of individuals who interacted with them. This focus on biography prompted one visitor to experience a revelation: an introspective awareness that immigration and appropriation of indigenous culture substantially influenced contemporary Māori culture. That visitor expressed a feeling of regret and shame that immigration to New Zealand occurred at a speed and magnitude detrimental to the indigenous population (Visitor 5, Horomaka).

6.7.6 The Watkins Family — Art as ‘Contact Zone’

Will Watkins is another local artist represented in Horomaka with one of his paintings of Akaroa Harbour, and a selection of family artifacts, such as medals and a medicine case (F 6, D 4, Figure 94). In contrast to Menzies, he embraced very European art forms: painting and later photography, becoming the first commercial photographer in Akaroa. Initially self-taught, he was later able to complete art school in Australia. After some success, he returned to New Zealand, where he was less well received.

The medicine case (D 4, Figure 94), was owned by a relative of Will Watkins who worked as a ship’s surgeon prior to his permanent emigration to Akaroa in 1850; it corrected the preconceptions of two visitors who had visited the French cemetery before they came to the museum. Prompted by the display of death, they imagined that there
had been no medical support for those settlers; with that correction, they were able to add to their knowledge about early Akaroa (Visitors 7, 8, Horomaka).

Figure 94: Medicine case and assorted medals attributed to the Watkins family (D 4). Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.

Figure 95: Landscape painting of Akaroa harbour with view of Ōnawe peninsula by Will Watkins (F 6). Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.
Figure 96: Two pendants made from greenstone (*hei tiki*) (D 5). *Horomaka*. Akaroa Museum 2013. *Photo*: Author.

Figure 97: Photograms of the two *hei tiki* shown in Figure 96 created by Areta Wilkinson and Mark Adams (F 7). *Horomaka*. Akaroa Museum 2013. *Photo*: Author.
Some museum objects, like the two hei tiki on display here, have complex histories, connecting disparate people, places and periods.

Ōnawe peninsula sits at the head of Akaroa Harbour. In 1832 Te Rauparaha instigated a massacre with associated ritual cannibalism following his taking of the pa on this site. Ōnawe subsequently became associated with grief for Horomaka Ngāi Tahu.

Graecen Black was born in Ireland, and arrived in Akaroa in 1871, first running a drapery, later exporting grass seed and cheese, and then farming. He collected Maori taonga (treasures), mostly toki (adzes) and hei tiki (figurative pendants), that he found around Horomaka. The two on display here were found by Black at Ōnawe. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that they were there as a result of the Ōnawe conflict. Through Pakiha collectors like Black, many taonga passed into museum collections, unfortunately their specific histories were often lost.

In 2011 photographs of these two hei tiki were made by jeweller Aneta Wilkinson (Ngāi Iraekhu) and photographer Mark Adams, part of a project in recording Ngāi Tahu taonga in museums. Photographs are made by placing an object onto light sensitive paper, and then exposing the arrangement to light. The paper under the object remains unexposed leaving a silhouette. These photographs are made with cyanotype blue print paper, once commonly used by draftsmen.

The artists commented that

the potency of the silhouette comes from the fact that, unlike a photograph, it is recorded through "touch". The taonga "touch" the paper, light "touch" the taonga and paper. The image this makes is an alluring absence made positive.

There is a poetic power here connecting ideas of memory and loss with the technologies of recording and documenting in both the photographic process and the collecting by Black and the museum.

Figure 98: ‘Ōnawe’ (P 3). Horomaka. Akaroa Museum 2013. Photo: Author.
The painting of Akaroa Harbour is in what appears to be a contemporary frame, gilded and richly adorned (F 6, Figure 95). The landscape, from a vantage point looking across Ōnawe Peninsula and the harbour, appears almost untouched by civilization, yet two figures walk down a road and two ships cruise along the harbour basin. The accompanying text (P 10) focuses on Watkins’ art as a record of the landscape before settlement transformed it. Visitors in the interview sample were especially drawn to the contrast between then and now, which engendered in some a feeling of loss. One visitor had a connection to the place depicted; her ancestors owned a sawmill there, and the painting was an entry point to her own family history (Visitor 4, Horomaka). She was also reminded of “the connection, the amazement for me is that it was 10 years after the massacre at Ōnawe Point. How much did they know or understand of that carnage? Always amazes me this was the beginning”. Its proximity to the pendants and text on Ōnawe, as well as the subject of the painting, led her to a connection of idyllic landscape painting, with the gruesome history of the place depicted and the life of early settlers, ostensibly unscathed by this history, ignorant of Māori affairs. This example illustrates again the Horomaka creator’s attempt, here successful, to provide multiple perspectives and to represent both the history of tangata whenua and tangata tiriti.

6.7.7 A History of Media

Viewed as an ensemble with interconnections of object arrangements, it becomes apparent that Horomaka narrates not only a story of tangata whenua and Māori interaction with immigrant Europeans, but also a story of the development of different recording methods: painting, carving, life casts, photograms and photography.

Māori carvings used the language of carved form to narrate mythologies and histories. Tangatahara’s life cast provided a replication of living forms, but, taken in 1840,
just two years after Daguerre made the first reliably dated photograph of a person, it was quickly superseded by this more efficient technology. Yet, the three-dimensional qualities of the life cast give it a haptic and spatial presence entirely different from a two-dimensional photo. Will Watkins is an artist who worked in both traditional oil painting and the new technology of photography, which is also represented by photographs of Rehutai and Ngāi Tahu ancestors. The photograms (Figure 97), while of recent origin, recall early photography techniques and the pioneers of this technology.

The immigration of Europeans to New Zealand is thus represented as having prompted a rapid spread in the use of these new technologies. Māori accustomed themselves to it: the life cast and photographs provide visible evidence of that familiarity. In this way, the positive effects of immigration, that is, the spread of new ideas and technology, are represented by the media on display in Horomaka.

6.7.8 And what About the French?

Akaroa's French history and connection is acknowledged in the migration of the rain cape to France and D'Urville’s and Dumoutier’s voyage, but does not claim more prominence than any of the other stories involving those who made Banks Peninsula their home. According to the Horomaka story, all interacted equally with tangata whenua and taonga. The impact of French immigration on Akaroa is only a side note in Horomaka, which presents a broader composite image of the impact immigration had on Banks Peninsula's inhabitants.

This interpretation is supported by visitor interviews, as most of the visitors in the sample did not perceive Horomaka as having a strong focus on French history; rather, according to one visitor, it showed “visitors how the Māori on Banks Peninsula looked
like and … blended in with the European people" (Visitor 2, Horomaka). The idea of a multi-ethnic narrative was mentioned by a number of visitors (Visitors 3, 4, 8, 10, Horomaka); generally, they perceived it being “about the links of Māori people with overseas people. Swedish, French, Irish, English, it is all about the people” (Visitor 3, Horomaka). It further would be a “tribute to the native people of New Zealand, not really French history” (Visitor 3, Horomaka). This lack of French history was a common theme in interviews: “I still don’t know much about the French Connection. There is talk about a Swedish marriage. I don’t see if there was a difference between French or English colonisation. It is not as obvious as I would have expected. I don’t see it as being typically French” (Visitor 6, Horomaka). A French couple in the sample was interested in the French connection specifically and entered the museum to find out more about this topic; they did not find an answer for the French history, although they did for other ethnicities. Nevertheless, the constructed place image of Akaroa village still had an emotional impact on them with its contrived connection to France: “We saw French flags and French shops, also some French names, so we felt something” (Visitor 8, Horomaka). In a conversation before they entered the museum, they spoke about feeling proud that French people came as settlers to the other end of the world, admiring their courage and achievements. In this case, the village’s ‘French’ place image superseded the metacommunication of Horomaka. This suggests that complementary information would be necessary to deconstruct Akaroa’s French place image and allow a more nuanced assessment. Naturally, Horomaka is only the opening ensemble of the Akaroa museum; however, the attempts to strike a balance between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti history, and to move away from a French master narrative are clearly visible and a continuation of earlier initiatives.


6.8 Conclusion

Even though the Akaroa Museum is a comparatively small museum and has existed for several decades as a semi-professional institution, significant changes in the representation of immigration have taken place over the past 40 years. In the first two of those four decades, there was a focus on social history, with no specific attention to immigration history. While displays in the Langlois-Eteveneaux cottage were intended to illustrate the life circumstances of the early settlers, the disregard for the social context of the early settlers, combined with a desire to portray them positively, coalesced to present an imagined past, expressing the ideas and desires of contemporaries rather than a coherent reconstruction. An overarching theme of ‘French refinement’ inappropriately influenced later exhibitions in the new sections of the museum added in 1978.

With the introduction of the documentary 1840, the French immigration story moved to centre stage. With its exclusive focus on the early French settlers, the short film foreshadowed a period wherein this extraordinary historical episode formed an important part of the Akaroa Museum’s permanent exhibition. In combination with the other exhibitions, 1840 was open about the hardships of the early years, presenting a more factual representation than the preceding paradigm of ‘French refinement’. It was nevertheless a biased representation that ignored German, British, Māori and others who settled the peninsula at that time.

With the establishment of The French Connection exhibition and the creation of the film Akaroa the Long Harbour, museum staff shifted the focus from social history alone to the inclusion of immigration history of the whole peninsula. The interest in consciously promoting Akaroa’s French ‘place image’ through the creation of the French festival may have influenced director Steve Lowndes; certainly the festival made it impossible to ignore the attraction of some residents to this brief episode in Akaroa’s
history, if this fascination did not already predate the outbreak of francophilia in Akaroa. However, *Akaroa the Long Harbour* offered a much more balanced account of Akaroa’s immigration history, representing the era of French settlement as only one of many periods.

*The French Connection* was less a coherent interpretative exhibit than a display superimposed onto a pre-existing overview of Māori pre-settlement and Banks Peninsula geological history. Taken alone, *The French Connection* exhibition surprisingly reverted back to the earlier paradigm of exclusively representing ‘French refinement’; its over-reliance on high quality handicraft, lack of clarity about provenance or dating and interpretative text contributed to this impression. Finally, the lack of acknowledgement of ethnicities other than the French settlers, with a nod to the Germans, led to an unbalanced account of Akaroa’s immigration history. However, in combination with the displays on Māori pre-settlement and *Akaroa the Long Harbour*, the narration was more balanced and less biased. Sections focusing on Māori pre-settlement introduced peaceful initial contact and cultural exchange between early settlers and tangata whenua; further, it commented on the effects European immigration had on New Zealand as a whole, as well as on Banks Peninsula. These effects were represented as mostly negative, disruptive and in some cases devastating for Ngāi Tahu, in the introduction of advanced weaponry, the escalation of intertribal warfare, and in violent conflicts between European settlers and tangata whenua. While still clinging to the old idea of ‘French refinement’, a more nuanced picture of the past was presented.

Lynda Wallace’s appointment contributed to the change of paradigm away from ‘French refinement’ and from the inflated representation of the comparatively small impact French immigration and settlement had on Akaroa’s entire history. This was achieved by deconstructing Akaroa’s ‘French place’ image in special exhibitions; in that initiative, notions of a special French character to the built heritage of Akaroa were demonstrated as myth. Slowly, existing displays were transformed into a more inclusive
and balanced narration. Acknowledgment of other ethnicities that contributed to Akaroa's development led to a multicultural narration. However, this did not include tangata whenua, which still formed a separate entity from tangata tiriti.

With *Horomaka*, it is clear that the paradigms of the past still have an effect on the new displays; however, they have superimposed a new emphasis, even if not always successfully, on multiple perspectives and a multicultural paradigm that encompasses tangata whenua. Not unlike older exhibitions, *Horomaka* illustrates the impact immigration had on tangata whenua, but intertwines their fate with tangata tiriti to present a bicultural interpretation of New Zealand history. This is achieved by presenting objects and biographies as interconnected, and the period of early settlement as a period of cultural interchange in both directions. The negative, often devastating impact of immigration on tangata whenua is once again a strong aspect of the narrative. In 2013, the history of French immigration to New Zealand assumes a modest but more historically appropriate place in the Akaroa Museum’s intercultural narrative.
Chapter VII “Puhoi Bohemian Museum — A German Connection to New Zealand?” is embargoed until **January 2021**.

It is now published as a journal article:

VIII. WAIPU MUSEUM — ‘THE SEARCH FOR PARADISE’, A SCOTTISH MIGRATION STORY.

Figure 128: Permanent exhibition *The Search for Paradise*. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo*: Author
8.1 History of the Museum - An “atypical” Immigration Story

In its devotion to Scottish immigration history, the Waipu Museum (2015) is one of many New Zealand institutions to focus on this ethnic group, who constituted a large proportion of European settlers to New Zealand. Brooking (2003, 49-50) estimates that 21 per cent of New Zealand’s nineteenth-century immigrants came from Scotland, and the overwhelming majority, 90 per cent, of those Scots were Lowlanders. The Waipu Museum focuses on the history of an “atypical” (Brooking, 2003, 50) story of immigration to New Zealand, namely the migration of a group of Scottish settlers to New Zealand via Nova Scotia and Australia. Many were originally from the coast of Scotland, but of Highland descent, and had lived for more than 30 years in St. Anns, Nova Scotia. After a severe famine, they decided to leave for Australia in 1851, but their inability to acquire land easily after arrival, combined with the ill-effects of the gold rush, led to them embark once more, finally arriving in New Zealand in 1853 and establishing Waipu. Their leader, Norman McLeod, was over 70 years old when he finally brought them to the ‘promised land’ of New Zealand.

‘Atypical’ does not, however, imply unique, as neither group migration of Scottish settlers, nor group migration from the maritime colonies of North America to New Zealand or Australia, was an exclusive event (Molloy, 1991, 20). Though not unique historically, the migration story mirrored by the Waipu Museum in its permanent display is not found in other museums in New Zealand. Furthermore, it is the only professionally-staffed medium-sized New Zealand museum which focuses solely on Scottish migration.

In its current form, the museum is relatively new; it was opened to the public only in 2003 on the occasion of the sesquicentennial of the founding of Waipu. Nevertheless, both the building and the collection are legacies of the ‘House of Memories’, an institution established fifty years earlier, on the occasion of the centennial of Waipu’s founding.

Waipu residents have never been at a loss for reasons to celebrate their Scottish heritage and to express pride in their ancestors’ accomplishments. The foreword of the 1953 centennial souvenir program emphasises the celebratory nature of the festivities and the perception of their antecedents as paragons:

Today we celebrate this collective migration of a community to form a “little Scotland” in a “mild and fruitful country”, recalling in our own observances, pageantry and enjoyment, the religious, social, cultural and athletic attributes which sustained our forefathers in their epic of colonisation (MacKay, 1952, 1).

The predecessor of the Waipu Museum, the ‘House of Memories’, was established to celebrate the Nova-Scotian Scottish settlement in New Zealand. Its inauguration celebrated it as an “imperishable symbol of appreciation of the courage, character and skill of our pioneers” (MacKay, 1952, 3). Stolwerk, Powell, Langsford and McKenzie (2002, 76) state that the primary motivation to foster such a costly project was post-war change, which was perceived as altering the district through accelerated redevelopment and the accompanying deterioration of its heritage. Simpson states that establishing institutions like that at Waipu would be important for settler communities “as they seek to retain a sense of cultural identity and community in a new environment, and to share and take pride in those things which they feel makes their culture unique” (Simpson, 2001, 81). Similar reasoning was documented at both Puhoi (see 7.2) and Akaroa (see 6.4).

Support for the project’s funding was a matter of community pride; therefore, contributions from non-Scottish descendants were declined or only accepted for less
central parts of the project, such as the Rest and Plunket Rooms (Stolwerk et al., 2002, 76). Names of contributors, who were “one and all descendants of the pioneers in whose honour the museum has been erected” (MacKay, 1952, 3) were acknowledged on a wall plaque. The building’s architecture suggested a hybrid between a Scottish Highland slate-roofed cottage and elements of the Nova Scotian homes, although it utilised local building materials (MacKay, 1952, 3).

Stolwerk et al. conclude: “the House of Memories provided a physical sign of the then-passionate feelings about Nova Scotian ancestry and being part of the Waipu clan grouping” (Stolwerk et al., 2002, 77). While the museum building apparently represented the sentiments of the planners and provided Waipu with a structure reminiscent of traditional Scottish housing — a purpose-built lieu de memoire par excellence — neither the plan nor the damp conditions inside the building (due to a lack of environmental control measures) were suitable for a museum (Montgomery, personal communication, 2010). Ironically, the intention to create a place to store and collect relics of Waipu’s past was jeopardised by the creation of a repository as an ‘authentic’ piece of architecture, representing a supposedly traditional Scottish way of life that was ill-suited for this purpose.

There are at least two interpretations of the overarching aim to preserve what made Waipu Scottish and thus unique: as an attempt to save a specific version of group identity from becoming obsolete; and to reinvent such an identity based on perpetuating traditions with linkages to Nova Scotian or Highland culture. The architecture of the museum and the restriction of contributions on the basis of genealogy support both interpretations. This is reminiscent of the desire to capture the somewhat more tenuous French identity at Akaroa or a Bohemian identity at Puhoi.

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104 The Plunket society provides health services to babies and young children (Chapman, 2003).
The ‘House of Memories’ exhibition was designed by non-professional enthusiasts and featured a conservative spatial organisation and arrangement of objects, without a specific thematic order or interpretative material (Montgomery, personal communication, 2010; Figure 129 and Figure 130). The main objective was to present as many of the available artefacts as possible, which resulted in an incoherent, cluttered display and, as time passed, an increasingly outdated exhibition. In addition, objects suffered from insect infestations and inappropriate environmental conditions.

Figure 129: ‘Hall of Memories’ permanent display. Photo: Waipu Museum.
These factors, in combination with the lack of an overarching concept, resulted in the recognition of an urgent need for the refurbishment of the exhibition and the building’s facilities to reflect more up-to-date museological trends, conservational needs and spatial necessities:

Without a major upgrade to create a modern, interactive and spacious museum it was feared that the upsurge in interest in the New Zealand Nova Scotian link, and the history associated with the pioneers and their successors, would begin to fade (Waipu Caledonian Society, 2003, 19).

Once again, the opening of the redesigned museum and exhibition was prompted by a celebration of Waipu’s heritage: the 2003 Sesquicentennial (see Waipu 150 Charitable Trust, 2003; Waipu Caledonian Society, 2003). The stated reasons for altering the existing museum building mirrored the 1953 feelings of the threat of a loss of Waipu’s history. However, in 2003, modern museum conservation measures were taken into account. The renovated building provided more space for exhibitions and storage as well as a modern temperature control system and fireproof document stores. Future
extensions were also considered and space reserved for this at the rear of the museum. The architectural changes were intended to reflect

the pioneers' translation to antipodean conditions and the passage of time since the original museum was erected. Corrugated iron over timber framing, with a particle board lining, reinforces the concept of rural pioneering spirit, of rugged durability, and the use of simple materials (Stolwerk et al., 2002, 82).

The changes reflected modern needs, but endeavoured to establish a metaphorical connection to qualities perceived as embodying the early Waipu settlers. The name of the building was also changed from 'House of Memories' to 'Waipu Heritage Centre', while the museum itself was simply referred to as the 'Waipu Museum'. The change of name implies that a more familiar, up-to-date and therefore more promotable name was preferred. The use of the currently popular term 'heritage' further implies a broader approach to Waipu's architectural, cultural, economic and social history than its predecessor: a 'House of Memories', refers to the intangible concept of memory, an allusive abstraction without a common popular definition. In addition, 'House of Memories' implicitly references older members of the community who may focus on the past, rather than the present or future. Such a place might not appeal to younger people, who are interested in their heritage, but not necessarily old memories. "Not exactly culture and not exactly history", as Zumkhawala-Cook phrases it, "heritage describes a privately experienced affective link to past communities mediated both by bloodlines and a consumer relationship to the symbolic artefacts of a previous society" (2008, 24).

The latest reincarnation of the institution is responsive to both desires enveloped in the term 'heritage' as previously defined: a collection of artefacts related to the ancestors and their journey and a genealogical database to facilitate research on the
settlers’ ancestors and to contribute to an ongoing genealogical database for Northland.105

While fifty years apart, the programs of the two anniversary celebrations have a striking resemblance; in both cases, they included religious blessings, a celebration of Scottish qualities and traditions in the form of highland games, the restaging of an imagined past — be it a pageant or a re-enactment of the landing — and finally the unveiling of institutions intended to preserve Waipu’s heritage.

However, apart from these obvious superficial similarities, the centennial and sesquicentennial were fundamentally different in terms of the involvement of non-descendants and the promotion of regional identity. The 1953 centennial focused on preserving the history of the early settlers, which the descendants thought would be forgotten if they did not make an attempt to preserve what had been handed down to them. Motivated by this goal, there was only reluctant acceptance of contributions from non-descendants. Stolwerk et al. (2002, 86) explain this aversion toward outsiders or foreigners as the result of a strong sense of ‘independence’ and pride in the values of the original settlers, which were still alive, but thought to be endangered by newcomers.

By contrast, while the focus of the 2003 sesquicentennial remained the same — the celebration of the original settler group — the celebrants changed dramatically: non-descendants constituted many of the participants, organisers and half of the members of Waipu 150 Trust. Further, the Waipu Heritage Centre’s mission was expanded beyond the history of Waipu’s early Scottish settlers to include the broader history of the town, including non-Scottish descendants. Contributions of non-descendants in terms of voluntary work and donations were, unlike fifty years earlier, well-received. The primary reason for this change may have been the decline in the numbers of descendants of the original settlers living in Waipu or involved in its economic, social, cultural and spiritual

105 See also the mission statement provided in a publication of the Waipu Heritage Centre (2003, 13).
life. Less than 10% of Waipu residents today can claim Nova Scotian ancestry, even though the actual number of descendants of the original 870 migrants has been estimated at 50,000 (Stolwerk et. al. 2002, 87).

Stolwerk et al. (2002, 87) concluded that only a sense of ‘collective ownership’ of Waipu’s heritage could ensure its preservation. To what extent this ‘collective ownership’ is promoted in the exhibition of the Waipu Museum is an important research question. Further, if descendants no longer form the majority, is a Waipu identity based solely on the story of the early settlers sustainable? If that identity can be described as a mix of old values and new impulses by recent migrants (Montgomery, personal communication, 2010), to what extent is the museum promoting a hybrid identity? The search for answers to those questions begins with *The Search for Paradise*.

### 8.2 The Permanent Exhibition — “The Search for Paradise”

#### 8.2.1 Genesis

The 2003 extension to the ‘Hall of Memories’ provided more space for the collections, which were also digitised for the first time (Waipu Museum, 2010). However, these initial steps, combined with further initiatives, made the museum board members aware that further modernizing steps had to be taken to make the museum and its exhibition relevant. With Patsy Montgomery’s appointment as manager in 2005 and advice from the highly regarded museum consultant Ken Gorbey,¹⁰⁶ made possible

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¹⁰⁶ Gorbey is an authority on museum consultation overseas and in New Zealand, where he offers small and medium-sized museums advice in developing successful strategic plans.
through funding assistance by Enterprise Northland,\textsuperscript{107} the development of a strategic plan for long-term development of the museum as well as an interpretative plan were initiated (see also Gorbey, n.d., 77). The latter was heavily influenced by the Waipu Grand Pageant of 2003, a popular “technological extravaganza”.\textsuperscript{108} Patsy Montgomery (personal communication, 2010) recounts that, during the early planning stage, the design team became aware of how powerful the story was when narrated using up-to-date theatrical technology; thus, it seemed imperative to use music and technology to tell Waipu’s “unique story” well. Footage of the pageant was envisioned as having a central role in the new exhibition, connecting the stage performance to the subsequent museum ‘performance’. The exhibition’s lofty aim — according to Montgomery, (personal communication, 2010) to offer an alternative to the often anonymous modern world — sought to affect visitors emotionally, like the pageant, and also to highlight the community spirit of the founders of Waipu. This also implied a focus on Waipu’s Scottish history, without reference to the history of prior Māori occupation. For the latter, Montgomery felt that the period was too complex and that an expert would be needed to tell this story effectively at some later point. Finally, due to the need to focus the narration and the spatial limitations, more recent immigration to Waipu would be excluded in this initial exhibition.

Another local production, the play ‘The Rocking Cave’ in 2007, also informed the exhibition concept.\textsuperscript{109} The play and accompanying workshops reinvigorated the use of the Scottish Gaelic language which found its way into the exhibition (Montgomery, personal communication, 2010). Gaelic waulking\textsuperscript{110} songs were to feature prominently

\textsuperscript{107} In 2012, Enterprise Northland was subsumed into Northland Inc., a Council Controlled Organisation of the Northland Regional Council and a limited liability company, aimed at the economic and cultural development of Northland (see Northland Inc., 2015).

\textsuperscript{108} Directed and written by a descendant of the original settlers, Lachie McLean, the pageant attracted more than 4,000 people.

\textsuperscript{109} For a version of the script of the play see McNeish (1981).

\textsuperscript{110} A step in wool cloth construction aimed at removing oils and dirt. In pounding the urine-soaked cloth (or alternatively using clay material called Fuller’s Earth), it is scoured and thickened by
“used as a symbol for the co-operative endeavour characteristic of Highland life and presenting a window into an alternative to the individualism of the modern world” (Waipu Museum, 2010). The use of such elements suggests not only the desire to keep old traditions alive, but also to invoke nostalgic feelings in visitors. In this case, a “backwards-looking utopia”, as defined by Arnold-de Simine (2013, 57), is implied, with an important difference: the traits of the past portrayed could be reinvigorated and are not entirely lost.\footnote{Montgomery (personal communication, 2010) ascribes the following traits to Waipu’s community when she first arrived in the 1970s: joyfulness and dedication, a lack of materialism, sharing knowledge and offering help to each other, a tendency not to confront somebody openly and a legacy of being highly organised harking back to the original settlers.} However, according to Montgomery (personal communication, 2010), lavish mansion construction and its effects on the community threaten those reinvigorated traits of the past:

> [W]e felt that we needed to make the museum overtly successful to counteract that wave of this…almost gross materialism, is it not? And it was kind of just the fear that the aspects this community stood for could be swamped. So we decided we had to make the museum something to be respected.

The museum as an institution, but also the exhibition, thus represents an attempt to preserve community values that are seen as traditional and as a legacy of the first settlers. By inspiring visitors, the museum aimed to make them more appreciative of these values.

Another focus of the museum was community outreach. The original settlers were known for their expertise in woodworking, which stimulated local production of Quaichs, Highland drinking vessels for whisky or brandy, on the initiative of the museum. In addition, a distinctive Waipu Tartan was developed, with Waipu’s youth providing some design ideas. Both initiatives suggest a marketing strategy that embraces Scottish heritage. However, at first, “people wanted to just not bother with the clichés of tartans matting the fibres together, then stretched onto a frame. The songs would set the pace for the pounding.
and bagpipes, but in the end we returned to it … [H]ow many European cultures have such an overt symbol?” (Montgomery, personal communication, 2010). It follows that being able to attract visitor numbers and converting these into revenue was an important factor, with the museum being aware of stereotypes and using them to their advantage.

In order to strengthen the narrative of the exhibition and give it contemporary 2007 relevance, the Museum Board hired Chris Currie, an exhibition designer renowned for his ability to offer an effective experience within available resources. While Currie was responsible for the overall visual design, Patsy Montgomery undertook all the research, selected storylines as well as objects, and finally decided on their arrangement in the exhibition space (see Waipu Museum, 2010).

While most aspects of the dual-immigration story are not controversial, its leader, Norman McLeod, caused considerable discussion. The 2007 play, while rooted in history, advanced major fictional additions, foremost among them the claim that McLeod had an illegitimate child. While no evidence for this exists, the play created a mythology of its own. The museum planning team was determined to go ahead, “manag[ing] the levels of controversy to make sure that enough tickets were sold”, not being “hardliners if McLeod was a saint or not” (Montgomery, personal communication, 2010). The tarnishing of McLeod’s reputation did offend a minority of Presbyterians in Waipu, among them the local minister, who held McLeod in high regard (Montgomery, personal communication, 2010). The development team decided that a middle course reflecting a variety of perspectives on this controversial historical figure would be most appropriate; diversely believed to be saint, charismatic leader, tyrant, madman and even cult leader, the historical character eludes easy classification. The title of the exhibition, *The Search for Paradise*, hints at this ambivalence towards McLeod. Prophet-like, he perceived the journey as a search for the holy land, were his people could dwell in peace; however, at

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112 Currie is an award-winning New Zealand born exhibition designer with a background in window dressing and as a graphic artist.
the same time, his fervent religious convictions and blind single-mindedness are hinted at, with some of his contemporaries scoffingly calling him the 'Scottish Moses'.

In the end, three exhibition objectives were defined: first, the exhibition should be highly affective, enabling visitors to experience as powerful a performance as the 2003 Pageant; secondly, traditional community values should be preserved and re-invigorated by the museum to counteract erosion of the community spirit; finally, Norman McLeod should be represented in a balanced, objective way that offered multiple perspectives to the viewer.
8.2.2 Outline of the Exhibition Space

*The Search for Paradise* is divided into three spatially-separated sections (Figure 131): the first section deals with pre-immigration, the journey, and settlement in both Nova Scotia and New Zealand. After passing a display case (D 1) with objects relating to Norman McLeod, visitors enter a long corridor furnished with both free-standing or wall-mounted text panels and story boards with interspersed object arrangements. The section focuses on the reasons for emigration, the pre-settlement history of what would later become Waipu (Figure 142), and Norman McLeod’s early exploits (Figure 144).

After this pre-emigration section, visitors move through a portal intended to emulate ‘seafaring’ by means of wood planking on walls and floor, a berth and finally a projection of a ‘ship’s ghost’ (Figure 147, Figure 148 and Figure 149). While this is not an elaborate re-creation of a ship’s interior, it nevertheless offers design elements reminiscent of a steerage class cabin, such as the modest sleeping berth (Figure 150). Unlike the New Zealand Maritime Museum exhibit, there is no rocking motion of the cabin; however, the wooden planks covering the floor produce an evocative creaking sound when walked on. In this respect, this transitional space is similar to the ship environment at the Maritime Museum and Te Papa, but smaller in size.

The cabin opens onto a large hall featuring sections on life in Pictou and St. Anns, Nova Scotia (North America), then in Australia, and finally in New Zealand (Figure 128 and Figure 151). Visitors can also enter a small theatre to the right, where a

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113 All letters and numbers refer to the layout provided in Figure 131.

114 This uses the Peppers’ Ghost effect to make a video clip of an actor (projected onto a glass plane) appear translucent and to float in mid-air. The effect is named after one of its inventors, John Henry Peppers.

115 For one visitor in the sample (Visitor 8, Waipu), this signified shoddy construction rather than evoking a ship’s deck.
documentary that provides an overview of the migration story is screened continuously, facilitating orientation (Visitors 4, 7, Search for Paradise). Without seeing it first, the lack of a strict circuit in the museum can cause confusion (Visitor 16, Search for Paradise).

Along the left-hand side, daily life (P 16), agriculture (P 17), the role of women (D 5), religion (P 19) and McLeod’s conduct at St. Anns (P 21-22) are illustrated (Figure 153). In the middle of the room, attention is focused on the decision to leave St. Anns for Australia (P 23-24), including the construction of the ship Margaret (Figure 157). Nautical objects are also located adjacent to the Margaret (D 3). The time in Pictou and St. Anns is represented by reproductions of paintings reminiscent of American naïve painting, commissioned by the Gaelic College in St. Anns and painted by the artist Barrie Fraser. At the far end of the room, the focus is on the time in Australia (P 25) and the foundation and prospering of Waipu (P 29-30); this extends to developing regional identity (P 31) and the Highland games (Figure 132, Figure 133 and Figure 170). This area also features a free-standing wall with a great number of settler portraits (Figure 162).

The third and final section is adjacent to the main room (E 5). It features personal effects presented in wall cases and drawers, but also portraits and paintings of settlers (Figure 134 and Figure 135). A temporary display features wearable art utilising symbols of ‘Scottishness’ which were presented at an annual festival in Waipu (Figure 171).

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116 Letters and numbers refer to the layout provided in Figure 131.
**Figure 132:** Section on Waipu’s history. *The Search for Paradise*. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo:* Author.

**Figure 133:** Section on Waipu’s history. *The Search for Paradise*. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo:* Author.
Figure 134: Domestic objects and tools in the adjacent exhibition space. *The Search for Paradise*. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo*: Author.

Figure 135: Domestic objects, trophies, geological collections and tools. *The Search for Paradise*. Adjacent exhibition space. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo*: Author.
The pre-emigration section employs dim lighting and dark colours, such as brown, dark green and dark blue. While the main section offers brighter lighting, it still uses earthy and pastel shades for panels and the background of interpretative texts. Headings are in a nineteenth-century handwritten font, suggesting a personal report that evokes an ‘historic’ feeling (Figure 137). Natural materials, such as rope and wood, are used for some of the pillars and display cases, while others are made of metal or perspex.

Visitors interviewed perceived the atmosphere in quite different terms. One found it dull, dark and dingy (Visitor 14, Search for Paradise), another even depressing (Visitor 15, Search for Paradise). The majority, however, perceived the atmosphere as ‘welcoming’ and ‘homely’ (Visitors 9, 16, Search for Paradise), ‘friendly’, ‘calm’ (Visitor 12, Search for Paradise) and ‘peaceful’ (Visitor 4, Search for Paradise), while one perceived it as outright “celebratory, vibrant, absolutely engrossing” (Visitor 6, Search for Paradise).

A number of visitors, some with a Scottish background, ascribed a certain ‘Scottishness’ to the displays, based on a ‘rural’ feeling to the exhibition (Visitor 5, Search for Paradise), but also on it being ‘serious’, ‘sombre’ and ‘pragmatic’ (Visitors 8, 10, Search for Paradise). Another visitor perceived the exhibition as a very intimate place, making him feel welcome as a Scot (Visitor 12, Search for Paradise). Finally, one visitor felt a “real family atmosphere” (Visitor 2, Search for Paradise) in the exhibition, based on family stories on display, but also the impression that Waipu as a community cares for its heritage.

The exhibition is narrative-driven, with objects illustrating different stages of the dual-migration journey being an important aspect. While all sections feature objects to illustrate the relatively large amounts of text, it is the main section and the adjacent exhibition space that is richest in material culture. A variety of objects such as rifles,
cutlery, tools, and nautical instruments are on display. Most visitors were drawn either to the settler portraits on the free-standing wall (Figure 162) or captivated by the narration, with less attention directed to specific objects. If objects were mentioned during interviews, it was mostly in connection with personal interests, such as needle-work (Visitor 3, Search for Paradise), rifles and guns (Visitor 2, Search for Paradise) and navigation (Visitor 13, Search for Paradise). This suggests a focus by most visitors on the story told, with objects being illustrative elements to support the text, rather than centrepieces on their own.

8.2.3 The Reasons for Emigrating — Expulsion or Choice?

The pre-emigration section of The Search for Paradise gives a broad historical introduction and background to the immigration story of the Scots of Highland descent. The steady loss of old traditions and the social transformation from a clan-based society to one dependent on landlords, economic trends and finally the land clearances are provided as a framework for understanding the emigration of Scots during the first half of the nineteenth century. The pre-immigration section’s design relies on a number of wall texts and story boards combined with reproductions of paintings and photographs, accompanied by illustrative objects or object arrangements. The emphasis in this section lies on interpretative texts, with material culture being relegated to insular displays.

Visitors will first encounter wall panels outlining Captain Cook’s (P 1-2) and Dumont D’Urville’s voyages (P 4) accompanied by a map of New Zealand, a portrait of Cook, an evocative painting of a Māori canoe travelling in coastal waters and a panel on the battle of Culloden and Scottish emigration (P 5), familiarising visitors with New Zealand’s discovery and first contact with its native population as well as Scottish
reasons for emigrating. The escalation of England's growing influence over Scotland peaked with the Battle of Culloden and ultimately resulted in significant changes to Highland life and economy, for instance, the Scots being restricted in the display of symbols of their culture, but also a loss of autonomy. In effect, this initiated the historical events that would eventually lead the Waipu Scots to emigrate. This is also suggested by the compass of the ship Margaret, built by the settlers to travel from North America to Australia, displayed to the left of the panel (Figure 137). The text is accompanied by a reproduction of the famous painting 'The Highland Attack on the Grenadier Company of Barrell’s King’s own Royal Regiment’ painted by David Morier in 1746 for the Duke of Cumberland. The text focuses on the aftermath of the battle and proceeds to connect these events with the Highland Clearances and the mass migration of Highland Scots (Figure 139).

Figure 136: Cook’s discoveries (P 1, P 2). The Search for Paradise. Pre-emigration section. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.

McLean, Garden and Urquhart (2007) discuss modern battlefield tourism to the site, with its interpretation by visitors showing romanticising tendencies, but also functioning as a spiritual place and a site where one can ostensibly encounter an ‘authentic’ Scotland.
Figure 137: ‘Empire, Expansion and Migration’ (P 5) and ‘The Highland Clearances’ (P 7). The Search for Paradise. Pre-emigration section. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.

Britain is represented as the aggressor, asserting its rule over and suppressing the Scottish people. While the ban of Scottish insignia might have aimed at suppressing Highland identity and preventing uprisings, it was only later, in the first half of the nineteenth century, that these insignia became as charged with national pride as they are today. They became accessible to a wider public only in the 1970s, when tartan and the kilt as the costume of choice of the Highland gentleman was integrated into popular culture (Hume, 2010, 86).

The use of Morier’s artwork — the Jacobites portrayed in a last stand against the English forces, many of them dead or wounded on the ground — foreshadows the outcome of the battle: the defeat of the Jacobites and the ensuing suppression of what are perceived today as symbols of ‘Scottishness’. Any romanticising tendency is absent from the text and the more complex political background and effects of the Battle of Culloden are not addressed (see McLean et al. 2007, 221-223).

According to the second paragraph of the text, Highlander emigration was triggered by dire economic circumstances. However, the next sentence establishes a direct link to the Highland Clearances; in effect, the language gives the impression that emigration was caused by them alone, greatly simplifying this complex history.118 The Clearances are further elaborated on in other panels (P 6-8) featuring interpretative text and highly evocative imagery. A romanticised landscape painting featuring a Highland farmhouse stands for the lost idyll of the Highlands (P 6, Figure 140), while ‘The Last of the Clan’ completed by Thomas Faed in 1865 (Figure 137), “looks back on the devastation of the era when thousands of Highlanders were forced to leave their homelands” (P 5). The general remarks then become more focused on the Scottish of

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118 The debate about the extent and effect of the Clearances is ongoing. The Clearances were severe for a select few, but bearable for most affected Highlanders, even resulting in a temporary improvement of their lot in some cases. They were a side effect of industrialisation and a result of a general economic downturn, which in turn led many to emigrate. For an excellent overview, see Richards’ (2007) study of the debate surrounding this history.
Highland descent who eventually settled Waipu, on a wall text titled ‘The Highland Clearances’ (Figure 141).

Figure 140: ‘Gone Forever’ (P 6), featuring a painting of a Highland village. *What had happened to the Highlands since the breakdown of the old clan system following Culloden? Before that time, the chiefs had tight control of a host trained to fight for their clan, to raid cattle of their traditional enemies, to be pawns in the power games of the times. They belonged to their chief, just as their chief belonged to them, and there was complete loyalty both ways. But by the end of the eighteenth century little was left of this except pride in the past and in their name. Many chiefly families left the Highlands for the delights of London, happy to see their clansmen replaced by shepherds, and handing executive power over to the lairdsmen, leaseholders often linked with family, who quickly converted the once free clansmen into tenants, scratching an existence from a few rented acres.*

* Neil Robinson ‘To the Ends of the Earth’

* Graphic: © Waipu Museum.
When the old clan system broke down, many crofters (tenant farmers) and their families were forced to leave the land. The Lairds (former Clan Chiefs and landowners) wanted the land for more profitable sheep farming. Sometimes they helped those evicted with fares for emigration. But in the notorious Sutherland Clearances, some people had their crofts burned and they were driven out with nothing. Many were forced to move to the wild and inhospitable coast where life was tough.

**Rising rents**
Some Crofters who remained on the land managed to prosper for a time. But the Tacksmen (People who were sub leasing the lands for the Lairds), continued to increase the rents.

For several decades, Donald McKay fought a long battle over rent increases. Eventually, in 1820, he sent his eldest son John (Ian Ruadh) to investigate the possibilities of moving the family to Nova Scotia. The decision was made to emigrate. There were five sons, two daughters and many grandchildren. One daughter was left behind in Scotland. They carved their farms out of the forest and with no rent to pay, they could finally call the land their own.

**Figure 141:** "The Highland Clearances" (P 7). *The Search for Paradise*. Pre-emigration section. Waipu Museum 2010. Graphic: © Waipu Museum.
However, the majority of settlers to Nova Scotia, and by extension to Waipu, were not directly affected by the Clearances. Most were born and raised on the Scottish coast, to which their parents had been moved in the mid to late eighteenth century (see Molloy, 1991, 26). There they worked in fishing and the kelp (seaweed) industry, the latter used to make glass and soap. The kelp industry declined after the Napoleonic wars due to alternative supplies from Spain becoming available. This led to general economic hardship on the Scottish coast. While this will become clear if visitors engage with all the content provided, for instance a panel on these industries (P 11), a selective reading of the text could lead visitors to assume that the Waipu settlers were directly affected by the Clearances, rather than being influenced by economic hardship to better their lot overseas. One visitor experienced this section as highly affective, with an emphasis on the “cruelty and desperation” that the Clearances had caused and, as he mistakenly assumed, forced the Waipu settlers to emigrate (Visitor 9, Search for Paradise).

Gouriévidis’ study of the representation of the Clearances both in museums in Scotland and Australia provides a point for comparison. Typically, Scottish narratives focus on human experiences during the Clearances, on displacement and the subsequent struggle to adapt to new conditions, although not “anaesthetised by the anodyne of condescending, or worse, infantilising drama” (Gouriévidis, 2010, 179). In representing overseas emigration, the museums would also attempt to address transnational identities; this approach risked the danger of characterising emigrants as victims or heroising them based on their achievements abroad. At Australian museums, these narratives are modified with stories of painful uprooting and pioneering struggles, with a special awareness of conflict with Aboriginal people. At Waipu, the representation of the Clearances follows similar patterns, but without an emphasis on conflict with Māori, as relations were more amicable.

Apart from the compass, only a few three-dimensional objects are presented in this section; among them are Māori tools the settlers found when cultivating the land.
around Waipu (P 3, Figure 142). This implies pre-settlement by Māori, even though at the
time Waipu was founded, Māori did not live in the area. A rifle possessed by one of the
settlers relates to Scots in British military service, suggesting dependency on Britain for
employment (Figure 168), while a ship’s anchor evocatively announces the transitional
area focusing on the journey (Figure 147).

Figure 142: ‘The Tools of Tangata Whenua’ (P 3). The Search for Paradise. Pre-

Māori interaction is not a focus of the exhibition, yet reference is made to
amicable relations between the two groups at Waipu:

Bream Bay was inhabited by the people of Patuharakeke. When the Nova Scotians
purchased the Waipu area from the New Zealand Government and arrived as
settlers, good relationships developed between the two peoples.

There were gifts and exchanges of food and skills and being clan based people they
shared many values in common.

The Patuharakeke taught the settlers how to weave the nikau thatched roofs of their
first shelters (P 3, Figure 142).
Visitors got a positive impression of relations between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti based on the cooperation depicted (Visitors 14, 16, *Search for Paradise*). However, most visitors did not comment on Māori interaction or stated that they were not aware of it in the exhibition (Visitor 4, *Search for Paradise*). This cooperation was seen as unusual by one visitor (Visitor 14, *Search for Paradise*), reflecting a common misunderstanding of the nature of early interaction with Māori coloured by later conflicts. Interaction between the early settlers and Māori was minimal, if amicable, and intermarriage very uncommon (Patterson, Brooking & McAloon, 2013, 205). However, this is not a focus of the exhibition; neither is the intermarriage between Māori and the people of Waipu that became more common in the early twentieth century (Ryan, 2002, 42).

The introductory section has the potential to victimise the immigrants and depict them as being affected by events over which they had no control. However, the decision to emigrate remained with the emigrants, as they were not forcibly evicted from the Scottish coast. The emphasis on the Highland Clearances, and less on the dire economic situation on the coast, can lead to misunderstandings about the motivation of the Scottish settlers.

### 8.2.4 McLeod — Cult of Personality?

Norman McLeod is assigned a central role in the narration, and this centrality is evident in the first four objects visitors encounter in the exhibition before they enter the pre-emigration section (D1): a Bible, allegedly used by McLeod, with a photograph of him attached to it, a rock from the site of the McLeod family croft in north-west Scotland, an

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119 For a detailed history of Māori pre-occupation see Gates (2002).
open-faced pocket watch and a silver salt spoon, both said to have belonged to McLeod (Figure 143).

Figure 143: Entrance section. Objects associated with Norman McLeod (D 1). The Search for Paradise. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
Visitors will realise that McLeod is a central person in the history of Waipu, given his visual presence on museum promotional material, but also with the presentation of artefacts that can be directly connected to him. The curators have imbued the items with an aura of authenticity that establishes them as surrogates for the presence of McLeod.

The artefacts on display also communicate some of his character traits without pre-empting his role in the migration story. In combination with references in the interpretative text to McLeod as ‘Reverend’, the Bible suggests a religious man and possibly a preacher. The rock connects him to the Highlands and by extension, to his family as the owners of a croft there. Visitors aware of the Highland Clearances may or may not make assumptions about McLeod’s emigration motivations from that connection. The silver from which the salt spoon is made connotes a certain privileged status of the owner, as it is not a common material such as horn. The spoon is not directly connected to McLeod, but rather attributed to his second home. The pocket watch, while becoming more affordable during the first half of the nineteenth century, nevertheless suggests a man of means.

His story is not limited to one section of The Search for Paradise. Various stages of his life — his early years in Scotland (P 9-10), his 40 years as leader in St. Anns (P 21-22) and finally his role in the establishment of Waipu (P 30) — are depicted in the respective sections of the exhibition alongside other aspects of the settlers’ experience. McLeod is represented as the driving force behind both migrations and, by extension, the exhibition narrative. As a strong individual surrounded by some controversy, he provides visitors with a memorable point of focus that may keep them engaged, while the other settlers are relegated to the background.

McLeod’s biography is first introduced in connection with the Highland Clearances and general economic and societal changes in Scotland on a story board with photographs (P 10, Figure 144). The biography is evocatively accompanied by a
Celtic cross made of translucent material, suggesting a connection with religion in general and Presbyterianism in particular (Figure 144) The interpretative text depicts McLeod as a rebellious character, with a strong drive for independent thought; his belief so strong that he deemed it superior to the teachings of the church. His convictions were so powerful that he sacrificed his education and left his homeland. To this point, the text remains neutral and factual. Visitors may view McLeod as a free spirit, attempting to find an environment in which he was unencumbered by the Church's influence. However, it is also possible that visitors will perceive his lack of self-doubt, powerful convictions and narrow interpretation of Calvinism as an intolerant fundamentalist mindset.

The adjacent panel (P 9), entitled ‘In Search of Norman McLeod’, outlines his more controversial characteristics (Figure 146). McLeod is depicted as a charismatic, confident, yet narrow-minded man, with the certainty and unwavering spirit needed at the time to make his people prosper. The conflict with the church may be connected with his limited ability to respect and understand the opinions and beliefs of others, and a desire to control and influence others. However, these controversial if not negative aspects of his character are juxtaposed against his undeniable attractiveness to his followers, related perhaps to his total lack of self-doubt, which may have conveyed certainty and security in times of economic and spiritual struggle. The text acknowledges that McLeod was disliked and criticised by many, although others followed him without question. Again, his questionable character traits are juxtaposed with his ability to lead his people through adversity to Waipu. In this case perhaps, ‘the ends justify the means’; McLeod alone, despite the controversy swirling around him, was able to lead the settlers through years of their quest for their ‘paradise’.
Figure 144: The early years of Norman McLeod (P 9, P 10). *The Search for Paradise.* Pre-emigration section. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo:* Author.
The late Eighteenth Century was a time of great turbulence in the Scottish Highlands. Throughout Britain and Europe old systems of land tenure were being outworn or replaced. In Scotland more peasant Clan Chieftains saw their estates from their kinmen and secure tenants hungry for profit. Tenants were to be made to train on their lands of peasantry and replacing them with sheep.

Against this turbulent backdrop, Norman McLeod was born in 1780, at Glen Point, Avoch, in the Western Highlands, the son of a cooper and blacksmith. He never spoke English and Gaelic, the language and a brew of wines, giving a great advantage to Norman's early development. Norman completed his schooling at the Perth School and helps his father with farming and tanning.

The Church of Scotland was reformed in the sixteenth century. Many of its ministers are well off, and they are setting the religious standards. In the Parochial of Avoch a local tenant of the trendy wearing his presbyterian coat. This was an unusual sight, even in the parsonage meetings.

They attract large crowds and for a time Norman joins their ranks. His engagement was in a presbyterian church in the sixteenth century. Building a great range of religious lines he is determined to grow. At the age of 30, he is a man of great experience, while he has attended a growing following from his preaching. He decides to study for the ministry.

Norman walks the 150 miles to Aberdeen, where he studies for the Art degree, gaining a degree in Biblical and philosophy. The return to Avoch to marry Mary McLeod.

Leaving Mary in Avoch, Norman attends St Andrew University to study for the ministry. Eventually he overcomes his studies, he disagrees with his teachers over doctrinal matters.

Norman keeps up a teaching job in Aberdeen. He does marry his best woman, his friend, is moved in a local church with the church money to reform the ministry. He is in debt and exacts a way of supporting his family.

In July 1817 he sets sail from Aberdeen to join the Francis Anne bound for Prince of Wales. Aboard he is to be the chaplain. Aboard the Francis Anne, he will follow romance, as well as his wife and small son.

Figure 146: ‘In Search of Norman McLeod’ (P 9), _The Search for Paradise_. Pre-emigration section. Waipu Museum 2010. Graphic: © Waipu Museum.
The dark side of McLeod and his often draconian measures when faced with disobedience are represented by an anecdote, provided on a wall panel in the St. Anns section (P 21, Figure 153, Figure 158), concerning the punishment of a young boy at St. Anns by cutting off a nick of his ear. The text is accompanied by an artistic impression of the scene by contemporary Cape Breton artist Barrie Fraser. With no material culture available to illustrate the event in the narrative, the artist envisioned an imagined past to depict the controversial treatment of the boy. With McLeod standing in the background supervising the punishment of the restrained boy, visitors may see him as a cruel and unforgiving man. In the text, the cruel punishment is contextualised and compared to other even more severe practices common at the time, in an attempt to normalise the local form of justice. Nevertheless, McLeod’s endorsement of the effectiveness of corporal punishment is clearly implied. Further, he has accomplices who perform the cutting, suggesting either willing cooperation or coercion. This hints at complicity of some of the settlers, making the painting the only example encountered in the exhibit where the settlers are not depicted positively. The anecdote is contrasted with another text on the same panel: “Norman could be kind, but he was strict and fierce if he thought people were not behaving as they should” (P 21). But while the anecdote of corporal punishment is countered by reports of McLeod’s kindness, an autocratic tendency is suggested, his kindness being subject to unquestioning loyalty and obedience. The museum attempts to provide a balanced portrait that draws McLeod neither as a depraved tyrant, nor as an unfaultable hero. Nevertheless, his ambivalent character, rapidly changing between acts of kindness and gross acts of intolerance, appears as what would today be termed pathological.120 Given the changes in societal values since that time, it is likely that visitors will be disturbed by the harsh treatment of the child for a transgression; this may be the character aspect that leaves a lasting impression.

120 A preliminary study of his writings, carried out by medical students from Dalhousie University, suggests a bipolar disorder; however, this cannot be confirmed with certainty (Montgomery, personal communication, 2010).
McLeod’s religious conviction is the focus of the last panel in the St. Anns section (P 22, Figure 159). Again, positive and negative characteristics are juxtaposed. A portrait by Fraser depicts a stern-faced McLeod, dressed in black, with a red Bible in his hand, a ship in the background and clouds opening up over his head. The religious symbolism and the emphasis highlighted by the contrast between black clothing and bright sky illuminating his face, may suggest a respectful, venerating depiction. McLeod’s ongoing battles with the Church of Scotland are represented as having been transplanted to the new settlement in St. Anns. In the text, there is a clear distinction between the views of outsiders and insiders, with the outside world seemingly ridiculing his followers. A cult of personality is suggested, and his congregation may be interpreted as a sect. The second paragraph of the text focuses on McLeod’s attempts at behavioural, thought and emotional control, all represented by different measures to ensure that his specific interpretation of the Bible was followed. He is compared to a ‘clan chief’ of old, which serves as an explanation for the acceptance of his autocratic rule: the settlers gained strong leadership in return for their unquestioning obedience.

The museum staff anticipated uncomfortable questions about the nature of his congregation, specifically whether or not it was a cult. To head off this issue, Montgomery dedicated a section of the exhibition to the legacy of the settlers; in it, images of early community life such as tennis matches, other recreational activities and group photographs of the descendants of the settlers were depicted (Figure 166). According to Montgomery (personal communication, 2010), this should illustrate that “a vibrant, healthy, positive, happy” community developed, “whereas usually the legacy of a cult can become quite negative”; this informed her conclusion that “by the fruits of it we can judge that it wasn’t a cult. It might have been safely regarded as a sect”. She intended to present a balanced account of Norman McLeod’s controversial character with no intention to depict him as a “noble leader or hero”; her primary goal was to show why and

121 McLeod only became ordained and licensed years after he arrived in North America, but still preached in the meantime, attracting a sizeable following (McKenzie, 1935, 208).
how this community worked under such a leader (Montgomery, personal communication, 2010).

No visitor in the sample specifically referred to the community as a cult, which suggests that, while this interpretation is possible, it is not accentuated by the narrative. In general, visitors were impressed by the eccentric leader of the migration and tended to accept Montgomery’s balanced depiction of McLeod.

Two visitors independently drew parallels between McLeod and the controversial Irish politician Ian Paisley\textsuperscript{122} (Visitors 2, 9, \textit{Search for Paradise}). Many visitors perceived him as a strong leader (Visitors 2, 3, 7, 9, \textit{Search for Paradise}), someone people would look up to and who would utilise his skills, to work alongside his kin: “He would probably [be] clearing the land and felling the trees with them, whereas … today’s leaders take a step back saying, ‘You do it’. Yes’ they were great leaders’ and that is what was needed. … without them’ they would still be in Scotland living in the crofts” (Visitor 2, \textit{Search for Paradise}). This recognition of the need for a strong-minded leader in order to succeed is consistent with the ‘end justifying the means’.

One visitor focused on McLeod’s positive traits: “Just remarkable. He was strong and probably an immensely good person, tough father, energetic, no-nonsense, which might have made him so disliked. Very straight, quite scary to meet” (Visitor 5, \textit{Search for Paradise}). This sense of fear or respect impressed on the visitor signals some ambivalence to this statement. On a similar note, the testament written by McLeod in Waipu shortly before his death, regarding the Parish joining the Presbyterian church, made one visitor perceive McLeod as not as dogmatic as he is thought to be, with the wellbeing of his flock at his heart (Visitor 8, \textit{Search for Paradise}).

\textsuperscript{122} Paisley, a co-founder of the fundamentalist Free Presbyterian Church, known for his fierce speeches, followed the path of a conservative hardliner, opposing liberal legislation in Ireland and openly condemning homosexuality, Catholicism and ecumenism.
Some visitors also viewed his persona in more critical terms. One visitor described him as an “authoritarian type of person” and wondered at the same time if dissenters would have tried to leave the settlement; however, the exhibition “did not impress on you how he ruled” (Visitor 4, *Search for Paradise*). Another visitor perceived him as “mad” and “maybe a monster” who would be hard to live with, while also attributing strength of character to him (Visitor 6, *Search for Paradise*). Other attributions included “a pretty nasty old man. A strong character, but pretty single minded” (Visitor 12, *Search for Paradise*), and a leader desperate people would follow; strong minded, but with “some horrible characteristics” (Visitor 9, *Search for Paradise*).

McLeod is not depicted as a hero, but rather as a controversial leader with many flaws. In the exhibition texts, his negative traits are always contrasted with his positive influence on the settlement and stabilising effect on the community. He is also represented as a catalyst for emigration and successful settlement. The migrations were ultimately instigated by him and their success dependent on his leadership. The representation of McLeod is markedly different to the depiction of other migrant heroes, including Puhoi’s Krippner or Voyager’s Wakefield. While Krippner’s controversial past is not directly addressed, Wakefield’s questionable characteristics are broached at the New Zealand Maritime Museum, but not as thoroughly analysed as is the case with McLeod at Waipu. McLeod’s representation is the most balanced of the three: he is neither entirely condemned nor heroised. The portrayal of him is not, apart from the entrance ensemble (D 1), accompanied by material culture. This lack of personal objects related to McLeod is compensated for by employing artistic interpretations of scenes from his life in the St. Anns section, photographs of sites he visited, and by positioning his personal effects at the beginning of the narrative, suggesting his importance to the settlement. This may also condition visitors to perceive him as the central protagonist in the narrative.
While spatially separating the introductory section from the main section, the ship environment (Figure 148) communicates that visitors are now following the Scottish settlers on their journey to the New World. The re-created section of the ship is too small in size and too powerfully suggests a corridor to function as a complete restaged environment. In addition, without rich detailing such as kitchen utensils or personal effects of migrants, the environment does not appear ‘lived-in’. Nevertheless, the materials used, such as wooden planking and porthole-shaped design elements, connote seafaring and the era of sailing ships, thus effectively setting the mood for an encounter with the ‘ship's ghost’. The projection of the ‘ghost’ is triggered by visitor movement via a sensor and can surprise visitors; this resulted in some cases in a ‘creepy’ or ‘unsettling’ experience as reported by some (Visitors 12, 17, Search for Paradise). The ghost may symbolise the dangers of sea travel, as it is apparently a spirit that died during the journey and now haunts the living.
Figure 147: Entrance to the recreated ship environment. *The Search for Paradise*. Pre-emigration section. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo*: Author.

Figure 149: View towards recreated ship environment. *The Search for Paradise*. Section ‘St Anns’. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo*: Author.

The ghost addresses visitors as if they were Scottish settlers arriving in Pictou, Nova Scotia. This is one of the few sections that encourages visitors to identify with the Scottish settlers or to assume their role. He mocks them for listening to McLeod’s “religious babbling”: however, the ‘ghost’ also relates an anecdote about the journey to Nova Scotia that attests to McLeod’s ability as a leader. When the ship was damaged during a storm, McLeod convinced the captain of the ship to continue to North America, instead of turning around; apparently, he did so out of his firm conviction that North America would be closer than Europe. This was also accompanied, as the ‘ghost’ reports, by a flash of lightning and a thunderbolt, as ‘heavenly’ confirmation of his bold claim that they need to go on or perish.123 With his uncouth demeanour and unkempt looks, the ‘ghost’ character acts as a tongue-in-cheek commentator on McLeod, thereby accusing the Scottish settlers, in the guise of the visitors, of unconditionally following McLeod. The ‘ghost’ compares him to Moses, and asks, somewhat ironically, why he did not part the seas for them to walk to Nova Scotia. He calls the Scottish settlers ‘simpletons’, saying he prefers the “mortal pleasures” of Pictou, which they will be denied should they follow McLeod further.

The ghost provides a far more scathing depiction of McLeod than is found elsewhere in the exhibition. Through the ‘ghost’s’ narration, the Scottish settlers may appear as victims of McLeod, misled by a self-made messiah. On the other hand, this episode can also be interpreted as yet another sign of his abilities as leader. His prediction was, after all, correct, and the settlers arrived safely in North America. Visitors may also be inclined to discard the allegations of the ‘ghost’, due to his disrespectful and frivolous language. Even if discredited by his demeanour and language, the performance, both scary and amusing at the same time, acts as the outlet for an extreme

123 It had been discovered that the Ship, the Frances Ann, leaked badly, and it was proposed they return to the Irish coast. McLeod, who had already succeeded in establishing himself as the dominant figure amongst the emigrants, successfully demanded the ship continue. He organised a roster to man the pumps constantly until they arrived in Pictou (Dunmore, 2006, 18; McKenzie, 1942, 14).
view of McLeod, without representing the museum’s voice explicitly. Providing multiple perspectives on his persona and leadership in the immigration story is a major feature of *The Search for Paradise*.

### 8.2.6 Theatre — “One of the Most Remarkable Migrations in the World”

The short documentary presented in the theatre (Figure 131, Figure 156; Bates & Bates, 2008) affords visitors a brief overview of Waipu’s history. Museum director Montgomery acts as presenter for the documentary, offering visitors a more personal experience than could be achieved with an outsourced voice-over. This may also contribute to an impression of a ‘grass roots’ enterprise, as visitors can connect an individual with the museum and its leadership.

In the documentary, Montgomery narrates the history of Waipu’s community from its origins in Scotland to its final destination, Waipu. The enormous hardship the settlers endured is its primary focus, suggested first by a short section on the Highland Clearances. A connection of the Highland settlers at Waipu and the effects of the Clearances is suggested, mirroring the potential in the pre-emigration section to relate them incorrectly. In addition, the more violent episodes of the Clearances are emphasised. McLeod’s temperament, eloquence and skills are equally a focus of the documentary, paralleling the line of the other sections in the exhibition: a man of his time who ensured the success of the settlers. McLeod’s death, at age 86, is represented as a big loss to the community, after decades of his guidance. The voyage of the Scottish settlers is referred to as “heroic” and “one of the most remarkable migrations in the world”. While the settlers are not addressed as heroes or paragons of virtue in the exhibition itself, it is here that they are explicitly elevated.
The documentary depicts McLeod in largely positive terms or contrasts his controversial traits with his continued service to his community. The documentary also shows the tendency of *The Search for Paradise* as a whole to victimise the Scottish settlers; this is accomplished first through the alleged effects of the Clearances and the hardships they endured. It proceeds to style them as settler heroes who prevailed against all odds through their skills, determination and not least their leader, Norman McLeod. The documentary concludes with Waipu's initiative to preserve its Scottish traditions and history; the former is represented by the Highland Games and Caledonian Society and the latter by the museum itself.

8.2.7 The Search for Paradise — St. Anns, Emigration and ‘The Man’

In the opening section of the Nova Scotia section, a selection of Indian quillwork (P 16) signifying good relations between the settlers of St. Anns and the indigenous people of the area is further confirmed by the interpretative text expressly stating the amicable exchange of goods (Figure 152). Similarly, amicable relations with Māori in New Zealand are thus prepared for by this display, portraying the settlers as being interested in cooperation and reciprocal exchange of goods and skills with indigenous populations.

The narration proceeds with the early years of establishment, but also focuses on community life in general. These sections feature illustrative objects, such as a hoe or an axe to represent woodwork and farming. It also features a selection of richly adorned books, including a volume of English writer and preacher John Bunyan's complete works, signifying the religious aspect of the settlement, as well as the above mentioned paintings by Fraser, providing idyllic renditions of settler life (Figure 153). Due to the
vibrancy of colours and the choice of scenes such as church service and communal field work, a rather pastoral depiction of St. Anns is illustrated with an emphasis on a close-knit community. The visitor has been prepared to attribute the flourishing of the settlement to strong leadership, which is herein complemented by the strong work ethic and community spirit of the settlers. Highland values, such as organisational skills, but also a system of assisting each other, are identified as the characteristics that enabled the settlers to succeed in the relatively harsh environment of St. Anns with its unforgiving winters and uncertain food supply (Figure 155).

Figure 151: ‘Harvesting the Sea’ (D 3). The Search for Paradise. Section ‘St Anns’. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
Figure 152: Indian quillwork illustrating trade relations (P 16). *The Search for Paradise*. Section ‘St Anns’. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo*: Author.

Figure 154: *Left:* Indian quillwork (P 16). *Centre and right:* Panels on establishment of colony at St Anns (P 17, P 18). *The Search for Paradise.* Section ‘St Anns’. Waipu Museum 2010. *Photo:* Author.

Figure 155: ‘Fellowship and ‘Frolics” (P 18). *The Search for Paradise.* Section ‘St Anns’. Waipu Museum 2010. *Graphic:* © Waipu Museum.
Figure 156: View towards entrance/exit of theatre. The Search for Paradise. Main section. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.

Figure 157: Left: Display of portraits. Centre: Entrance to adjacent exhibition room. Right: Shipbuilding (P 24) and emigration (P 23) displays. The Search for Paradise. Section ‘St Anns’. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
‘The Man’

Magistrate, Teacher, Preacher, Friend, Hero and Tyrant

‘His having been my Minister for sixteen years, my school teacher for several years, and my being always in and out of his house, and passing many a night in his house and company, I had a better chance of anyone living to understand his ways.

His nature and temper were very mysterious, often clashing with each other. One side was mild and lovely as could possibly be, while the other was autocratic and domineering. It is impossible to describe his character without a thorough knowledge of his ways. His enemies or his-bigoted friends can not or will not do it.

The words of Roderick McDonald
From ‘To the Ends of the Earth’ Hebdie 1883.

‘When are you for Africa?’
The Highlanders often resorted to dry humour when dealing with the ups and downs of life with their Minister.

Donald (The Squire) McLeod, was one of the old friends whom Norman was to banish from his inner circle. One day on the road, the Squire met his friend and neighbour, Mrs Norman McDonald, at a time when her husband was out of favour with the Minister.

‘Is it yourself, Jane?’ asked the Squire. ‘And who else?’ she retorted. ‘I was thinking you’d be off to hide in a black hut in Africa,’ said the Squire. ‘That’s where I’d be going if I was on the outs with the Man.’ ‘Well, Donald,’ was Jane’s reply, ‘When are you for Africa?’

This is a famous example of ‘Local Justice’ in the St Anns community. A boy accused of stealing, had a neck cut from his ear as a punishment, overseen by Norman McLeod. An alternative fate would await him if sent away to be tried and imprisoned. Remember this was the early 1800’s when in England people were sent to the penal colonies for similar crimes. Later on in Canada, a law was passed forbidding the practice of ear cutting as punishment.

Norman could be kind, but he was strict and fierce if he thought people were not behaving as they should. People called him ‘The Man’. He was like a Clan Chief to them.

Leader of a sure and certain Faith

... inhabitants are the most sober, industrious, and orderly settlement on the Island and have a pastor of their own, imbued with magisterial authority, to whose care and vigilance the character of the people is not a little indebted.

Judge TC. Helfarton ‘History of Nova Scotia 1927’

Norman McLeod had complete belief in his own interpretation of God’s word. During his time at St Anns he carried on religious battles with other Ministers on Cape Breton Island. He reconciled his enemies and claimed that there were no true exponents of God in the entire Church of Scotland. Outside his community he was often regarded with detestation and his followers called ‘Normanite’. He was an extraordinarily charismatic preacher and people would travel miles to hear him preach. A new Church hosting 1200 people was not big enough—people spilled out into the streets and on to the stairs...

The religious practice of observing the Sabbath was strictly adhered to, and no work was done nor food prepared on that day. He ignored no wrong doing. Transgressions would be publicly humiliated in Church and even banished from church for a number of Sundays. Consequently, he had significant fallings out with some powerful men in the community.

Most tolerated his excesses, for the benefits of his strong leadership and the many skills he brought to the community. He represented the continuance of the tribal leadership they had once known from their Clan Chiefs, and they accepted his autocratic style as a natural necessity. They called him ‘The Man’ and his faith and assurance provided a rock for them to stand on.
A video clip features actors in period dress performing the tasks referenced in the text. While they pummel a soaked piece of cloth, the actors sing a Gaelic song. Unless visitors understand Gaelic, the contents of the song will remain a mystery, as a translation is not provided. However, gestures and facial expressions of the actors encourage visitors to assume that they exchange gossip, or scandalous information. While it is not explicitly stated, the actors were recruited from the inhabitants of Waipu (Waipu Museum, 2010); this permits local visitors to identify their friends or acquaintances, as well as signifying an ongoing interest in Scottish tradition and the Gaelic language. The ‘actors’ were taught Gaelic songs and language by Australian Gaelic speaker Ron McCoy, reinvigorating the interest in this aspect of Waipu’s heritage. It is unlikely that the re-enactment features actual urine-soaked cloth or Fuller’s Earth; it only provides a simulation of the process.

Apart from communicating the desire to preserve Scottish customs, waulking, spinning and weaving are presented as gendered activities restricted to women. In addition, the grinding of grain as well as spinning and basic medical care for other settlers and women in child birth are also represented as women’s work. A rich display of spinning and sewing paraphernalia as well as domestic items is presented in the St. Anns section (D 6, Figure 160). This suggests to visitors the important role of women in the prospering of the settlement and conveys a picture of their daily hard work. However, the role of (immigrant) women during this period is not a primary focus of the narration, nor is their treatment under the leadership of McLeod, who ill-treated his own wife.124

124 For instance, McLeod denounced his wife openly for perceived wrongdoings, such as her committing the sin of vanity in wearing a new bonnet in public (Dunmore, 2006, 20).
A display case in the middle of the section (D 3) alludes to fishing as another source of food and income for the settlers; it also features a winch used on board the immigrant ship *Gertrude*, one of a number of ships to follow the *Margaret* with subsequent groups of settlers from St. Anns, and later at Waipu harbour to lift heavy cargo. This object category referring to industry, handicraft and farm labour is dispersed throughout the exhibition. Being of a mundane nature, the items signify, in combination with interpretative text, the ingenuity of the settlers and their broad skill set, which was necessary to survive in harsh conditions and adapt quickly to a new environment. They thus function as material evidence for the virtues of the settlers and their unwavering perseverance. In this respect, objects on display at Puhoi and Waipu are similar in supporting a view of the settlers as heroes, deserving of a place in a nation’s history by virtue of their hard work.
In 1848 the Potato Blight arrived on Cape Breton. Along with it came the failure of the wheat crop. Forbidden on moral grounds to buy supplies from John Muir, the community faced the bleakest Winter they had known in St Ann's. Food shortage turned into famine.

The Famine to Leave
We people could never bear to see, nor did we desire people come to the notice.

When the famine was at its worst, a ship arrived from France, but the cargo of food which had disappeared from the ship's hold, which was a story of hardship and suffering, the community. The scene of the worst public and community of St Ann's. The report of what was done to save lives.

The Petition
In the course of this famine the people of St Ann's petitioned the government for relief with supplies and seed. Not enough help came.

Even though life is depicted as harsh, the first settlement, St. Anns, is represented as successful, which was attributed to the timber trade and its positive economic effects. However, a famine was the ultimate reason for the decision to emigrate again after more than 30 years (P 15, Figure 161). The permanent struggle to obtain food, exacerbated by the potato blight and only reluctant support by the local government during the famine, are given as the factors that motivated McLeod to consider emigration again. The initiative for the secondary migration is attributed to him, again emphasising his role as leader and his high level of continued control over the community. While not all settlers were eager to follow McLeod, his most loyal followers built a ship, the Margaret, in the course of two years and prepared provisions for the long journey to Australia. A model of this ship, navigational instruments and woodworking tools underline the wide range of skills necessary to undertake such a monumental task without prior experience in ship building. The ingenuity of the settlers is, again, emphasised, which can lead to admiration by visitors and accordingly heroisation. Visitors in the sample were most impressed by the emigrants building a ship, and also ascribed 'braveness' to them in several cases (Visitors 5, 9, *Search for Paradise*). There was a tendency for some visitors to glorify their deeds:

I just think that people were so brave. I don't know whether people would be so brave today to take a decision to go from Scotland ... bear in mind they had no transport as we have now, they had no communications whatsoever, maybe a letter. There is a story there, they get a letter from the son in Australia and they obviously were on hard times because of the famine and what did they do? Build a ship, get the people together and somebody said, 'Let's go for that'. Would we do that today? I don't think so. ... They didn't know what Australia, what New Zealand, what Nova Scotia was like, but they were willing to do it and willing to go ... and clear land that had not been cleared before. It is just a fantastic story (Visitor 2, *Search for Paradise*).

For this visitor, the combination of their ignorance of their destinations, their boldness in making their decision to emigrate despite this lack of knowledge, and their

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125 Australia was suggested as a destination by McLeod’s son, who had travelled to Australia some years earlier.
willingness to work hard, differentiate them from people today. For some visitors, they are paragons who are objects of admiration, as exemplified in another response: “I am just fascinated of the way [sic] how wonderful they were...[T]he bravery is amazing and the way they were those days, so stable and very Presbyterian and thoughtful, you know, and thinking of how things have changed” (Visitor 1, Search for Paradise). As well as their bravery, this response stresses their psychological stability and adherence to religious beliefs. These positive characteristics overwrite any negative character traits they might have had, representing them as settler and migrant heroes.

8.2.8 The Wall of Settlers — “A Feeling of Gross Inadequacy”

A visual centrepiece in The Search for Paradise is the free-standing wall featuring almost 400 individual photographic portraits of the original settlers (Figure 162). They were taken in 1903 on the occasion of the 50-year Jubilee celebration of the migration descendants. Until 2006, only 150 portraits of individuals were available; however, a further 250 were identified and cropped from group photographs (Waipu Museum, 2010). All portraits are framed and each individual named. The settlers’ portraits are arranged according to the ship on which they travelled, and for each immigrant ship, a short narrative of the journey to New Zealand and a painting of it are provided.
Apart from being a manifestation of memory of the settlers’ appearances, thereby replacing any need for textual description, the photographs can be seen as a “spiritual medium with the power to establish contact with the dead” as Arnold-de Simine (2013) expressed it. The museum as *memento mori*, a place where we can encounter the past, but also in a way ‘resurrect’ the dead by means of voice-recordings, photographs and restaged environments, is a commonly made connection (Adorno, 1981, 175). This closeness to the realm of death, the explicit knowledge that the settlers portrayed are long dead, has the potential to create an ‘uncanny’ feeling in the visitor.

The photographs attracted many visitors in the sample, emanating a sombre atmosphere for some, expressed through their “stoic” and “tough” faces (Visitor 5, *Search for Paradise*). For another visitor, this sombre atmosphere signified the hardships the settlers endured; however, the photographs made the story “more real” for him (Visitor 9, *Search for Paradise*), suggesting they established a more personal
relationship and provided photographic ‘proof’ of the exhibition story. One visitor was particularly attracted to a photograph of, in her opinion, a bright and attractive-looking woman. Being sympathetic, she hoped for a good outcome for this particular immigrant (Visitor 8, Search for Paradise).

As illustrated, individual reactions to the photographs differed greatly, but there was a general tendency to regard the settlers as brave, strong-minded and adept. This, presumably, was an effect of the narrative advanced before engaging with the photographic wall, and can be illustrated by another response that focused on the comparison of the visitor with the immigrants:

For me, it was a feeling of gross inadequacy on my behalf when I thought about the things I read about they did. One, two generations went from the Highland Clearances, which itself was devastating for them, to Nova Scotia, their experience there and this horrendous voyage all this way around the world and what they had to do when they got here, their indomitable spirit, made me think I would not have survived. That was where I was emotionally throughout all of it (Visitor 6, Search for Paradise).

Putting himself in the situation of the immigrants, he concludes that he would have perished, that he was inadequately strong by comparison to those represented by the photographs. Such self-oriented empathy towards the immigrants can lead to admiration and their heroisation. In this case, the actual life circumstances, the historical context and mental makeup of the settlers is not fully taken into account; rather, the modern self is transported into a situation for which it is ill-prepared. While the actions of the immigrants are remarkable, the empathy for the settlers remains self-centred. For example, if the woodworking skills of the settlers are taken into consideration, the task of building a ship appears less daunting, as they could be modified to suit the task. However, the total lack of such abilities in most modern visitors can foster extreme admiration; thus, a consideration of the skills and motivation of the nineteenth-century settlers may escape the visitor, inevitably leading to a perception of them as almost superhuman.
8.2.9  Life in ‘Paradise’

Beyond the portraits, the narrative focuses briefly on the less than two years in Australia (P 25-26) and short time in Auckland (P 27), supported by evocative visual representations of the Australian Gold Rush in the form of a tent town. In addition, Celtic crosses are depicted (Figure 163, Figure 164), signifying the death of three of McLeod’s sons, and also of some of the settlers, due to a typhoid epidemic in Australia. The traumatic experience of their temporary stay in Australia is emphasised by this display design, which focuses visitor attention on McLeod’s loss and may also inspire empathy. The adjacent section describes the settlers’ arrival at the site of the future Waipu on a text panel (Figure 165).

Figure 163: Section on stopover in Australia. The Search for Paradise. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
Figure 164: Sections on stopover in Auckland. The Search for Paradise. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
A Pioneering Success Story

The Nova Scotian settlers fared better than other early settlers in New Zealand. Among their ranks were two generations of pioneers, experienced farmers and skilled fishermen.

They had already survived the hard early years in the ice and snow of Nova Scotia, and were used to providing the basic needs of life for themselves. Very soon their land supplied them with fish, game, meat, potatoes and other vegetables. Every tree was used here. Native pigeons and wild ducks were plentiful in the bush and there were ducks and geese in the streams.

In the bay there were fish in abundance. In a few short years, the settlement was established. The people had simple needs and quickly achieved a level of basic prosperity. Very soon they developed a reputation as an example of a pioneering success story.

The First Shelters

When the settlers arrived in Waipu, the first task was to clear enough land to build a basic shelter. Some land, previously cleared by Maori, was covered in Manuka rectum. The roof was covered in Virgin bush. But the Nova Scotians were already skilled farmers — and could clear up to two acres in a week. A boy would be proof when he graduated from slum (Bill Hovey) to ass. The folk system continued as neighbours helped each other with this physical work. When enough land was cleared, the next task was to build a hut. The structure was made of young tree trunks and a cladding produced by splitting and adding slabs from logs. Some huts were covered with ‘onas or reeds, an art taught to them by local Maori, the Patakiereke from Takaka. The hut would have an enormous wooden chimney lined with stone or clay.

Early furniture was home made. Later, more substantial houses were built with the same steep, shingled roofs they had been accustomed to in Nova Scotia. Shingles were later replaced with corrugated iron.

Blankets, quilts, household utensils, spooling wheels and tools were brought from Nova Scotia, including the family’s old threepenny pots they had brought from Scotland. Mattoons and pillows were stuffed with a substance like kapok which came from the spines of trees. The brown taped grass used for packing on the long ocean voyage from Nova Scotia became a valuable source of income as a demand for the seed came from other parts of New Zealand.

**Figure 165:** ‘A Pioneering Success Story’ (P 29). *The Search for Paradise*. Section ‘Waipu’. Waipu Museum 2010. Graphic: © Waipu Museum.
The settlement is represented as a complete success. The hardened and skilful settlers have little trouble, due to their experiences in Nova Scotia, in establishing themselves in the better environment of Waipu. Due to their depiction as extremely resourceful, adaptable, strong-willed and skilled, the settlers are less likely to be perceived as passive victims, but rather as pro-active masters of their own fate. While they may have been regarded, incorrectly, as victims of the land Clearances, they did successfully establish themselves in St. Anns. For the sole purpose of improving their lot, they emigrated again to find a better climate in which to settle. They underwent another ordeal in Australia, only to move again to find, at last, a safe haven. They have all the characteristics of the heroic, with victimisation forming the basis for their heroisation in each successive stroke of fate. The perception of the Scottish settlers as a successful and strong-minded community, with qualities not often encountered today, is further cemented by this success story.

Apart from the 'Legacy' wall (Figure 166), the section on Waipu features selected objects that illustrate various aspects of the life in Waipu. A doll taken to Waipu on board the Margaret connects St. Anns with the new settlement and hints at more pleasant pastimes (Figure 167). Its age is pointed out by interpretative text, suggesting an invested interest in both its owner and descendants to preserve this lieu de memoire of the journey and life in early Waipu. Further, medical instruments, bags, framed portraits, furniture, kitchen utensils, bagpipes, dresses etc. all illustrate various aspects of life in Waipu. The adjacent exhibition space offers even more examples of material culture.
Figure 166: ‘Legacy’ display. The Search for Paradise. Section ‘Waipu’. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.

Figure 167: Doll owned by Emma McKay. The Search for Paradise. Section ‘Waipu’. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
The objects on display in drawers and display cases in this section complement other objects presented in the museum. They emphasise the collection’s focus on domestic items, including kitchen items, bellows, china, glass vessels, irons, pocket watches, coins and medals, and tools of various trades, such as carpenter, blacksmith, seamstress, ship builder or miner. Scientific collections, including a precious stone collection with fossils from the Waipu region, along with world war memorabilia form two new categories. Gender roles and skillsets among the settlers are represented by these items, as well as loyalty to New Zealand and Britain in case of war; these items connect this end point of the exhibition to the earlier display on Scots in British military service (P 12) in the pre-emigration section. Scientific collections suggest inquisitiveness and a high educational standard among settlers. They thus further underpin the meta-narrative and are displayed as material manifestations of the qualities of the settlers.

Figure 168: ‘The Highland Soldier’ (P 12) and ‘Leaving Scotland’ (P 13). The Search for Paradise. Pre-emigration section. Waipu Museum 2010. Photo: Author.
McLeod’s search for his ‘paradise’ is an unusually long migration story, implying an ongoing displacement of settlers and McLeod until they reach Waipu. The usual narrative structure of departure, journey and arrival, is thus altered, allowing a more complex interpretation of migration movements. However, with New Zealand as the ‘promised land’ at the end of the narration, the transitional nature of settlement is not further emphasised. The exhibition returns to a traditional narrative pattern, despite ongoing domestic migration and exchange with tangata whenua.

8.2.10 Scottish Waipu?

Undeniably, the Waipu Museum manifests a Scottish identity through all its constituent elements. The strong subtext of The Search for Paradise is a commentary on the interdependency of Waipu’s heritage and its current town life. This is achieved by directly connecting contemporary Waipu families and individuals with their ancestors through photographs, biographies, etc., to infuse Scottish culture and tradition into their lives. For example, biographies of the original settler John Matheson (P 8) and his descendant Fraser Sim are arranged together; Sim is a member of the Waipu pipe band who thus most evocatively lives a life influenced by Scottish traditions.

The development of Scottish identity in Waipu and the history of the annual Highland Games feature in final sections of the exhibition (P 31). They are accompanied by a touch screen presentation (A 3), with a variety of video-clips from which to choose, and a mannequin in full Scottish dress holding bagpipes (Figure 170). A recording of the sesquicentennial festivities, including the restaged landing, as

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126 McKay’s (2002) detailed history of the Highland Games, the Caledonian society and pipe band in Waipu suggests an opening up of all these institutions for non-descendants.

127 The stereotypical insignia of Scottishness – particularly the tartan – and their association in popular culture with ‘genuine’ Highland ‘tradition’ is problematic (For a short history of debates
well as coverage of the local Waipu 2003 Highland Games are provided, accompanied by a text on Waipu’s identity (Figure 169).

This implies that the current developments are less a ‘back to settler roots’ movement than conformance with the emergence of Scottish national symbols in the late nineteenth century and their ongoing development and transformation up to the present (see Zumkhawala-Cook, 2008). Contemporary fashions and revivals of ‘Scottishness’, heavily influenced by motion pictures such as ‘Braveheart’ and ‘Rob Roy’, may also contribute to the heightened awareness of all things Scottish.

To what extent the original settlers considered themselves to be Scottish or Highlanders after growing up on the Scottish coast, 30 years in St. Anns and their sunset years in New Zealand is a question with no answer. However, the next generation demonstrated a keen interest in Scottish tradition, coinciding with a global interest in Scottish national symbols.

see Zumkhawala-Cook, 2008, 122). Nevertheless, as McCarthy (2011, 108ff.) shows in her insightful analysis of what constitutes Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand, the kilt was a favourite form of dress among Scottish migrants from both the Highlands and Lowlands.
The first generation of immigrant Highlanders into Waipu were preoccupied with the business of survival. They did not bother with the ‘trappings’ of Highland Culture. Norman McLeod had tried to thrust on the community music and there were no pipers in Waipu.

By 1870 another generation of the community had risen to adulthood and the other immigrant Scots scattered all over the world. They began to seek an expression of identity through the re-emergence of aspects of Highland Culture. Kenneth McKines, D.J. McLeod, Murdoch McCorriston, Donald McLean, and Rodrick Hogg formed a committee to found the Caledonian Society and arrange the first Highland Games gathering.

The Games were held on New Years Day, provided it did not fall on a Sunday. They followed the ‘gathering’ of everyone from Waipu and her smaller settlements for the annual Church Communion. The ‘gathering’ would take place over a few days where they would renew relationships, welcome new babies born, and recoup the loss of loved ones.

On the first day the annual communion service was held, and then on the morning of the New Year—there was the celebration—the Games. The first Highland Games were held on 1 January 1871, on William MacFarland’s farm. They were followed by a Collie in Murdoch McDonald’s farm house. For many years the Games were held on different farms, always followed by a Collie, until the present site of the Caledonian Park was purchased, where the Games have been held to this day.

The Waipu Highland Games have developed into one of the largest events of its kind in New Zealand. Every year, thousands of people travel from all over New Zealand and the world to participate in highland sports, highland dancing, Scottish country dancing, piping, drumming, and athletics. Others come simply to enjoy an unforgettable family outing.

By 1997 local pipers began to display their piping abilities. Since then Waipu has produced some of the finest pipers in New Zealand and the world. The Waipu Highland Pipe Band was formed by the Caledonian Society, which started with eight pipers and three drummers. The Gordon pipes were selected as the band’s instrument because there were no Gordon in the families that migrated to Waipu. The Pipe Major’s pipes also display the shamrock of the Chief of the Gordon, the MacKay of Murray. The Caledonian Chief’s official pipe is shown from the Waipu Pipe Band, and the Waipu Pipe Band has played an integral part in the Games’ success.

Indeed, the township does promote itself as a Scottish town; however, there is little or nothing unique about a Scottish settlement in New Zealand. The novelty arises in the case of Waipu from McLeod's eccentric personality, the long, dual migration story, and the descendants' claims that associate the settlers with the Highlands. The museum uses Scottishness as a marketing tool and fosters the image of the museum as a guardian of Waipu's heritage. Additional initiatives, such as the annual ‘Art and Tartan’ festival and ‘Waipu in Tartan’ weeks (Waipu Museum, 2014) reinforce this place image.
The ‘Art and Tartan’ Festival is a wearable arts event and part of the ‘Waipu in Tartan’ weeks, and creations are shown in temporary displays at the museum (Figure 171). The Festival is open to both descendants and others. The 2015 event offers various sections; one, entitled ‘To your roots’, specifically addresses participants of non-Scottish descent. According to the official website of the festival, this category does not have to be dominated by Scottish costume and designs, but the addition of Scottish elements is a prerequisite:

Many people in Waipu come from different places, different races and multiple ethnicities. Harking back to origins in Europe, Asia, the Pacific and tangata whenua, they are weaving their culture into the magic that is Waipu. Weave a touch of tartan into your creation as you explore your roots and memories of your family's past (Waipu Museum, 2014).
This category ploughs a new path that attempts to combine both Waipu’s Scottish heritage and any other heritage of the people calling Waipu their home; thus, it can be seen as a multicultural or even intercultural aspect of the festival. During the ‘Waipu in Tartan’ weeks, people and local businesses are encouraged to emphasise Waipu’s Scottish heritage, with less emphasis on other ethnicities:

For this small Scottish [sic] town, it’s the time to dust off the kilt, the scarves, the pipes — the town is awash with tartan — there is free shortbread in many shops for those sporting a bit of tartan, and often the Butcher offers a taste of Haggis. There is [sic] pipers, and parties, and busking and lots of fun — come and join us (Waipu Museum, 2014).

For a number of weeks, Waipu is awash with signs and symbols of Scottishness. Some are more stereotye than authentic reflection of Waipu’s early history; thus, they are prone to be overtaken by mythologised conventions that can lead to a romanticised version of history (Zumkhawala-Cook, 2008).

With its focus on the dual-migration story in Nova Scotia and New Zealand, The Search for Paradise is not as prone to representing such mythologies and stereotypes; however, it does to some extent reproduce the myths of exile following the Highland Clearances and also features added stereotypical insignia of Scottishness, such as the piper mannequin. The exhibition does not reference other Waipu ethnic settlers and neglects Māori influence, thereby resulting in a mono-cultural history. While the integration of influences of other ethnicities is a focus of other museum initiatives, they are, as of now, not prominently represented in The Search for Paradise, yet a move to a more multicultural outlook on Waipu’s history and heritage can be seen in other museum initiatives.
8.3 Conclusion

The Waipu Museum and its permanent exhibition *The Search for Paradise* were created in the wake of a celebration of Waipu’s Scottish heritage, but also as a response to a perceived loss of traditions and values that allegedly hark back to the early settlers. In effect, *The Search for Paradise* focuses primarily on the early years of settlement and the dual immigration led by Norman McLeod, with less attention to Waipu’s more recent history. The exhibition celebrates Highlander traditions and endeavours to assess the settler’s leader, Norman McLeod, objectively, and provide multiple perspectives on his persona.

The introductory section focuses on the reasons for emigrating, and triggers the migration story. It also provides a wider history of Scotland with a special focus on economic changes and the Highland Clearances. The latter element can easily mislead visitors to perceive the emigrants incorrectly as victims of the Clearances, even though they were not affected by them directly, and to find in this, rather than in a general economic downturn, the Scottish settlers’ motivation to emigrate. This section introduces Norman McLeod, a powerful character that visitors can identify throughout the entire exhibition. Both his positive and negative character traits are presented, thus avoiding a simplistic reading; visitors can form their own assessment of him.

Although it cannot offer an immersive environment similar to the rocking cabin at the New Zealand Maritime Museum, the re-created ship environment can visually trigger a change of focus from Scotland to Nova Scotia. The engaging presentation of the ‘ship’s ghost’ is a key feature here; it engages the visitor directly and also provides an opportunity to present a more extreme, ‘ghost-written’, unsanctioned perspective on McLeod than that found in the ‘official’ exhibition texts.
The St. Anns section portrays, narratively, the skills, piety and cooperative nature of the settlers. The balanced depiction of McLeod in the pre-emigration section is continued with his cruel and autocratic behaviour contrasted with his kindness and strength as a leader. As more material culture is introduced in this section, an emphasis on tools of the trade and domestic items establishes a connection between the narrative and the objects on display. Both represent the settlers as skilful, inventive and pragmatic. This theme is developed throughout the exhibition, culminating in the wide range of objects displayed in the final section of *The Search for Paradise*. Mundane objects function as material manifestations of settler virtues, imbuing them with importance and virtuosity. This technique is similar to that seen in the displays at Puhoi, which also serve the purpose of illustrating specific positive characteristics of the settlers.

While McLeod is depicted in a nuanced and balanced manner throughout the exhibition, the firmly positive depiction of the settlers, both through material culture and text, fosters a perception of them as almost superhuman. The emphasis on McLeod’s controversial nature becomes a narrative device that strengthens the heroisation of the settlers.

Finally, *The Search for Paradise* is boldly branded with a Scottish identity; that identity is also reflected in the museum building itself and its initiatives such as festivals and heritage weeks. While these initiatives aim to preserve Scottish traditions, they are far more inclusive today than in the 1950s. Other ethnicities are considered valuable additions to Waipu’s Scottish history, and the museum endeavours to integrate these other ethnicities into its programs. Nevertheless, *The Search for Paradise* is a monocultural exhibition, focusing primarily on the Scottish settlers. Māori issues, such as Māori pre-occupation, interaction with the settlers or intermarriage are not addressed. Similarly, contributions of other ethnicities to Waipu’s more recent history are not a focus either. While integration of the products of local festivals can connect the exhibition to a more diverse modern Waipu, to be effective, this element must be strengthened in the
narrative. Stories of hybrid identities are in their infancy at the museum; the prevailing identity is based solely on the story of the early settlers. It remains to be seen whether the Waipu Museum will open its displays to reflect these other influences that shaped the history of Waipu. Such opportunities will arise when new special exhibitions and other permanent exhibitions are added to the existing ones.
IX. TOITŪ — A MULTI-ETHNIC MIGRATION HISTORY

Figure 172: Toitū permanent exhibition. TOSM 2013. Photo: Author.
9.1 History of the Museum

The Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (TOSM) opened its doors to the public more than a century ago in 1908. It can look back on an illustrious history that is closely connected to the Otago Early Settlers’ Association, on whose initiative the museum was first established (see Brosnahan, 1998; Risk, 2001; Martin & Skinner, 1948). Initially called the ‘Early Settlers Hall and Museum’, it had a narrow focus on the first European settlers who arrived between 1848 and 1864 (later extended to 1868), with the portraits of the pioneers being the mainstay of the museum (later integrated into the ‘Smith Gallery’). The history of newcomers and tangata whenua was not part of its exhibitions at that early stage. It followed a narrow taxonomical approach, with its focus on the ‘Early Settler’; Māori artefacts being deemed unsuitable initially (Brosnahan, 1998, 36). With its focus on the people who arrived and settled in Dunedin, it was, from the outset, a museum that focused on migration movements. Being at first confined to a small building, the museum subsequently expanded to a neighbouring building in 1927. Both buildings were designed by notable Dunedin architect John Arthur Burnside and constructed in an Edwardian style.

The museum and association were, at least initially, dedicated to the promotion of a Scottish identity, as the Scots were the first to settle there, and by extension dedicated to the belief in the beneficial influence their Presbyterianism and Scottish ancestry had on the prospering of Dunedin (Brosnahan, 1998, 21). It is thus unsurprising that the association attempted to preserve a certain exclusiveness well into the 1960s (Brosnahan, 1998, 37). The displays remained relatively static and while there were some new accessions, especially with regard to artefacts connected to transport history,

\footnote{The museum retained its long standing name ‘Otago Settlers Museum’ due to popular demand. However, it was gifted the mana whenua name ‘Toitū’ by the local iwi group. For more details see Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (2014).}
the museum focused on the early European settlement generally, and the Scots in particular, well into the 1970s (Brosnahan, 1998, 66).

During the postwar period between 1949 and 1977, the museum was in dire financial straits, but ultimately managed to survive intact (Brosnahan, 1998, 60ff.). From 1978 forward, the museum, now under new leadership, followed a course of renewal and was able to secure more funding from the Dunedin City Council (Brosnahan, 1998, 74ff.). The museum re-invented itself into a social history museum with a much more inclusive agenda than in the preceding decades. In the 1990s, the museum’s scope was extended significantly with the incorporation of displays on Māori pre-settlement, followed by the first version of an exhibition focusing on Chinese immigration — *Windows on a Chinese Past* — and an exhibition on Dutch immigration. These exhibitions marked the beginning of community engagement and also a final move away from the original narrow ‘Early Settlers’ focus (Brosnahan, 1998, 87).

The museum’s operation and ownership were assumed by the Dunedin City Council in 1991. The 1990s also brought a further enlargement of the museum premises in acquiring the neighbouring, then defunct, Art Deco bus station of the New Zealand Railways (NZR) Road Services, designed in 1939 by James Hodge White. The old and new buildings were connected by a concourse in 1995. The history of the Māori and their status as first settlers was again the focus of a new display outlining 150 years of tangata whenua history in Otago since the first settlers arrived. To mark the break with its narrow past, the museum was renamed ‘Otago Settlers Museum’ (OSM) (Brosnahan, 1998, 94). A second iteration of *Windows on a Chinese Past* followed, as did exhibitions on German immigration and the installment of *Across the Ocean Waves*, all illustrating a much greater focus on immigration, its effects, and general community engagement.

In early 2010, the OSM closed temporarily and underwent major restructuring and refurbishments that altered the appearance of the museum building and its displays.
considerably. This involved large-scale architectural interventions, such as the creation of a new entrance and foyer area resembling a horizontal spire or arrowhead (Figure 173; Harvey, 2014). The concourse was transformed into a visitor and research centre connecting the old and new buildings. All the galleries, except *Across the Ocean Waves* and the ‘Smith Gallery’, were dismantled and entirely redeveloped.

*Figure 173:* Toitū Museum. New foyer/entrance area seen from the Railway Station. Toitū 2013. *Photo:* Author.

*Across the Ocean Waves* represented a considerable financial investment and had to remain in place (James & Thomas, personal communication, 2013). The space was also used extensively by the education department, popular among visitors and a favourite of the Otago Settlers Association (OSA) (Educator TOSM, personal communication, 2013; Wigley, personal communication, 2013). Only the exterior of the cabin was updated, but the recreated ship environment remained unchanged (James & Thomas, personal communication, 2013).
Similarly, the ‘Smith Gallery’ was seen by staff as the very heart of the museum (Wigley, personal communication, 2013); this view was shared by the design team (James & Thomas, personal communication, 2013) and the OSA (Simes, 2010). Accordingly, any changes to this space had to be subtle so as not to conflict with the Victorian atmosphere of the space.

The refurbishments were completed in 2013 and mark the beginning of yet another era in the long history of the museum (TOSM, 2015). The new exhibition attempts to showcase the influence different ethnic groups had on Dunedin’s development, but embeds their experiences in the city’s general history with a focus on people and their emotionally charged personal stories. The question arises of how well such an integrative approach that focuses on people rather than cultures is suited to communicate multicultural and transcultural narratives. Before we embark on analysing the new displays, it seems appropriate to give an overview of the previous immigration displays as a basis for comparison.

9.2 Past Exhibitions — A Focus on Windows on a Chinese Past

Before refurbishment, Toitū featured a number of exhibitions focused on various ethnic communities or immigrant groups, such as the Dutch, Germans, Polish and most prominently the Chinese. The latter were featured in two exhibitions, both named *Windows on a Chinese Past*. Privileged to study and to compare the Chinese display before and after refurbishments were carried out, I will focus on the second version in more detail.
The first version was created in consultation with, and with the assistance of, the local Chinese community. It was based on research undertaken by Dr. James Ng, and focused only on the early history of Chinese immigrants during the nineteenth century. Planning was underway in 1990 to extend the display to cover the later history of Chinese in Otago well beyond 1900. Other factors contributing to the decision to update the exhibition were the publication of a book by Ng (1993), the four-volume *Windows on a Chinese Past*, which included the post gold mining years; the announcement of plans for a Chinese garden complex adjacent to the Settlers Museum; and the establishment of a ‘sister city’ relationship with Shanghai (“A Design Brief”, 1998).

The goals of the second version included: informing non-Chinese New Zealanders about the reasons why the original Chinese came to Otago; how they dealt with discrimination and exclusion; how they finally became a respected and prosperous group; and, last but not least, who the ‘new’ generation of Chinese were (“A Design Brief”, 1998).

The design process was carried out in close consultation with Otago’s Chinese community and the New Zealand Chinese Association (Otago-Southland Branch), as well as advisors of Chinese descent; these groups influenced the selection of topics and themes and also the choice of artefacts. As the OSM had only a very restricted collection of artefacts pertaining to the history of Chinese in Otago, it was dependent upon the Chinese community to acquire or borrow such artefacts (Brosnahan, personal communication, 2010). The design of the exhibition emphasised Chinese symbolism extensively; for example, it used the colours gold, green, and red which are associated with good luck, health and joy respectively. Out of respect, the number four was omitted entirely as it represents death (Brosnahan, 1998).129

129 All letters and numbers refer to the layout provided in Figure 177.
An array of small cube-shaped display cases was exhibited along the left-hand wall (D1-5, Figure 175); these contained Chinese goods imported to New Zealand, such as Kung Fu and Chinese film magazines, Chinese news media, school texts, traditional Chinese medicines, etc. In addition, mixed language publications were displayed.

These objects implied not only a strong connection to the homeland, but also the influence of the English speaking environment. However, they also demonstrated the prevalence and maintenance of the Chinese language amongst early immigrants, as they resisted assimilation.

In the corner and on the adjacent wall, a similarly-shaped showcase of the dimensions of a small shop window was located (Figure 176). It contained on several levels, not dissimilar to a shop display, a broad selection of objects ranging from Chinese cutlery and cooking utensils, to signs from a local Otago fruit and vegetable store, to lotus shoes used in foot binding, and opium paraphernalia.

Figure 174: Left: Chinese goods (D 1-5). Centre: Interpretation pagodas. Windows on a Chinese Past. Toitū 2010. Photo: Author.

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Figure 175: Chinese and mixed English/Chinese goods (D 1, D 2). *Windows on a Chinese Past.* Toitū 2010. *Photo:* Author.

Figure 176: Case resembling a shop window featuring a variety of artefacts connected to Chinese culture and immigration to New Zealand (D 6). *Windows on a Chinese Past.* Toitū 2010. *Photo:* Author.
The objects on display suggested an ongoing connection between Chinese in New Zealand and their home country. Chinese traditions, but also material culture such as dress, cutlery and food, all appeared to be part of the heritage of past and present Chinese immigrants to New Zealand as well as their descendants. The exhibit also broached the topic of opium use and its detrimental effects, while the interpretative text mentioned Chinese initiatives to fight the opium trade, in effect working against stereotypical ideas of Chinese opium consumption. However, with the focus on heirlooms and stereotypical objects such as the lotus shoes, the Chinese community was exoticised to some extent.

This display case was accompanied by a slightly set back cabinet with one geometric and three octagonal alcoves, each containing a miniature of a Chinese god or mythological being, thus making the connection with religion and again communicating maintenance of Chinese cultural habits and beliefs (Figure 178). Finally, another free-standing octagonal display case on the far right (D 6, Figure 179) contained objects related to Chinese business, such as contracts, currency, food packaging and several abacuses, or counting devices. These artefacts referencing the financial success of Chinese immigrants once again showcased the strong connection with the homeland. This was true especially with regard to cuisine. Finally, the exhibit highlighted the successful integration of the Chinese into the Dunedin community.
Figure 178: Figurines of mythological and religious significance (D 7). Windows on a Chinese Past. Toitū 2010. Photo: Author.

Figure 179: Front right: Objects associated with Chinese businesses (D 8). Background right: Figurines of mythological and religious beings (D 7). Background left: Interpretation pagodas. Windows on a Chinese Past. Toitū 2010. Photo: Author.
These objects of success and successful opposition to assimilation were contrasted with objects connected to discrimination, such as poll tax certificates and assorted legal documents illustrating the difficulties Chinese had in being accepted in the host country. This topic was also one of the major themes in the interpretative text provided on a number of octagonal stelae, each dedicated to one era of Chinese immigration (P 1-5, Figure 174). A subsection, ‘Discrimination’, directly addressed early occurrences of discrimination and discriminatory laws. Biographies introduced examples of successful Chinese immigrants; some who found a way to preserve their cultural identity and others who lost their connection to their homeland and culture. Although none of the biographies featured detailed examples of discrimination suffered, a strong demand for Chinese to embrace the European way of life and thus assimilate into the majority population was communicated. In-group discrimination against newcomers after immigration legislation was changed considerably in the 1980s was also addressed; this communicated the notion of a split community.

*Windows on a Chinese Past* might at first glance appear to have been an attempt at reconciliation, representing the Chinese community as a once despised, but now a respected, successful and well-established minority group in New Zealand. The biographies featured focused on stories of success and omitted narratives of ultimate failure and discrimination. The outlawed discriminatory legislation was presented as clearly unacceptable and the current reformed legislation presented as free of racial criteria. The legal development was thus portrayed as a story of success leading to a new paradigm of the acceptance of difference. However, faced with the innumerable cases of injustice against the Chinese, and not comforted with the delusory notion that those problems belong to the past, visitors were confronted with a challenge for the future: to deal with New Zealand's increasing multicultural society and ‘difference’ in more constructive ways than in the past.
9.3 Current Displays — Start of a New Era?

9.3.1 Genesis

The redevelopment of almost all galleries of the museum by the design team of Wellington based ‘Workshop e’, in combination with connecting the various museum buildings into one coherent exhibition experience, was unquestionably a major milestone in the museum’s development of immigration-related topics. While not a migration museum in and of itself, Toitū is more like a typical city museum; but Dunedin’s history is nevertheless inextricably connected to the immigration of a variety of ethnic groups to the Otago area. From the outset, the acknowledgement of the importance of migration history for the region and individual immigrants was at the heart of the redevelopment.

Immigration was but one aspect of the new exhibition (Wigley, personal communication, 2013; Simes, personal communication, 2013). The museum’s rich transport and computer collections, as well as its fund of historical textiles, formed a major part of the proposed outline of the future displays. Sections on the entire breadth of Dunedin’s history in chronological order were proposed, spanning tangata whenua pre-settlement, the early years of the settlement and its development into a major city, up to the present and even future outlooks on Dunedin’s role in New Zealand and the world at large (“Overview”, 2010).

In contrast to the old displays, new technology, such as touch screens and QR-codes\textsuperscript{130} which permit access to additional information and audio-visual components, were to be heavily featured; however, these were planned only where necessary to tell a story effectively and not introduced as a mere contrivance (James & Thomas, personal communication, 2013).

\textsuperscript{130} A Quick Response Code is a two-dimensional machine-readable barcode or optical label, containing information about the item to which it is attached.
The planners had two predominant goals: to design the exhibition in accordance with the architecture of the heritage buildings and to ensure a long life span of the style and materials employed (James & Thomas, personal communication, 2013).

During the design process, strategies for implementing immigration history underwent major changes. Initially, various ethnic group immigrants were to be represented in a separate ‘immigration’ section featuring a general overview of global migration movements and the histories of specific ethnic groups that made Dunedin their home (“Overview”, 2010). However, this was later evolved into a concept in which ‘Community Anchors’ would be dispersed throughout the exhibition (“100% Concept”, 2011). These anchors were to take the shape of insular displays, each featuring evocative objects and narratives associated with an ethnic group. In addition, the introductory section was to feature a ‘Forest of Portraits’ (“Otago”, 2010). Stelae would feature a variety of portraits of old and new immigrants, settlers and tangata whenua (Figure 180). A large screen would feature a world map illustrating major migration streams over time. The intention was to make visitors aware of Dunedin’s rich heritage of immigration history and its global connections, but also the importance of tangata whenua as the first immigrants (“Overview”, 2010; James & Thomas, personal communication, 2013).
The idea of a ‘Forest of Portraits’ was abandoned in favour of the local iwi group’s preference for an introductory, stand-alone section dedicated to Kāi Tahu (the principal Māori tribe of the South Island) without an overlap with the history of European settlement (James & Thomas, personal communication, 2013; Simes, personal communication, 2013). We have encountered Māori preference for a bicultural approach to exhibition design in preceding case studies, too, for instance at Te Papa. In other cases, like that of the New Zealand Maritime Museum, it was a decision of the design team based on the perception that Māori history should be exhibited in a separate section. This is thus a consistent theme. In Toitū’s case it was decided to integrate immigration and its effects in each section of the exhibition, making it a continuous thread throughout Dunedin’s history, but to cover Māori history mostly in the first sections of the exhibition (Brosnahan, personal communication, 2013).
While this addressed immigration history as a whole, strategies for community representation were still debated. The three major immigrant groups identified by museum staff — the Scottish, the Chinese and tangata whenua (Simes, personal communication, 2013) — would each receive a section dedicated to their history, with the latter receiving a stand-alone section as mentioned above. However, other ethnic groups, such as the Polish and Jewish community, asked for inclusion in the narrative also (Simes, personal communication, 2013; Brosnahan, personal communication, 2013). Spatial limitations and concerns about the cohesion of the narrative made it impossible to intersperse dedicated displays throughout the museum for each and every ethnic group as was first planned in form of the ‘Community Anchors’ (James & Thomas, personal communication, 2013).131

Late in the redevelopment process a new interpretative strategy for community representation was conceived: audio-visual posts, called ‘Our Voices’, were to be integrated into the exhibition circuit, each featuring video recordings of interviews with representatives of the different ethnic groups that make up Dunedin’s cultural fabric. At that point, it was agreed that no further material culture was to be presented (Keaney, personal communication, 2013; James & Thomas, personal communication, 2013). However, given the late integration of this element, it was feared that the cohesiveness of the overall exhibition would be compromised (“‘Our Stories’”, 2012).

In the end, a threefold approach resulted: first, immigration was to be engrained in the narrative throughout the museum. Secondly, the three major immigrant groups were each allocated a separate section dedicated to their history, while smaller ethnic groups were represented by ‘Our Voices’. Finally, a small display case titled ‘People of

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131 Bennett (1995, 90ff.) calls this the political rationality of the museum. The principal of representational adequacy demands that the modern museum adequately represent the culture of different sections of the public. Given the complexity and variety of these cultures, any museum display must appear inadequate and in constant need of supplementation.
the Four Winds’ would feature ongoing rotating exhibitions of material culture belonging to specific ethnic groups.132

It is not surprising that the Chinese community was initially concerned about a proposed display that was considerably smaller in footprint and explanatory notes than the former Windows on a Chinese Past. Negotiations and discussions focused on spatial limitations defused this conflict (Brosnahan, personal communication, 2013). This was equally true for the Polish and Jewish communities, who initially demanded representation equivalent to that allocated to the Chinese and the Scottish (Simes, personal communication, 2013; Brosnahan, personal communication, 2013). The concept of ‘People of the Four Winds’ ostensibly satisfied the demands of the Polish community, which was to be featured first, followed by the Jewish community, which was equally pleased (Brosnahan, personal communication, 2013).

The wishes of the Otago Settlers Association, another important stakeholder in the redevelopment, had to be taken into consideration in equal measure. It was hoped that an older feature of the museum, a recreated pioneer cottage dismantled in 1998, could be reconstructed, as it was a members’ favourite and its dismantling had met with earlier disapproval (Brosnahan, personal communication, 2013). The Association first envisaged a display akin to the old exhibit: a cottage filled with a large number of middle-class furnishings. The designers considered this to be ahistorical (Simes, personal communication, 2013) and more a fantasy of an elaborate lifestyle, quite unlike the realities of life in early Dunedin. This phase was similar to Akaroa’s period room and early displays, both attempts to depict settlers (as an extension of one’s ancestors) as refined ‘gentle folk’, as opposed to a realistic representation of rugged settler life (see 6.5). In the end, based on considerable research and historical examples, a cottage was

132 This is an approach similar to that suggested by Andrea Witcomb (2009, 64ff.). Instead of ‘teaching’ diversity, exhibitions should enact it. Key to this would be a focus on individual biographies and interactions between people and the use of ‘affect’ as an interpretative strategy leading to empathy. Witcomb sees empathy as a prerequisite for dialogue and recognition of commonalities.
constructed inside the museum building, using authentic materials ("Otago", 2011a). Further, it was furnished with replicas of objects available to settlers at the time and a realistic period soundscape. The design for the cottage and its contents was based on the letters of a local settler family who lived in a similar dwelling (Brosnahan, personal communication, 2013; “Cottage”, 2012).

Actively engaging with the representatives of various ethnic communities was a major shift in the museum’s ethos. While the relationship with the Chinese community was long-standing and had resulted in two successful exhibition projects, the active involvement of and consultation with other communities was a new paradigm. In the past, decisions about the final shape and contents of an exhibition had been made exclusively by museum staff (Simes, personal communication, 2013). In the redevelopment process, the creation of a dedicated community outreach position was developed and subsequently filled by Phillipa Keaney.

Focusing on ‘Our Voices’, her task was to engage with representatives of different, previously unidentified communities and to produce content for ‘Our Voices’, initially with a view to collecting material objects for the museum space. Only after the inadequacy of this approach became evident did she decide to focus on stories (Keaney, personal communication, 2013). Other staff members engaged with other communities such as the Chinese and Polish, and naturally the iwi group. The ongoing maintenance of these relationships post-redevelopment is uncertain (Keaney, personal communication, 2013), although the creation of a full-time community liaison manager position is planned (Wigley, personal communication, 2013).
Figure 181: Site plan permanent exhibition Toitū Otago Settlers Museum in 2013.

Please help to keep our treasures safe by taking note of the following:

- No food or drink is to be taken into the exhibition galleries.
- Please do not touch the objects unless directed to do so by labels and do not climb onto the raised floors and plinths.
- You are welcome to take photographs in the Museum, but no flash photography please.

TOUCHING DISPLAYS
We do have several displays where you are encouraged to touch and interact with the objects. These are the shearer's cabin in 1 - Across the Ocean Waves, 2 - the Settlers Cottage in New Edinburgh; 3 - the Roslyn No.1 Tram and 4 - the Tiger Tea Trolley Bus.

MUSEUM HIGHLIGHTS TOUR
1pm daily – An introduction to the highlights of our collection and the many stories we hold. $20 per person, book and meet at the Front Desk.
9.3.2 Outline of the exhibition space

The museum’s permanent exhibitions span fifteen thematic sections, with the ‘Research Centre’ separating Dunedin’s early history from its twentieth century history (Figure 181). The layout of the museum permits visitors some choice during their visit with regard to which sections to include in their personal circuit. However, this choice is limited to the first half of the exhibition, where some rooms branch off the main thoroughfare (Figure 182).\(^{133}\) These include: the ‘Smith Gallery’, dedicated to displaying a great number of settler portraits; Across the Ocean Waves, an exposition on the journey by ship; ‘New Edinburgh’, with a focus on Scottish immigration to Dunedin; and ‘Material Culture’, featuring period costumes and textiles (Figure 187). Rooms that must be traversed contain: ‘Ara-i-te-uru’, i.e. Māori pre-settlement; ‘Early Encounters’, the interaction of tangata whenua with settlers; ‘Gold, Gold, Gold’, the influences of the gold rush on Dunedin; ‘First Great City’, depictions of life in mid-nineteenth-century Dunedin (Figure 172); and ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’, views of negative aspects of life in the settlement.

The twentieth-century sections focus on the effects of the First and Second World Wars and the history of technology, to include transport, appliances and digital data processing systems (Figure 184 and Figure 183). Perspectives on Dunedin’s future development are an integral part of this section (Figure 185). Further, the former foyer of the NZR (Figure 186) is now used as an immersive environment to illustrate transport technology, but also to accommodate school groups during creative workshops. These sections, apart from featuring some of the ‘Our Voices’ posts and a selection of recent immigrants sharing their impressions of Dunedin, have no over-all focus on immigration and will accordingly not play a major role in this analysis.

\(^{133}\) All letters and numbers refer to the layout provided in Figure 181.
Figure 183: Otago Motors section featuring a variety of objects connected to transport such as the Tiger Tea Trolley Bus, stage coaches, motorcycles and so on. Permanent exhibition. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.

Figure 184: Selection of twentieth century appliances. Permanent exhibition. Section ‘Twentieth Century’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
Figure 185: Section focusing on an outlook on Dunedin’s future. Audio-visuals feature inhabitants of Dunedin talking about their expectations, while a central art work features visitor’s notes about their ideas of Dunedin’s future. Permanent exhibition. Section ‘Future City’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.

Figure 186: Former foyer of the NZR. Permanent exhibition. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
The overall design of the exhibition utilises modern elements, manifest in a reduced colour palette, unobtrusive display cases, and information consoles that complement the architecture of the heritage buildings and achieve a result that is less likely to age rapidly (Figure 188). A number of visitors in the interview sample ascribed a modern, yet homely and welcoming ambiance to the museum. The wooden floor as well as the warm tone lighting were often named as prompting associations of home (Visitors 1, 2, 3, 6, 11, Toitū). The majority of display cases in the nineteenth-century section of the exhibition are of a similar design: rectangular, with overhead lights and a wide black frame around the case and background, with the pedestals and any other mounting elements either white or translucent. In this arrangement, the cases are not only clearly delineated from and framed against the surrounding space and other cases, they also represent an attempt to focus on the objects alone without any visual distractions (“Otago”, 2011b). The primacy of material culture is further suggested in the reduced amount of interpretative text in display cases, the majority of it compiled in touch-screen
consoles, with placeholder screens that include outlines of the objects it contains (Figure 189). By touching the outline, basic information about the object can be accessed, and in many cases further layers of information are made available by additional touch-sensitive menus. These also emphasise the shape of the objects and their materiality. Visitors have to engage visually and tactiley with an object to learn about it.

**Figure 188:** Left: Chinese case (D 12). Centre: Textiles and minting subsections (D 11, D 13). Right: Horse-drawn coach. Background right: Entrance/exit to ‘Early Encounters’. Permanent exhibition. Section ‘Gold, Gold, Gold.’ Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
Figure 189: Detail of touch-screen console located in front of the Chinese case (D 12). Objects contained in the case are represented as outlines and can be selected for additional information. Permanent exhibition. Section ‘Gold, Gold, Gold’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.

The light levels in the main passageway are high, achieved through both artificial and natural light. The high ceilings, adorned with rich stucco decorations and equipped with skylights, are unobstructed, allowing a dialogue between architectural elements and furnishings. Before the refurbishments, over-sized objects, for example a canoe suspended from the ceiling, obscured these features; now, a historical atmosphere is achieved more easily with the objects exhibited among Edwardian, Victorian and Art Deco elements (Figure 190). Their aesthetic appeal and the buildings’ large size and lavish decoration have the potential to elevate the objects presented into the realm of high culture, despite their often mundane nature.
Figure 190: Ceiling detail in the main thoroughfare featuring stucco decorations and head lights. *Permanent exhibition.* Sections ‘First Great City’/‘Gold, Gold, Gold’. Toitū 2013. *Photo:* Author.

Figure 192: Dunedin made handicraft and furnishings (D 16). Permanent exhibition. Section ‘First Great City’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.

Figure 193: Left: Objects relating to wool and paper manufacturing (D 17). Centre: Machinery used for glass manufacturing (D 19) and ‘Our Voices’ post. Right: Photographs showing industrial scenes, such as manufacturing halls. Case with archaeological artefacts (jam container, shoe, bottle) found in Dunedin illustrating early industries (D 18). Permanent exhibition. Section ‘First Great City’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
9.3.3  Ara-i-te-uru — the First Immigrants

Ara-i-te-uru is the name of the mythological canoe that brought the Ngāi Tahu (sometimes called Kāi Tahu by southern tribes) to the South Island. It is a fitting name for the first section of the permanent exhibition and carries connotations of ‘travel’ and ‘immigration’. If visitors have knowledge of *Te Reo* or have knowledge of the canoe’s name, the connection of Dunedin with the movement of different people is likely to be established from the outset. Tangata whenua were the first immigrants to the region, and they rightly assert their status as First People. This status is further confirmed by the placement of this section first in the narrative structure, a practice commonly encountered in museums nationwide and expected by Māori today (see McCarthy, 2007). The same practice is followed at the Maritime Museum and to some extent at the Akaroa Museum.

The introductory text to the section informs visitors about the extent of the ancestral *tākiwa* (area) of Kāi Tahu, the relationship of Kāi Tahu with Kāi Tahu Whānui (the entirety of the iwi) and *other iwi*. It is noteworthy that Kāi Tahu identify as immigrants from the North Island; they acknowledge that other tribes explored and settled the South Island earlier. In this history, immigration is a topic from the outset, with tangata whenua acknowledged as being the first to settle, with all associated rights.

The text concludes with an invitation to visitors: “We, the manawhenua, as the descendants of those first people to make this island their home, invite you to share our raraḵa kōrero (woven stories)” (*Permanent exhibition*, ‘Ara-i-te-uru’, TOSM, 2013). The use of the first-person plural implies agency of the iwi group in creating this section and influencing its contents. It is their voice that can be heard, while the museum provides the space for it to resonate.
The section contains only a limited collection of material culture, such as the bow of a Māori canoe and implements made of stone (Figure 194). Its main feature, however, is the audio-visual presentation that reflects on various aspects of Kāi Tahu: their traditions, their mythology and renowned ancestors. A stylised structure resembling a Māori dwelling, a whare rau or round house (Brosnahan, personal communication, 2015) offers a selection of digital frames with photographs of Kāi Tahu and select items of their material culture; an impressive mere, or Māori weapon, is pictured in one of the photographs (Figure 195). At the time of opening there was no interpretative text developed in this area. An appropriately large projection screen with a looped video clip (Figure 194) offers an introductory animated video on the Kāi Tahu creation myth of New Zealand; further, it explains the significance of ‘Toitū’ (undisturbed, untouched, permanent, entire) when Kāi Tahu associate it with the land, the people and the museum. The permanence of Kāi Tahu, their land and their history is implied, in turn transforming the museum into one of the stakeholders of Kāi Tahu perseverance. In addition, the worldview of tangata whenua is acknowledged, and the connection between them and the museum’s name is established. This, and the following section, are the only ones that explicitly focus on Māori history, while other sections may be merely informed by the history and interaction with New Zealand’s First People. In effect, the sections on tangata whenua and tangata tiriti appear separated not only spatially, but also in the narrative. In addition, lighting levels are darker in the two initial sections compared to those that follow and the design is markedly different, relying more on dark brown and blue tones, as opposed to the brighter colours of the palette that are used in other sections. One visitor perceived the two histories as quite separate, with the actual relations of the two people indistinct (Visitor 16, Toitū). While not representative, this comment illustrates the possibility of the two being perceived as separate entities. All this suggests a bicultural historical framework; however, as we will see, it evolved with a subtle twist hinting at interaction between Māori and tangata tiriti, as opposed to depicting the two as distinct isolated entities.

9.3.4 Early Encounters — Limitless Potential

While ‘Ara-i-te-uru’ establishes the identity of the first immigrants to the South Island, it is in ‘Early Encounters’ that tangata tiriti make their first appearance; they are depicted as whalers, adventurers and entrepreneurs who immigrate to a place already occupied and who must assert their status as immigrants to a host population. Interaction between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti is a major focus of this section, with a secondary focus on the multi-ethnic character of the first settlers to arrive in occupied New Zealand. While in modern terms immigrants are typically expected to conform and in some cases to assimilate to the majority culture, the reverse of this is true for past periods, where the European settlers (the minority) deemed their culture superior to that of the First People (the majority) and assimilation to the more ‘advanced’ was expected. Museum visitors are made aware of this expectation in the first interpretative text of this section:

The arrival of European explorers in the late 18th century changed life forever for southern Māori. Hunters of seals and whales brought those changes even closer to home.

These people were the first models of European culture for Māori. Living and intermarrying with them led to major changes for Kāi Tahu Whānui (Permanent exhibition, ‘Early Encounters’, TOSM, 2013).

Interruption as well as contact on a daily basis are named as the major factors for Kāi Tahu’s way of life being altered. However, in another text titled ‘Mutual Consent’, it is stated explicitly that the exchange of resources and expertise was reciprocal:

Men hunting seals and whales were the earliest European residents on the southern New Zealand coast. They soon realised that to carry out their business, even to survive, they needed the consent of the people who lived there.

Local Māori were quick to see benefits in developing relationships with these strangers, trading resources, manpower and women to do so (Permanent exhibition, ‘Early Encounters’, TOSM, 2013).
The implication that amicable relations are preferred over the alternative by both parties and are maintained through the exchange of resources, manpower and women suggests that both masculine parties expected personal enrichment from the arrangement; further, the degradation of women in this exchange is suggested by their relegation to the last place on the list and by their identification as mere commodities. Representing the economic appeal of whale hunting are: a whaling boat floating in front of an evocative projection of fluctuating blue shapes resembling water (Figure 196) and products such as the stiffening ‘stays’ in a woman’s corset, lamp oil, whale oil candles and sewing machine oil; this powerful exhibit can encourage visitors to understand why men journeyed such enormous distances to find rich hunting grounds (Figure 197). The places of origin of the objects provided in the interpretative text, i.e., England or Belgium for corset paraphernalia, in combination with universally used lighting and sewing supplies, connote the dependency of Europe on the colonies to procure resources not easily available; it enables visitors to understand the reasons for temporary, but also more permanent emigration to New Zealand. Subtly, the exploitation of nature is alluded to, through the interpretative text criticism of the actions of past generations that drove the whales to near-extinction.
Figure 196: *Front:* Long whaling harpoon, barbed harpoon head and sealing club (D 2). *Back:* Whaling canoe ‘Māori Girl’ with oscillating projection in the background, giving the appearance of moving water. *Permanent exhibition.* Section ‘Early Encounters’. Toitū 2013. *Photo:* Author.

Figure 197: Women’s Corset made in England and corset box made in Belgium (D 3). *Permanent exhibition.* Section ‘Early Encounters’. Toitū 2013. *Photo:* Author.
Intermarriage of whalers and local Māori women is represented by contemporary photographs, paintings and four genealogical trees on interpretative panels, but not by material culture (Figure 199). The photographs depict European males who did intermarry, while the women are not always represented, due to a lack of contemporary photographs. In the early years, intermarriage suggested amicable relations that are not only restricted to economic exchange. The interpretative text hints that choice of partners was not always free; nevertheless, it also confirms that such intermarriage had the blessing of the tribal elders:

Of many hundreds of southern whalers and sealers, some 140 named men married and had children with local women, in matches usually encouraged by tribal elders.

The descendants of these families have given Kāi Tahu Whānui a distinctive genetic and cultural profile that remains important to this day (Permanent exhibition, ‘Early Encounters’, TOSM, 2013).

Firstly, the number of men intermarrying in comparison to the total number of whalers suggests to visitors that intermarriage was not out of the ordinary. Secondly, the phrasing of the second paragraph alludes to the importance of genealogy to modern Kāi Tahu.

One visitor was surprised by the story of a Native American man coming to New Zealand as a whaler and subsequently marrying a Māori woman (Visitor 4, Toitū). In this case, the multi-ethnic composition of the early whalers made him appreciate the diversity that could even include Native Americans.

Finally, the section focuses not only on amicable relations, but also on conflict. This is represented by European and Māori weaponry: a matchlock gun, a *patu* (club), a *tewhatewha* (a long weapon with an axe-like head) and a *taiaha* (spear), which are juxtaposed in two display cases contiguously arranged (Figure 198). The interpretative text clearly states the often conflict-ridden nature of the early period of colonisation:
Early interactions between southern Māori and foreign arrivals were frequently marked by violence. Peace was established by treaty and sealed by trade and intermarriage.

The acquisition of European weaponry later helped southern Māori repulse a tribal invasion from the North Island (Permanent exhibition, ‘Early Encounters’, TOSM, 2013)

The invasion by the North Island Ngāti Toa chief Te Rauparaha is only briefly mentioned, although collaboration by Europeans is implied. The introduction of European weaponry escalated conflicts and led to more casualties and asymmetrical warfare. These aspects are not the focus, as such an interpretation might have suggested that the Europeans were siding with southern Māori; however, this history is far more complex. While firearms did constitute a common trading good, this does not necessarily imply siding with a particular tribe.

Figure 198: Left and centre: European and Māori weapons (D 5-6). Right: Artefacts connected to tangata whenua and tangata tiriti interaction. Permanent exhibition. Section ‘Early Encounters’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
A number of visitors in the interview sample perceived the interaction of tangata whenua and tangata tiriti as primarily positive and shaped by amicable relations. For one visitor, the entire exhibition communicated this positivism and made her feel that New Zealand had less of a conflict-ridden history than Australia (Visitor 6, Toitū). Initially, she had a negative view of settlers, based on her knowledge of Australian history, but this was challenged by the narrative at Toitū and she changed her mind; she came to view New Zealand settlers in a much less negative light. This was supported by another visitor, who was impressed by the integration of the two cultures (Visitor 11, Toitū). He also thought this must be true for New Zealand as a whole, a preconception that the exhibition confirmed. One visitor differentiated further between a phase of amicable relations in the early stages of settlement, which later became more conflict-ridden,
resulting subsequently in the incarceration of Māori who rebelled against the British (Visitor 13, Toitū). One visitor (Visitor 9, Toitū) was reminded by the weaponry on display of the New Zealand Land Wars and by extension the often conflicted history of the two people, which symbolised for him how the two cultures were affected by their interactions.

The last element of the ‘Early Encounters’ section is an immigration timeline, encompassing both tangata whenua and tangata tiriti immigration (Figure 200). According to the accompanying interpretative text, the spine of the timeline is formed by a kowhaiwhai (a Māori scrolling motif) representing Te Kore (a realm of potential being or limitless potential). Each of its koru (unfurling frond elements) represents the arrival of one of the people that make up Dunedin’s community today. It encompasses all major ethnic groups without exception. A photograph of the Treaty of Waitangi is in the centre of the timeline, implying codification of amicable relations, already implied by an oral agreement in 1823, also mentioned on the timeline, that made peaceful coexistence possible (Figure 201). This presumably alludes to the success of Captain Edwardson — sent from Sydney to investigate the prospects of a flax-industry in Otago — in ending a small scale feud between local tribes and whalers characterised by raids and the loss of men on both sides.

Figure 201: Middle section of immigration timeline (P 1). *Permanent exhibition.* Section ‘Early Encounters’. Toitū 2013. *Photo:* Author.
What had been merely suggested before is here explicitly stated: Both tangata whenua and tangata tiriti are immigrants to Otago. Furthermore, Māori mythology and time concepts are intertwined with immigration processes. Each immigrant group is accorded ‘limitless potential’ and thus the ability to shape their fate; thereby they interpret New Zealand as a land of opportunity, one in which the Treaty acts to guarantee amicable relations.

While the first two sections appear isolated from the rest of the exhibition, suggesting a predominantly bicultural framework, the timeline is a strong integrative element that unites both tangata whenua and tangata tiriti as immigrants to New Zealand with a shared code of conduct at the heart of it. However, this framework relegates past and modern conflicts about land and resources to the background.

### 9.3.5 Smith Gallery — A Gateway for Imaginary Encounters

The ‘Smith Gallery’ is interesting for this study in three ways. Firstly, the Gallery’s architectural features need to be re-considered. Secondly, the photographs are an embodiment of questionable selection criteria. Who was regarded as an original settler? Who represents the successive waves of immigrants and the formation of a group identity based not entirely on ethnicity, but also on point of arrival? Thirdly, the object category of the ‘photograph’ and its implications have to be considered within the immigration history context and in view of the interaction with visitors.

The ‘Smith Gallery’ preserved its basic appearance throughout the refurbishment process, with only subtle changes enhancing accessibility (Figure 202). The wall, formerly painted white, now features a deep red colour contrasting with the white ceiling.
In addition it visually separates and more clearly distinguishes the picture frames from each other. Display cases with the potential to obstruct views were removed, further highlighting the photographs and attracting the gaze of the visitor to them. However, a major development is the installation of four touch-screen consoles, replacing display cases; they show a photograph of the wall they are facing and permit the visitor to select a specific portrait about which to access further information (Figure 203).

Figure 202: Smith Gallery featuring portraits of settlers and four touch screen consoles that provide access to additional information about specific individuals or families. Permanent exhibition. ‘Smith Gallery’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
General information about the portrait gallery is supplied on the consoles. It communicates to visitors that initially only settlers who came to Dunedin on board ships during the period 1848-1864 were considered for inclusion; this was subsequently amended to consider arrivals up to 1868. It is noted that an exception was made for spouses and children of original settlers; however, the reluctance of the Otago Settlers Association to include anyone else is the main communicative goal. The photographs thus appear to be of an exclusive group that arrived in a circumscribed time period and could claim to have been the initial force behind Dunedin’s development. While immigrants are often defined by ethnicity, it becomes clear that different waves of immigrants will not necessarily identify with fellow immigrants of the same ethnicity who arrive later.

Visitors in the sample were mostly drawn to specific portraits, e.g., their own ancestors, or portraits that interested them due to visual qualities of the subject. One
visitor remarked that the settlers were “just people, too”, elaborating further “that if one would change their outfits they would look like us” (Visitor 2, Toitū). She also wondered whether people in the future will look back on us and think the same. Clearly, she did not perceive the settlers as heroes, superhumans or paragons, as is often the case in immigration exhibitions. Given the position of the ‘Smith Gallery’ early in the narrative, this impression is unlikely to have been prompted by the exhibition contents themselves, but rather appears to be a preconception. Still, it is somewhat surprising, as the presentation of portraits for the purpose of commemoration might also imply an elevation of the individual to a position deemed worthy to be presented in the halls of the museum. On the other hand, the large number of portraits may also communicate equality among the settlers portrayed, i.e., all were equally important for the successful establishment of the colony. However, the portraits of some settlers are large, hand-painted originals, thus elevated in terms of size and connoting class differences transplanted to Dunedin.

Another visitor was interested in the subliminal meanings the portraits convey through positioning, facial expression and choice of attire (Visitor 6, Toitū). For her, the primary purpose of the portrait is to represent oneself positively; however, she enjoyed peering behind the image to imagine the personality of the subject. Apparently, she viewed the images as gateways to understanding these people so removed in time. This implies an imaginative interpretation of the experience, not one stimulated by any of the information provided on the consoles. However, other visitors investigated family connections and individual biographies on the consoles. One visitor felt the “weight of all the ancestors” around him (Visitor 8, Toitū), while his partner commented on their very similar appearances and stern expressions. She questioned how much “fun and laughter” there would have been (Visitor 7, Toitū); while she assumed there must have been some, she imagined that largely they had to make the best of their time. Conflicting impressions of the settlers as awe inspiring and — on the contrary — as rugged pioneers living harsh lives can lead to both admiration and to a more rational assessment of the
early settlers. Finally, only two visitors in the sample experienced the gallery in negative terms, e.g., as “creepy” (Visitor 10, Toitū) and “eerie” (Visitor 11, Toitū). The visitor who found the gallery “creepy” said that it reminded him of a mausoleum. Through the arrangement of the photographs and the similarities to a hall of remembrance, the gallery design subtly suggests honour and elevation of the first settlers; while such characterizations can lead to heroisation, they can also serve as a gateway for imaginary encounters with the settlers that make them appear more like ordinary people with positive and negative traits.

9.3.6 Gold, Gold, Gold and the First Great City — The Good, the Bad and the Ugly

The Gold Rush led to a considerable increase in multi-national immigration to Dunedin, with the Chinese being the most prominent contributors numerically. If Museum visitors enter the section ‘Gold, Gold, Gold’ from the adjacent ‘Early Encounters’ exhibit, they will be immediately confronted with a demonstration of continued cultural exchange, one that exceeds the limited scope of Māori and tangata tiriti interaction during the early days of whaling. Early Dunedin is represented as an eclectic mix of cultures and a rapidly growing city spurred on by the discovery of gold. On the other hand, if visitors first tour the ‘Smith Gallery’ and then proceed to the ‘New Edinburgh’ section, they will perceive the initial settlement as a planned venture by Scottish and English, with the gold rush opening up this limited cultural exchange with the Chinese somewhat later.

Visitor responses suggest that ‘Smith Gallery’ and ‘New Edinburgh’ were not necessarily part of their chosen circuits through the exhibition; some focused on the main passageway alone, in effect creating an overall impression limited to Dunedin’s multi-ethnic history.
The main exhibition hall hosts ‘Gold, Gold, Gold’, ‘First Great City’, ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’ and the Chinese display, with all four overlapping chronologically. The focus of this section, apart from the Gold Rush, associated technology and day-to-day life, encompasses Dunedin’s developing transport, e.g., the post carriages (Figure 125) and the fashion of penny-farthing bicycles (Figure 126), and the establishment of print-making, minting and carpentry concerns (Figure 128 and Figure 127).

While positive aspects of Dunedin’s city life are represented by objects relating to successful businesses, e.g., furnishings, luxury items, artworks portraying Dunedin’s cityscape (Figure 204), a less positive section titled evocatively ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’ broaches the subjects of drug abuse, prostitution, alcohol abuse and gambling (Figure 205). These topics are an integral aspect of the section and not confined to the background or discounted by more positive aspects, as the introductory text informs:

Late-19th-century Dunedin wasn’t all fancy houses and a booming economy. There was another, darker, side — slums of rundown shacks, rampant with disease.

Here, not far from the city centre, the unemployed, an aging Chinese community, drug and alcohol addicts, prostitutes, gamblers, and neglected children lived out an often desperate existence (Permanent exhibition, ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’, TOSM, 2013).

The overarching characteristic of the permanent exhibition on daily life in Dunedin is the comprehensive portrayal of numerous, differing perspectives. Both positive and negative aspects of early Dunedin are presented in order to afford visitors a more holistic view of Dunedin’s history. The introductory text also hints at the dire economic situation of Chinese immigrants. The enumeration of less desirable denizens of the slums in the same sentence with “an aging Chinese community”, could lead visitors to see all Chinese of this time in a negative light, engaging in undesirable activities or being associated with them. By contrast, marginalisation and ghettoisation of Chinese could be signified by the wording, leading to a feeling of empathy in some viewers.
Figure 204: Businesses in Dunedin (D 15). Right: Entrance to ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’. Permanent exhibition. Section ‘First Great City’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.

Figure 205: Display cases to the left and right contain objects associated with drug abuse, gambling and alcoholism. In the background a lit panorama of Dunedin’s cityscape is located. Permanent exhibition. Section ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
Objects in this section function as surrogates for the addiction topics broached: opium pipes, earthenware beer bottles, liquor bottles, questionable medication labelled with hazardous ingredients, cartoons focused on alcohol abuse that champion prohibition, advertisements for beer and fundraisers (often connected to embezzlement), and gambling paraphernalia such as dice.

In the interpretative text of the section, women’s emancipation is connected to championing prohibition, but also fighting for the right to vote. Alcoholism is portrayed as affecting a wide range of Dunedin’s inhabitants, primarily the working class; there is no differentiation with regard to ethnicity. However, drug abuse, especially opium addiction and gambling, are both associated with the Chinese community:

Opium was legal and freely available in the 19th century, but most users were Chinese. There was prejudice against both the drug and the aging Chinese Community living in the central city slum known as the Devil’s Half Acre. Respectable people steered clear of this area of low-class brothels and opium dens (*Permanent exhibition*, ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’, TOSM, 2013).

In combination with the Chinese display in the ‘Gold, Gold, Gold’ section, visitors will appreciate that prejudice and discrimination directed at Chinese were common in early Dunedin. The often dire economic situation of the majority of Chinese — partly due to fewer opportunities for employment that resulted from prejudice and lack of English skills or education — led (in some cases) to drug abuse, and in turn to ostracisation by society. Similarly, gambling is associated with Chinese as a picture of two Chinese gamblers is presented alongside the dice set mentioned above. However, the interpretative text makes it clear that gambling was a common, if illegal, pastime in Victorian Dunedin and was practiced by a wide variety of immigrants in addition to Chinese.
Taken alone, ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’ has the potential to stereotype Chinese as commonly consuming drugs and engaging in gambling, as inadequate context is provided to understand fully the reasons for this behaviour.

However, in the broader context of the overall exhibition, it is likely that the positive aspects of the community, including rejection of discrimination against and unfair treatment of Chinese, topics broached in ‘Gold, Gold, Gold’, will counteract any negative stereotypes encountered in ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’. The economic struggles of immigrants and the associated difficulties, but also the effect of prejudice and discrimination, are likely to be perceived by visitors. Such perceptions encourage a deeper understanding of the situation of the Chinese, in particular, in early Dunedin, and in general the problems of work-migrants who primarily perform menial labour, making them vulnerable if they lose employment.

9.3.6.3 Chinese display — Sojourners to Settlers

In comparison to the former Windows on a Chinese Past exhibition, the size of the new Chinese display is greatly reduced to only one display case, similar in size to all of the other exhibition display cases, thereby communicating similar importance to visitors (Figure 206). The amount of text is also substantially reduced and largely confined to the touch-screen console in front of the case. What effect does this reduction in size have, and what are the main communicative goals of the new display? One brief introductory text affixed to the case frame provides basic information to visitors, but no text labels are contained inside the display case. The Chinese are introduced by this text as the first non-European group to establish a long-term presence in Dunedin. The museum emphasises this presence and, in a similar fashion to the former display, addresses the transformation of Chinese from sojourners to permanent settlers.

The exhibit’s visual centre is a traditional Chinese costume that belonged to Hugh Sew Hoy, a temporary immigrant to New Zealand during the latter days of the gold rush, who returned to New Zealand when the Japanese invasion in 1942 made it impossible for him to live in China. He became a respected leader of the Chinese Community and a successful businessman. The costume is presented on a mannequin without any naturalistic characteristics.

In addition to its aesthetic qualities, the costume has the potential to signify an ongoing importance of Chinese customs to Hugh Sew Hoy, and also represents the possibility for Chinese to re-immigrate to New Zealand despite discriminatory legislation. In this case, New Zealand acts as a safe haven in a time of need. It is thus suggested that New Zealand, while still restrictive in its legislation, did make exceptions in cases of political persecution.
Neither of these two imagined potential effects were commented on by visitors in the sample: much more mundane associations were triggered by the costume. One visitor remarked on the small size of the costume, imagining how short its wearer must have been; for him the costume is a curiosity less because of its aesthetic characteristics or associated history than the physical characteristics of its wearer (Visitor 2, Toitū). Another visitor was reminded of Kung Fu movies, something he enjoyed watching (Visitor 4, Toitū). Neither visitor engaged with any other objects of the display, nor did they make use of the touch screen console; however, respondent four did make use of the ‘Our Voices’ posts and engaged with material therein relating to Chinese. Apart from these mundane associations, a number of visitors expressed appreciation about the impact of Chinese on Dunedin’s history, as one visitor remarked, a history often “overshadowed” by other histories (Visitor 1, Toitū). Another visitor acknowledged discrimination against Chinese and was surprised by the museum’s attention to this aspect (Visitor 9, Toitū), while others remarked on their successful integration into Dunedin’s social life, connecting past and present (Visitors 2, 7, 8, 10, 16, 17, Toitū). Yet another visitor was fascinated by the continued practice of Chinese customs related to costumes and found the robe’s aesthetics and elegance engaging; this individual did not use the consoles either (Visitor 18, Toitū).

To the left and right of the costume, rectangular white pedestals of equal height are situated, each exhibiting a variety of Chinese cutlery and ceramics used in the gold fields, e.g., ginger jars, soy sauce bottles, rice wine cups, chopsticks, spoons, etc. (Figure 207). To the left and right of the pedestals, respectively, a flour mill and a large jug are located, the former being used in the gold fields to grind rice.

Interpretative text communicates to visitors that such items were commonly used among Chinese, symbolising a strong connection to the home country. Apart from this, their exotic décor and shape combined with their primary use in food preparation or
storage, have the potential to connote Chinese cuisine, but also a strong sense of community and the enduring nature of cultural practices.

To the right of the jug on two small platforms mounted on the right-hand side wall of the case a ‘ruler scale’, used — according to the interpretative text — to weigh opium or gold, is placed alongside cooking utensils (Figure 208).

The association of the scale with opium hints at the darker aspects of life in the gold fields, featured in much more detail in ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’. Drug abuse and the side effects of opium are not elaborated on here; however, the mere mention of it has the potential to evoke associations such as ‘addiction’, ‘effects on health’, ‘working conditions’, etc., especially if visitors have already seen ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’ or have knowledge of the opium trade and its connection to Chinese history.

Finally, the back of the case features panels of the Joss house, or temple, built at the Chinese settlement in Lawrence, and panels associated with Hugh Sew Hoy’s business. All panels depict Chinese signs, clearly connoting the overall theme of the case. Further, facsimiles are exhibited of an illuminated testimonial address presented to William Lawrence Simpson, residing magistrate, by the Chinese community in
appreciation of his fair dealings with the Chinese immigrants, and a facsimile of the minutes of the Cheong Shing Tong society, responsible for taking their bodies home when they died. The Joss house was used primarily for religious ceremonies, but also as a meeting house and a place to care for sick miners.

Like the ruler, these objects relate to the dark sides of Chinese immigrant life. The interpretative text associated with the address to the magistrate explicitly refers to the “prejudice and persecution” (*Permanent exhibition*, ‘Gold, Gold, Gold’, TOSM, 2013) which Chinese immigrants experienced on the gold fields throughout the Pacific. While a product of the atypical fair treatment of Chinese in the small settlement of Tuapeka, the address implies at the same time discrimination and exploitation of Chinese at other places. While general discrimination against Chinese is documented, at the same time the magistrate’s outstanding bias-free conduct conveys that conditions vary from place to place, leading to a more nuanced depiction of the interaction of Chinese with European settlers. The minutes of the Cheong Shing Tong Society document the dangers of working in the gold fields, where accidents or illness could mean one’s untimely demise. The interpretative text refers specifically to an incident in which a ship carrying exhumed bodies sank; this, in turn led to disagreement among the society’s members, as recorded in the minutes. A strong connection to the homeland is implied, suggesting that the Chinese were transitory immigrants at first, but later became permanent settlers.

To conclude, the case on Chinese immigration history focuses both on negative as well as more light-hearted, positive aspects of the Chinese immigration experience. However, the original *Windows on a Chinese Past* featured a much more detailed depiction of anti-Chinese legislation and ongoing discrimination up to the present. The new display consigns discrimination and prejudice to the distant past, while counterbalancing it with the exceptional kindness of certain individuals. A strong connection between Chinese immigrants and their homeland and traditions, especially food preparation and burial rites, is implied; this stylisation of them as transitory
immigrants is reminiscent of the objects selected for *Windows on a Chinese Past*. Hugh Sew Hoy serves as an excellent example of a Chinese immigrant who made New Zealand his home twice and who ultimately succeeded in becoming an influential figure in community life; this represents a thread of continuity with past displays which focused on the successful integration of individuals. However, in comparison to the former displays, recent developments are not a focus of this display, which can detract from the visibility of Dunedin’s vibrant Chinese community.

### 9.3.7 Across the Ocean Waves — Interconnections

*Across the Ocean Waves* comprises four sections: a rectangular main space, offering seating in its centre; the cabin, accessible from this main section through a door; and a narrow corridor off the main room parallel to the cabin leading to a small room behind it (Figure 213, Figure 214, Figure 212, Figure 210 and Figure 211). Wood panelling and a photographic band running around the main room depicting rough seas evoke a sense of place, i.e., being on a ship’s deck and preparing to go below deck into the cabin. The re-creation of an early nineteenth-century ship’s cabin remains unchanged, while all other elements were altered considerably. The features of the original exhibition, e.g., a mixture of original diary entries by ship passengers plotted on the photographic band, and cases with model ships, navigational tools and possessions of passengers alongside interpretative text (Figure 209), were removed in the new exhibition. Remaining is the band of open sea and a small selection of interpretative text and cases inserted in one side wall of the narrow corridor leading off the main room. In addition, a thin rope now follows the photographic band, further stressing the resemblance to the deck of a ship (“Co-pat”, 2011). These changes affect the immersive potential of the space, in contrast to the cases, objects and diary entries that previously
broke the illusion of being on a ship with an unobstructed view of the ‘ocean’. The immersive potential of the space is further enhanced by a wicker basket containing period costumes that visitors are invited to try on, as well as a soundscape evocative of seafaring, e.g., rolling waves and the creaking of a ship.

Figure 209: Across the Ocean Waves before refurbishment. Display cases and interpretative text are mounted or printed on the photographic band. Permanent exhibition. Toitū 2010. Photo: Author.

Figure 211: Entrance to the recreated nineteenth-century cabin. *Left:* Wicker basket contains period dress visitors are encouraged to try on. Across the Ocean Waves. Toitū 2013. *Photo:* Author.
Figure 212: Narrow corridor leading to a smaller room behind the recreated cabin. On the left hand side a text panel provides a short introduction to the section, while wall alcoves further down the corridor contain material culture associated with the journey. *Across the Ocean Waves*. Toitū 2013. *Photo*: Author.

Figure 213: Recreated nineteenth-century ship’s cabin in *Across the Ocean Waves*. *Permanent exhibition*. Toitū 2013. *Photo*: Author.
In both the original and current versions, the daily life on ship is represented via a console offering a selection of video clips, each offering a scene played out by actors in period costume. The primary difference between the old and new version is the alignment of the console’s design with other touch-screen consoles in the new exhibition. The clips represent both positive and negative aspects of daily life on a ship, such as sea sickness, illness, amusements, etc. The general observations made about the Maritime Museum with regard to the authenticity of such depictions apply here, also (see 5.2.5). Necessarily, the removal of objects and diary entries related to these topics may diminish a more holistic impression of travel conditions; however, other sections, such as ‘New Edinburgh’ (see below) also contain object ensembles relating to these topics.

While the Maritime Museum’s cabin features a rocking motion and uses the cabin itself to present audio-visual content, at Toitū the ample area space permits visitors not only to step into a cabin, but also to explore an approximation of a ship’s deck. The static
qualities of museum exhibitions and the resulting disconnect with representing movement from one place to the other is thus counteracted by enticing visitors to move through space to explore the different elements of the journey: dress, daily life, conditions below deck, etc. In this respect, both the Maritime Museum’s and Toitū’s cabins are similar. Both are immersive affective spaces that aim at engaging visitors both emotionally and physically. At Toitū, visitors are invited to touch and use the replicas in the cabin, an offer not made explicitly at the Maritime Museum.

A number of visitors made use of this offer and dressed in period costume; for some it enabled a deeper understanding of the conditions on board and encouraged visitors to empathise with immigrants.134 One visitor in the sample imagined wearing one item of clothing for the entire journey and the discomfort associated with this, especially given limited opportunities to clean any attire (Visitor 2, Toitū). On the other hand, ‘dressing up’ was viewed as a fun activity, with pictures taken as keepsakes for family and friends (Visitor 18, Toitū).

The cabin is also a focus of the education department’s programs, used extensively during guided tours for school classes. Students are actively encouraged to role-play an immigrant character, using a pedagogical method called process drama, in which the role-play aims at posing questions to participants while in role, that then have to be answered from the perspective of the character depicted (Educator TOSM, personal communication, 2013). This active promotion of other-oriented perspective taking, instead of self-centred approaches, is both innovative and progressive.

The fully immersive cabin as an exhibition feature had, in both the Toitū and Maritime Museum cases, a similar effect on visitors in the samples, i.e., they encouraged

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134 The period dress is based on items of clothing in the possession of immigrants, reconstructed from photographs (“Reconstruction”, 2012). While this does add authenticity, photographs do not represent the dress at the time of the journey, but the period costumes represent a sensible selection of likely items of clothing available to immigrants.
a better understanding of daily life on a nineteenth-century ship and the problems associated with it. However, the narrative at Toitū does not replicate the tendency to convert immigrants into victims and heroes after their arrival to the extent that the Maritime Museum does. This is the result, in part, of the provision of more perspectives in the exhibition as a whole than would be possible in the smaller Voyager space; thus, the narrative structures that lead to heroisation are avoided.

9.3.8 New Edinburgh — The Scottish Contribution

The history of the first European settlers, namely a predominantly Scottish and English group who founded Dunedin, is presented in the ‘New Edinburgh’ section. This also entails the re-creation of a settler’s cottage and rich displays of material culture, e.g., furnishings (chairs, trunks, cradles, tables), tools, objects of daily life (smoking pipes, ladles, flour mills), and objects pertaining to Scottish identity and tradition (bagpipes, kilts, targes), as well as to the journey to New Zealand (Figure 215).

The section opens with an introductory text outlining the initial plans for the settlement, later compromised by the gold rush and general upsurge in immigration.

In 1844, a group of Scots decided they would plant a colony in southern New Zealand.

Their dream was to found New Edinburgh, a community united in its Scottishness and Presbyterian Christian beliefs.

The settlement happened. But the first settlers — Scottish, Presbyterian, and various others — struggled for survival in a muddy village far from home (Permanent exhibition, ‘New Edinburgh’, TOSM, 2013)

As the title of the section already suggests, the initial idea, as represented by the text, was to settle a Presbyterian, Scottish enclave. Nevertheless, these plans are
represented as being changed by the reality of the settlement: the discovery of gold, other immigrant groups and adverse weather conditions made compromise necessary.


If visitors had engaged with the content provided in the ‘Smith Gallery’ they would be aware, on arrival in ‘New Edinburgh’, of internal conflict in the new settlement between staunch supporters of the ideals of a Scottish Presbyterian community and the English migrants, or ‘outsiders’ to the Scots. Implications of this conflict for Scottish identity are discussed in the interpretative text near the introductory panel:

How close to the ideal of a Scottish and Presbyterian settlement was Otago? Not close enough, thought some fervent Free Church of Scotland members. Unpleasantly close, thought some English migrants — called in Scottish circles the ‘little enemy’.

Early on, there were many tussles between Scots and ‘outsiders’ over Scottish and Presbyterian influences. Gradually, however, the increase of Scots migrants gave the province a strong Scottish identity.

Otago Scots commonly expressed their heritage through symbols of Highland culture like dress, dancing and bagpipes. Although most migrants were from the Lowlands,
Highland culture enabled them to present a united Scottish front in the New Edinburgh (Permanent exhibition, ‘New Edinburgh’, TOSM, 2013).

Some Scottish settlers using politically charged symbols, such as Highland dress and cultural activities, provoked conflict with the ‘outsiders’, the English. Here, as in other sections, the museum strives to provide multiple perspectives on Dunedin’s early history. The account is not overtly positive, representing the settlers as exemplary heroes; rather, the ongoing conflict and the use of symbols to assert dominance is made a topic of discussion, illustrating less positive traits and events in the young colony. Disparities between expectations before settling and after establishment are also portrayed in this manner, allowing a more holistic depiction of immigration history and dynamics between immigrant groups.

In support of these general findings, I direct attention to the display focusing specifically on the journey to New Zealand (Figure 216). It features several objects that directly relate to conditions on a ship during the 1840s as well as addressing the hard choice immigrants had to make in selecting what to take along on their journey. A sizeable, fully-rigged model of the *Philip Laing* confirms to visitors that the case focuses on the journey to New Zealand. Due to its size and positioning in the middle of the case, the model is its focal point. Through the interpretative text, visitors will learn that two ships, the vessel *John Wickliffe*, carrying a small number of English settlers, closely followed by the *Philip Laing*, carrying almost 250 Scottish settlers, arrived at Port Chalmers, the Dunedin port of entry, in 1848. As with the situation in Akaroa, there is a mixed group of settlers; however, in this case, the presence of the smaller group is ignored with the focus on the more numerous Scottish immigrants. This is also evident in the selection of the remaining objects, all of them attributed to immigrants of Scottish descent or the journey of the *Philip Laing*: a grandfather clock, personal effects of the Buchanan family (figurines, porcelain vessels, a silk robe), a navigation octant, scales.
and a Vernier rule. The first objects represent the exception to the rule presented to visitors in the interpretative text: immigrants were only able to take with them a very limited amount of personal effects, as any excess baggage attracted rather onerous additional charges. The grandfather clock (an antique in its own right, dating back to 1772), as well as the porcelain figurines and jugs, a silk apron and silver goblets and plates appear to be either heirlooms of high personal and financial value or sentimental items the immigrants valued amongst all other possessions. With these exceptions on display and the inattention to more mundane objects it is possible that visitors will form the impression that most of the settlers were wealthy and could at least afford some luxury items. That said, material culture on display in the nearby cottage is of a more mundane nature and is directly associated with the Buchanan family; this creates a more balanced impression of life reality in New Zealand when viewed alongside the items showcased from the journey itself.

Figure 216: The journey of the Philip Laing (D 8). Permanent exhibition. Section ‘New Edinburgh’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
The scales, used to measure food allowances during the journey, and the navigational equipment provide an insight into the reliance of successful intercontinental travel on precise measurements and also point to the ultimately successful journey to New Zealand. No major incidents or accidents are mentioned in the interpretative text. While the poor quality of the food is highlighted, the generally adequate supply situation is also a subject of discussion. While *Across the Ocean Waves* focuses on the negative aspects of nineteenth-century sea travel and in addition is an immersive reminder of the limited space available to passengers, the 'New Edinburgh' display portrays a case of boring, relatively uneventful travelling; thus, taken together, they present a more nuanced depiction of sea travel at the time.

The case focusing on Dunedin's Scottish heritage contains two objects that most visitors will immediately associate with 'Scottishness': bagpipes and traditional Highland costume (Figure 217). In this respect, Toitū's and Waipu's selection of objects are similar in employing items that can be easily connected by visitors with a 'Scottish' identity (see 8.2.10). In addition, a championship shield presented to the Dunedin’s Piping and Dancing Association, as well as a ceremonial targe (Scottish shield) presented at the inauguration of the New Zealand Gaelic Society, are exhibited to the left of the Highland costume.
In each case, the risk of stereotyping the immigrants in associating Scottishness with dance, bagpipe music, Highland dress and the Gaelic language may be introduced through the choice of objects. While a number of settlers will have subscribed to, or adopted, these traditions and the model of identity connected to them, especially in view of the popular upsurge of the Highland Scottish identity model in this time frame, it is conceivable that some Scottish immigrants did not follow such a narrow definition of what constitutes Scottishness.

The exhibit’s interpretative text connects the costume with Otago farmer Duncan Sutherland, wearing it on any suitable occasion to suggest pride in his Scottish heritage. A short history of both associations connected to the ceremonial shields is provided, with an indication of the dissolution of the Gaelic society in 2006. While this suggests a decline in interest in the language and culture, Highland dancing and bagpipes, however, are represented as an ongoing tradition, one fostered by the association. Both decline
and permanence in aspects that are perceived as ‘Scottish’ are featured, implying an ongoing legacy of the first Scottish settlers, while simultaneously interests are changing.

The bagpipes are connected to the Indian uprising of 1857-58, as they were reportedly used by the 93rd (Sutherland) Highlanders regiment of the British Army relieving the English forces besieged at Lucknow. The military's use of bagpipes and their role in uplifting morale and order, but also their symbolism for Scottish regiments, are the subjects of investigation in the interpretative text. In addition, loyalty to and service of the British Empire are reflected in the text, which in turn may allude to recent (unsuccessful) attempts by Scotland to regain sovereignty to those visitors aware of the plebiscite. The Indian uprising was rife with atrocities committed by both sides and is characterised by punitive actions, leading to casualties amongst civilians. These events are not part of the narrative; the association with the conflict remains a footnote, with the bagpipe portrayed as a typical ‘Scottish’ instrument and the heroic relief of British through the Highlands regiment as the main communicative goals. The details of how the bagpipe came to New Zealand are not elaborated upon.

9.3.9 The Scottish cottage — A Performative Space

Like the ship’s cabin, the settler’s cottage is an immersive space that aims to involve visitors emotionally, while providing a maximum of authenticity within the confines of the museum medium (Brosnahan, personal communication, 2013). Dimensions, materials used to construct the visible aspects of the cottage exterior (the support structure must meet safety and fire regulations) and interior are based on meticulous research (Figure 218). The cottage was built and furnished based on the diary entries of the Buchanan family, as well as photographs of comparable dwellings (Brosnahan, personal communication, 2013). Possessions of this family are also featured in the
nearby case on the Philip Laing journey. While the original objects on display in the case are of high quality, replicas in the cottage are of a simple nature, creating a contrast between objects brought from home and objects used in the new country (Figure 220). Some of the replicas within the cottage are based on originals in the adjacent cases, e.g., a smoking pipe and a candle holder (Figure 221, Figure 222 and Figure 223). This subtle yet effective display strategy further enhances a feeling of authenticity, as there is visible evidence that the cottage contents are identical to original objects on display. Just as in the ship’s cabin, visitors are encouraged to touch objects, enhancing the immersive potential. A soundscape featuring a woman singing, family conversations and a baby crying — the former two spoken with an appropriate lowland Scottish accent for the origins of the family — are intended to add to the immersion. The cottage’s exterior area is also featured; it is evocatively portrayed against a photographic background of bush flora and a clothesline, the latter furnished with replicas of items of clothing that were in the possession of the family (Figure 219, “Reconstruction”, 2012). Here, the soundscape features singing birds to complement an idyllic setting. The depiction of bush is not entirely naturalistic, but rather an approximation and may establish the mood for visitors.

Figure 219: Bush environment with drying line to the left of the cottage. Green lights, artificial plants and a photographic background provide an approximation of New Zealand bush. *Permanent exhibition.* Section ‘New Edinburgh’. Toitū 2013. *Photo:* Author.
Figure 220: Open side of settler’s cottage and interior. Permanent exhibition. Section ‘New Edinburgh’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.

Figure 221: Candle holder exhibited in one of the cases close to the cottage (D 10). Permanent exhibition. Section ‘New Edinburgh’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
Figure 222: Smoking pipe exhibited in one of the cases close to the cottage (D 10). Permanent exhibition. Section 'New Edinburgh'. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.

Figure 223: Reproductions of candle holder and smoking pipe exhibited in a case close to the cottage. Permanent exhibition. Section 'New Edinburgh'. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.
Naturally, this exhibit cannot achieve a depiction of reality with all its gritty details, e.g., mud, dust, dirt, the dangers of the surrounding bush, illness, adverse weather conditions, child mortality and other unpleasant factors. The cottage is also open on one side to make it more accessible to groups; this may reduce the immersive potential, as it reminds viewers that they are dealing with museum reproductions.

Given the focus on a Scottish family in combination with the overall focus of the sizeable ‘New Edinburgh’ section, visitors may exit with the impression that the Scottish contribution to Dunedin’s success is more worthy of representation than the contributions of other ethnicities. However, Scottish immigrants did represent the majority of settlers in the early years of the settlement. Moreover, documents of the Buchanan family are extensively represented in the museum collection, which may have been the rationale for the choice of this particular family. Visitor reactions ranged between fully accepting the illusion, making the cottage an effective immersive environment that allowed connecting with immigrants’ daily life (Visitors 1, 2, 6, 10, 11, Toitū) and discarding the cottage as a “butterfly in a glass”, lacking the gritty details of reality (Visitor 14, Toitū). One visitor in the sample perceived the soundscape as a hindrance to her own imagination in presenting “fake” elements that distracted her from the concept of people living in such a dwelling and motivated her to leave the cottage earlier than intended (Visitor 3, Toitū).

As with the ship’s cabin, school groups use the cottage as a backdrop for drama performances, either independently or in connection with one of the museum’s guided tours (Educator TOSM, personal communication, 2013). Process drama is the methodology of choice in this case, too, enabling students to assume the role of the ‘other’, instead of simply focusing on their own perceptions.

Overall, the cottage enables visitors to visualise a typical dwelling of early settlers and may, in combination with the objects in nearby cases, provide an effective counterweight to any idealised ideas of a life in the young settlement. This is suggested
by a visitor response alluding to the insufficient insulation of the dwelling in Dunedin’s often adverse weather (Visitor 1, Toitū); thus, the construction of the cottage prompted her to gain a deeper understanding of living conditions. Presenting mundane elements of daily life, such as song and childcare, can counterbalance tendencies to victimise and heroise settlers, as visitors can relate to these elements more easily based on their own experience, e.g., as grandparents with the task of caring for a grandson (Visitor 5, Toitū). The limits of representation work in this case against victimisation, which a more realistic depiction could prompt. However, this carries with it the risk of romanticising life in the bush, far removed from the worries of our modern society. The extent to which they perceive a balanced narrative or tend towards misrepresentation ultimately depends on the visitors’ engagement with the totality of the exhibition.

9.3.10 People of the four winds — Selection Bias

A small community case, the ‘People of the Four Winds’, is located in the ‘Research Centre’ that, together with the display on the First World War, takes up the former concourse area. As of 2013, this particular community case was not located close to the main passageway, but rather out of sight of passing visitors, who would have to enter the ‘Research Centre’ space to locate the case in one of the far corners. The case is also smaller in dimensions than any of the other community-centred cases and differs significantly in its design, resulting in a compartmentalised layout with only limited space for and between objects. However, the total number of objects on display is similar to the other community displays, resulting in an overloaded, busy appearance.

All of these factors taken together can, on a metacommunicative level, suggest a hierarchy among community displays, with the Polish community represented here
viewed as of less importance than the other ethnic communities because it is relegated to a less visible location and is allotted less space.

The ‘People of the Four Winds’ case bears the sub-title ‘140th anniversary of the “Palmerston Poles”’, communicating clearly that a subsection of Polish immigrants to New Zealand is represented. Apart from fourteen ‘German’ passengers, all other German-speaking passengers were identified as ‘German-Poles’ by the immigration officer (Allen, 1873, 48-49). The eminent historian Pobog-Jarowski (1990, 1976) identifies the settlers on board the *Palmerston* as ‘Poles’, but he does not take into account their origin in West Prussia and their mixed ethnic make-up. Morris (1998, 104) more fully identifies them as ethnic Poles from West Prussia, some of them German-speaking. The majority came from a district called Marienwerder (now Kwidzyn in Poland) in West Prussia near the Baltic Sea, and consisted of farm labourers and maidservants, as is learned from the passenger list (“Immigration”, 1872, 20). The case focuses on a narrow sub-group of the *Palmerston* immigrants, neglecting any German affiliations. According to Morris (1998, 103), the influence of German-speaking settlers in the Otago region was wide-reaching. They were evident in a number of settlements, such as the temporary mining town of German Hill and the three permanent settlements of Allanton, Waihola and Gore, founded by the mixed ethnic group of *Palmerston* German-Poles after they were able to accumulate enough wealth to buy land. These communities consisted mostly of nuclear and extended families and, according to Morris (1998, 109), relationships between the different ethnicities were amicable and supportive. The presence of some documents in German on display indicates some German connection here, but the overall impression gained by any visitor with a knowledge of German-speaking settlers in Otago is that the most numerous group of German-speaking settlers of mixed ethnicity in the Otago region has here been subsumed under ‘Polish’ immigration.
The objects on display are a mixture of iconic artefacts signifying Polish identity: folk costumes, items from the immigrant ship *Palmerston* (a violin, a Polish prayer book and an icon titled ‘Our Lady of perpetual Succour’), a Polish paper cutting, Polish decorated Easter eggs and finally a modern artwork, the ‘The Cross of Hope’, to be gifted to Poland. Identity papers, a passenger’s ticket and a letter in German ‘from home’ sent to Otago in 1894 suggest a German connection (Figure 227). An interpretation of the ethnicity of the immigrants as ‘Polish’ is the exhibit preference, as opposed to ‘Prussian’, ‘German’ or mixed ethnicity. A ‘Polish’ identity of the settlers narrowly focused on ethnicity does not necessarily follow (see Prizel, 1998, 42ff.; Lucassen, 2005, 59ff.). A sensible option would be the prevalence of regional identities. This is a similar phenomenon to that encountered at Puhoi, where a complicated past is simplified and a selective affiliation with one ethnicity established (see 7.4.3).

One can identify five themes that are developed and that in turn represent elements of the identity of the descendants. Firstly, religion can appear as an important factor in the life of the West Prussian immigrants, and in the lives of descendants, alluded to by the prayer book and icon, but also the Easter eggs and the ‘Cross of Hope’, both associated with ‘Polish’ identity (Figure 224, Figure 226 and Figure 228). Secondly, the preservation of and ongoing interest in traditional Polish culture and handicraft, as opposed to any German influences, is suggested by the painted Easter eggs and the paper cutting, and also the folk costumes. Thirdly the costumes, with one featuring tartan trousers, are a reminder of early immigration to Poland; according to the interpretative text, they recall the Scottish settlers that went to Kociewie in the 1700s (Figure 225). The combination of both Polish and Scottish elements in the costumes implies an intermix of cultures from an early period. Fourthly, the journey on the *Palmerston* is a major focus of the display. The interpretative text provides factual data about the journey, e.g., 228 passengers departed, with 19 deaths during the journey. The high death toll is mentioned, but not further explained. A scarlatina and typhoid outbreak on board may
have been responsible for the deaths (Allan, O'Donoghue, & Thomson, 1873, 39). The dangers of sea travel are apparent in these numbers and represent yet another perspective viewed alongside the uneventful journey of the *Philip Laing* and the information provided in *Across the Ocean Waves*. Without further context, it could well appear that the ‘Polish’ group was not much smaller than the group of original Scottish settlers in Dunedin, not accounting for Danes and Norwegians making up almost half of the passengers, in effect characterising the Polish as co-equals in impact. Still, the narrative and design of the exhibition as a whole is squarely focused on Dunedin’s Scottish community in terms of space allotted. This is even more obvious in the choice of costumes that represent cultural exchange with the Scottish, with no obvious connection to New Zealand in the interpretative text. The design of the exhibition thus implies a hierarchy not only between the Polish and other communities, but also asserts the predominance of the Scottish group of settlers.

![Figure 224: The ‘Cross of Hope’ and a Polish emblem (D 20). Permanent exhibition. Section ‘People of the Four Winds’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.](image-url)
Figure 225: Traditional Polish dress (D 20). *Permanent exhibition*. Section ‘People of the Four Winds’. Toitū 2013. *Photo*: Author.

Figure 226: Traditional Polish Easter eggs and paper cutting (D 20). *Permanent exhibition*. Section ‘People of the Four Winds’. Toitū 2013. *Photo*: Author.
Figure 227: Documents related to the journey of the *Palmerston* and emigration documents (D 20). *Permanent exhibition*. Section ‘People of the Four Winds’. Toitū 2013. *Photo*: Author.

Figure 228: Violin and bible (D 20). *Permanent exhibition*. Section ‘People of the Four Winds’. Toitū 2013. *Photo*: Author.
The Polish display, not unlike the other community cases, focuses primarily on the past and portrays the current community as heavily influenced by Polish traditions. Whether this is true for all descendants is questionable; however, it reflects the wishes of the community group to be represented in terms similar to those used for the Chinese and Scottish communities and in the use of evocative, ethnic artefacts. Again, this may lead to stereotyping of these cultures in connecting all members of a diverse community to a small selection of ‘typical’ material culture objects, despite a much more complicated past and ambivalent ethnic affiliations. A focus on culture instead of history leads, in this case, to an emphasis on difference and highlighting of ethnicity. Hutchinson and Witcomb (2014, 234-235) critique this focus on culture for presenting ethnic groups as static and unchanging, instead of a focus on interaction between cultures and presenting them in flux. Due to its spatial separation from the other sections and focus on static culture, connections between Polish and German immigration history and the general development of Dunedin are not as obvious.

9.3.11 Our Voices — People, not Culture

Toitū aims to provide multiple perspectives on the topics represented in the permanent exhibition. The audio-visual posts, ‘Our Voices’, are no exception and provide a diverse mix of personal stories, with a large number focusing on the individual narrator’s ancestors. They cover a variety of themes, such as reasons for emigrating, anecdotes from daily life, the history of various Dunedin locations, and early contacts between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti.

Dispersed throughout the exhibition, the ‘Our Voices’ posts permit visitors to engage with local residents and their personal stories of immigration or the immigration experience of their ancestors, separated from specific sections that focus on this topic.
(Figure 229). In addition, the posts feature stories of more than the three main groups of immigrants (Scottish, Chinese, tangata whenua) represented in the exhibition. They introduce descendants of Norwegian, Lebanese, Polish, Swedish, Irish, Chinese and English immigrants, while tangata whenua are featured in terms of cultural exchange, less so as first immigrants. If visitors engage with the posts, they will appreciate the multicultural makeup of modern Dunedin, but also the role that smaller ethnic groups played in Dunedin’s early years.

![Figure 229: ‘Our Voices’ post showing ‘holding screen’. Permanent exhibition. Section ‘First Great City’. Toitū 2013. Photo: Author.]

With a nod to the tangata whenua, the holding screen on the touch-sensitive posts feature, in many cases, individuals wearing necklaces or other adornments associated with Māori culture. These ‘figure heads’ also often have Māori ancestors, as will become apparent when visitors engage with their stories. In this respect, tangata
whenua are assigned the role of greeting visitors to engage with the content; this also establishes a presence of tangata whenua in the later sections of the exhibition, where they are not a focus of the narration. In effect, the ‘Early Encounters’ theme is continued through the posts up to the present, albeit in a more subtle, intangible format.

Some of the video recordings of individuals living in Dunedin today have been deliberately left unedited (Keaney, personal communication, 2013). The narrators often appear to be uneasy, their speech is unnatural and halting, eye movement is increased and they seem, in some cases, nervous to be exposed by the camera. These are not polished, artificial presentations; that was not the goal. Rather, the goal was to give the impression of unrehearsed, authentic narrations (Keaney, personal communication, 2013). However, depending on personal inclination and aptitude, some of the clips appear to be less awkward, with the narrator more at ease. This mixture of abilities in front of a camera has the potential to make it easier for visitors to connect on a personal level with the variety of people represented on the posts and their stories.

Immigration-related stories on the posts focus in equal measure on light-hearted and more serious topics. However, the displays are accessible to all ages and, according to Keaney (personal communication, 2013), the brevity of the clips makes it impossible to provide the full context to some of the darker stories; hence extreme cases were omitted from ‘Our Voices’, acknowledging the limits of the medium and respecting the integrity of contributions.

For instance, a Chinese descendant tells the story of a Chinese miner who, having been assisted after a mineshaft collapse by non-Chinese, in turn supplied his rescuers with fresh vegetables on an ongoing basis. This story illustrates amicable relations between Chinese and non-Chinese, but also portrays the Chinese miner as grateful to his rescuers. This is a characteristic that one visitor in the sample (Visitor 4,
Toitū) found to be “very Chinese”, implying positive associations with the Chinese community triggered by the anecdote.

Some of the reasons that motivated the Polish to emigrate are represented by two narrators, with both naming anti-Slavic behaviour and legislation of the Prussians as reasons for leaving home. Specifically, they named the dissolution of churches, the prohibition of the Polish language and conscription among the Poles to be used as ‘cannon fodder’. These reasons for emigration are not provided in the display case on German-Polish immigration history. The narrators are not historians, but individuals recounting their own understanding of this difficult past. This may lead to inaccuracies and simplistic explanations, but the intention of the installation is to provide personal, authentic accounts, a goal that cannot always be achieved without compromises. While anti-Polish sentiments did exist at the time, as well as discrimination against the Polish, multiple factors are attributed to the causes of emigration of ethnic Poles residing in West Prussia (see Lucassen, 2005, 50; 59ff.; Murdzek, 1977). Given the mixed ethnicity of the immigrant group, Germanization as part of Bismarck’s *Kulturkampf* alone is not sufficient to explain emigration to New Zealand in the early years, with economic reasons and the desire to own land being more persuasive (see Burnley, 1970).

Cultural exchange between tangata whenua and tangata tiriti is represented by stories of the exchange of goods and assistance in building houses in further stories. However, the emergence of first conflicts is also a topic, with a focus on settlers being disturbed by Māori song and dance, both associated with ‘uncivilised’ behaviour.

Other stories focus on improving one’s lot through immigration, as is the case with one Norwegian immigrant, or achieving private success, exemplified by the first

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135 The *Kulturkampf* was a struggle on the part of Otto von Bismarck to subject the Roman Catholic Church to state control. Bismarck’s mistrust of his Catholic subjects, including Poles in West Prussia, and animosity against the Polish, led to legislation that excluded Catholics from state organs and the education system, but also aimed to eliminate non-German languages from public life and education. While these initiatives never fully succeeded, state control over education and public records prevailed, as well as animosity between Germany and Poland.
Lebanese couple to be married in New Zealand. Other stories focus on language barriers and misunderstandings, but also the decline of ancestral languages such as Gaelic, due to lack of interest by immigrants.

The various stories on the posts can be understood as nuanced extensions of the information provided in other sections of the exhibition. They also add a personal aspect to the often more general discussion of immigration history, but this comes at the cost of sometimes selective or biased accounts.

In the section ‘Future City’, video-recordings of more recent immigrants and their impressions of Dunedin's social and cultural life can be seen as an extension of ‘Our Voices’. These acknowledge continuing immigration and portray modern Dunedin as a multicultural and tolerant society that encourages new citizens and residents to express their opinions and share their views, also promoting the idea of the museum as a participatory, inclusionary and integrative institution.

For all elements — including display cases, ‘Our Voices’ posts and recreated environments — to function as intended and to provide a holistic, multi-perspective account of immigration history, visitors need to engage with all the constituent parts. This did not occur in all cases: many visitors in the sample did not interact with the posts in particular, as they were either unable to deduce how they functioned, or did not understand the concept behind them (Visitors 1, 2, 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, Toitū). Depending upon which elements are experienced and which are not, visitors may exit with a new perspective or confirmed bias. To realise the goal of accounting for multiple perspectives on the immigration story, those visitors who access all of them will be most likely to fully appreciate the realisation of the goal.
9.4 Conclusion

The refurbishment of the permanent exhibition not only modernized Toitū, but also brought with it considerable changes in its narrative structure with regard to immigration history. Where previously different story arcs and histories of ethnic communities were compartmentalised, they now are more fully integrated and overlap more in the new version. This is due to immigration history informing a majority of the sections, with the ‘Our Voices’ posts being a constant reminder of the diverse make-up of Dunedin’s past and current population.

The narrative structure can be described as working on three levels. Firstly, a general chronological depiction of Dunedin’s history is provided, with successive sections focusing on the different eras of Dunedin’s development, e.g., the early whaling years, the gold rush or the era of Dunedin’s emergence as a city. The second element consists of the thematic display cases that focus on various aspects of life in Dunedin, such as transport, handicraft, fashion, etc; additionally, communities considered to be the major ethnic groups that immigrated to Dunedin including the Scottish, English, and Chinese are featured, with an additional case to house other groups, currently Polish. Finally, the posts supply additional personal stories of contemporary inhabitants of Dunedin.

While tangata whenua are characterised as the first immigrants to Otago, their interaction with tangata tiriti is only focused on in the ‘Early Encounters’ section; later interactions are not a focus of the following exhibition sections, apart from a small number of stories and ‘figure head’ clips on the posts. In effect, Māori history could be perceived as being confined to the early years of whaling. While ill-treatment of Māori and incarceration due to anti-governmental actions are mentioned in the ‘First Great City’ section, both the story and objects appear as isolated and insular. In common with the
other museums analysed, a bicultural paradigm is suggested: Māori are the first immigrants to New Zealand with all associated rights, but their history extends into European settlement or modern Dunedin only incidentally, instead of weaving Māori history into all of the narrative.

Other immigrant or ethnic groups are not compartmentalised or strictly separated in terms of chronology. While thematic foci do exist, i.e., an entire case is dedicated to the Chinese, to the Polish, and to the Scottish, these cases are embedded throughout the narrative. In addition, they are interconnected with surrounding exhibits or other sections. The Chinese case in the ‘Gold, Gold, Gold’ section is connected to depictions of opium abuse and gambling in ‘Dunedin’s Dark Side’, while stories of amicable relations between Chinese and Europeans are featured on the ‘Our Voices’ posts. The Scottish immigrant group is connected to the nearby cottage, creating a juxtaposition between expectations and life reality, and to the Polish display by means of traditional Polish dress being influenced by Scottish fashion.

Interspersing immigration history into the general narrative of Dunedin suggests an inclusive approach and, by extension, a multicultural paradigm. Dunedin is represented as being influenced by a variety of larger and smaller ethnic groups during its relatively brief existence as a city. The inclusion of stories, objects and anecdotes in various thematic sections also provides different perspectives on a community, leading to a more holistic and nuanced depiction of immigration and the immigrants themselves.

This suggests that heroisation and victimisation, as outcomes, are not as pronounced as in the Maritime Museum or at Waipu. Visitors are more likely to be confronted with both negative and positive aspects of immigrant life, thus avoiding heroisation as immigrants are depicted as humans with strengths and weaknesses. A good example of this can be seen in the ‘Smith Gallery’, where the selection process served as an indicator of pride amongst the early immigrants, but also vanity. ‘Dunedin’s
Dark Side’ will counteract any romanticised perceptions of settler life, as will references to conflict between Scottish and non-Scottish settlers. Due to the discrimination they endured, Chinese would have been more prone to victimisation and heroisation, but these tendencies are again counteracted by balancing negative and positive accounts of Chinese life.

This only holds true if all constituent parts are experienced and integrated intellectually by visitors. A holistic picture of immigration history is a possibility, a characteristic that differentiates Toitū from other museums in the sample; however, if visitors only selectively engage with exhibits or entire sections, the outcome could be a slightly biased depiction of a given ethnic community or of the immigration experience in general. This could, for instance, lead to de-emphasizing the discrimination toward Chinese, if too much attention is focused on material culture, as in the Chinese case. This also has the potential to exoticise Chinese and to stereotype them more as a group of transitional immigrants. Such a narrow, distorted view could lead to a characterisation of them as eternal immigrants, rather than an influential community that has had a substantial influence on Dunedin’s history up to the present. However, by taking into account the other sections of the exhibition, this initial assessment will be modified and replaced by a more nuanced depiction of the impact of Chinese.

Another related issue is an inherent hierarchy between ethnicities expressed through design choices. The initial group of settlers, partly Scottish, partly English, is allotted more space than the important Chinese community. Similarly, both again are allotted significantly more space than that for the Polish community, whose temporary display is furthermore placed in an inconspicuous location, not easily found by visitors. Spatial limitations may account for the perceived hierarchy of importance which, while perhaps not a conscious decision by the development team, could lead visitors to regard the Scottish contribution to Dunedin’s early development as paramount, ironically harking back to the early years of the institution. This is equally true for German-speaking
immigrants who are subsumed under the ‘Polish’ immigration section, suggesting a preference for one version of a narrative without accounting for the complexities of changing borders and mixed ethnicity.

Toitū employs, similarly to the Maritime Museum, highly evocative recreated environments. Across the Ocean Waves represents the journey and the settler cottage the early phase of the establishment in a new country. Both feature convincing environments and soundscapes and allow visitors to touch objects and even dress in period costume. In motivating visitors to physically engage with the exhibits, both environments encourage the visitor to understand more readily the rigours of travel and living conditions, the lack of personal space and comfort and, through audio-visual materials, the dangers of sea travel and the hardships associated with living in early colonial New Zealand. Through these interactive experiences, visitors are more likely to empathise with immigrants. Still, this is yet another form of self-centred empathy. Students engaged in the Toitū’s education programs are, due to the use of process drama, more likely to take on an other-oriented perspective and might consequently develop a more balanced and holistic view from a museum visit. Perhaps adults could be offered a similar experience to counteract self-centred perspectives, which merely lead to sympathy, not ‘true empathy’, if we follow Coplan’s (2011, 3ff.) definition.
X. CONCLUSION

10.1 The Proliferation of a Multicultural Paradigm

I have shown that museums in New Zealand embrace a progressive multicultural paradigm which is not limited to dedicated migration museums with national significance alone, but also regional museums. Immigration and emigration movements function as the new overarching master-narrative. In some cases, for example Akaroa, multicultural narratives are in the process of being superseded by transcultural narratives. In four steps I will show what shape this paradigm assumes, outline its dominant narratives, describe their connection to affective exhibition design and finally will show how this new paradigm effects community representation.

All museums in the sample, apart from the Puhoi Bohemian Museum, openly embrace a multicultural paradigm with representations of New Zealand as a multi-ethnic country both historically and today. The comparative isolation of the village settlement may explain the Puhoi Bohemian Museum's narrow, singular focus on its pre-war history. The community itself consisted of two ethnicities, but this is not the focus. With a small selection of Māori artefacts, now added to the exhibition, a bicultural interpretation of the village's history is suggested, but it would be advantageous to emphasise this relationship further. While Waipu has a similar focus on a relatively homogenous group of settlers, its festivals — and to some extent its permanent exhibition — showcase contemporary Waipu and its mixture of Scottish and other cultural influences. At Te Papa, the Maritime Museum, Toitū and Akaroa, multiculturalism is a central theme of the meta-narrative. Of the four, the Akaroa Museum alone eschews insular displays with each dedicated to one ethnicity in favour of showcasing objects that are products of cultural
cross-pollination, not only by name but also through exhibition design, embodying a multi-ethnic, bicultural and to an extent cross-cultural composition of New Zealand. This is admittedly in a new, small-scale exhibition, and one cannot know whether it will be maintained throughout the museum when it fully reopens. At the other three institutions, ethnicities are spatially separated and interaction among the different ethnicities is often implied, but not supported by material culture. The exhibitions frequently employ visible signs of ethnicity such as Chinese cutlery, Polish Easter eggs or Scottish tartan, implying the resistance of cultural identities to assimilationist tendencies in the 1930s, 1940s and 1950s; however, it does not account for the loss of language and connection to the country of origin in some cases. For instance, anti-German feelings associated with the two world wars led many of German heritage to keep their ancestry secret and neglect traditions; further, some ethnic Poles, due to their small numbers and isolation in German-speaking environments, disaffiliated themselves from Poland and Germany alike (Bailey, 2001). Thus, assimilation and loss of cultural practices can be seen as another sub-plot that informs, but is not a prominent feature of, the overarching meta-narrative.

To some extent, the insularity of ethnic artefacts can exoticise cultures and present those represented as eternal immigrants. With the exception of *The Mixing Room*, all of the exhibits focus on historical migration movements; thus, I would argue that the exoticisation problem is ostensibly overcome in the narratives by the implication of a transformation of all immigrants into ‘New Zealanders’. This transformation is represented, on both a national and a regional level, as the shift from the individual with a fixed ethnic identity to a composite New Zealander with a melange of various influences; by extension, multiple or even hybrid identities are suggested. Thus Baur’s (2009) claim that national master narratives based on an identity that does not accept difference are superseded by a national identity based on being an imagined ‘community of migrants’ can be confirmed not only for museums with national significance in New Zealand.
Zealand, but also for regional museums. I would argue that even smaller museums, which do not have an exhibition range of the kind at the national museums, still do not claim to be based on only one ethnicity, with Puhoi again being the exception; rather, they suggest hybrid identities from the beginning of settlement or after opening up in recent years to outside influences. However, at Te Papa, this transformation is only one possible interpretation of what constitutes a New Zealand national identity, since its other exhibitions offer alternative interpretations of what constitutes identity; in some respects, Te Papa leaves it up to visitors to form an opinion.

While for tangata tiriti a multicultural paradigm is employed at the Maritime Museum, Te Papa, Akaroa and Toitū, tangata whenua are not part of it, although a bicultural framework is suggested. This conforms to contemporary interpretations of New Zealand as a society at large, but is heavily influenced by the wishes of Māori and their resistance to being subsumed in a multicultural meta-narrative. Their distinctiveness as First People, rather than one minority among others, is cemented spatially and narratively. At Toitū, Māori history is confined to two initial sections, but largely absent from later sections. This is also the case at Waipu, where Māori pre-occupation is only addressed in the initial section of the exhibition. At the Maritime Museum the history of early Polynesian seafaring and migration is given at least equal weight, placed in the primary position, but spatially separated from The Immigrants. This is equally true for Te Papa, with the museum building itself being separated into a Māori and a tangata tiriti side. At the Akaroa Museum, this distinction is subtly modified in Horomaka, with material culture referencing cross-cultural exchange, while still acknowledging Māori as First People through the placement of the life cast of Tangatahara as a central, unifying artefact. However, Horomaka is not a display about immigration per se, but focuses on the effects of immigration on Māori and Europeans alike, which allows for easier integration of examples of interaction.
I have shown that the majority of the exhibitions analysed do not feature cross-cultural narratives prominently, either between Māori and tangata tiriti or cultures at large; it remains to be seen whether this will change in the future or whether biculturalism informed by multiculturalism will remain the prevalent meta-narrative. What are those new narratives in particular

10.2 Narratives of Success, Narratives of Failure?

In analysing the narrative structures at the six museums, I have demonstrated that in all cases, a meta-narrative focusing on successful settlement or establishment in the new country is the preferred form of representing immigration in a New Zealand context. The overarching communicative goal can be summarised as follows: in spite of considerable adversity, immigrants prospered, left impressive legacies and participated in New Zealand's genesis as a nation. The celebratory nature of the meta-narratives with their 'success' character is, however, tempered by sub-plots of failure, discrimination, exclusion, displacement and hardship. This is a strategy to balance an engaging narrative that attracts visitors with an objective depiction of history.

A history of discrimination based on race is reflected in the displays at Te Papa, Toitū and the Maritime Museum: they explicitly reference legislation that involved exclusion and ill-treatment by tangata tiriti. The unfair treatment of Chinese is featured in the displays at Toitū, Te Papa and the Maritime Museum, while discrimination against Dalmatians is also a topic at the latter. Unusually, Te Papa focuses on problems that refugee youth encounter in contemporary New Zealand, including discrimination, exclusion and displacement. While these difficult histories are represented as part of national narratives of immigration or, in the case of Toitū, on a regional level, they are not part of the narratives at the Puhoi Museum, Waipu Museum and Akaroa Museum. These
three museums focus on ethnic groups that were not often the target of discrimination, although for a brief time, Puhoi’s German connections meant that the village inhabitants were subject to the suspicion of their fellow New Zealanders when the First World War affected relations between Germany and New Zealand and the Bohemians were classified as ‘German’. The descendants of French settlers in Akaroa were also the target of some animosity when anti-French feelings were expressed during the French nuclear tests in the Pacific. Neither is reflected in the museums; both incidents are avoided because they are more recent than the time-span chosen for the narratives at the two museums.

I would argue that negative aspects of immigration that can be a reason for exclusion or feelings of displacement are in all cases not a prominent feature of the exhibitions; they must be actively sought out by visitors. Typically, they are confined to drawers or sub-menus of touch-screens, as at Toitū; behind small doors that visitors have to open, as at the Maritime Museum; or mentioned in passing or not at all, as at Puhoi.

This is to some extent also true for representations of interaction with Māori, as it is in many cases not a meta-narrative of the exhibitions analysed. The Puhoi Bohemian Museum covers only tangentially any Māori interaction with the settlers, even though it had an important impact on the settlement’s success. At the Waipu Museum, the pre-European history of the region is only mentioned in passing; it does not address intermarriage or other interactions. Recent developments at Akaroa Museum have made this often neglected history a major feature of the redesigned display *Horomaka*, which celebrates the interaction and cultural exchange between Māori and tangata tiriti. The omission in some immigration exhibitions is probably the result of some museums having extensive displays of Māori history and culture in other areas, as at Te Papa and the Maritime Museum. There, conflict with Māori is only briefly mentioned; an example of the latter is the Guard family’s violent encounter with Māori at Te Papa. At Toitū,
intermarriage and cross-cultural exchange are features of the initial sections of the museum, but are not included in the later narrative.

There were no cases where difficult histories appeared to have been white-washed or falsified; however, the power of the museum to be selective in their decisions of what to represent, and by what means, can lead to unbalance and sometimes less nuanced depiction of these histories. At both a national and a regional level, negative aspects of a country’s or community’s history may be perceived as distracting from an overall celebratory narrative. Prominent displays of ultimate failure, in part due to sustained discrimination or feelings of exclusion, might also compromise New Zealand’s contemporary image as a welcoming nation that accepts difference and is openly multicultural. In effect, the public might be dissatisfied with such a display; this was clearly a concern during the genesis of Te Papa’s opening ensemble of exhibitions. While those difficult histories can contribute to the celebratory nature of the narrative in showcasing past injustices that are now overcome, given that no exhibition, apart from Te Papa’s *The Mixing Room*, focuses on contemporary issues and problems immigrants confront today, this can lead to a biased representation. In many cases, a positive meta-narrative is also the preferred mode of representation by the communities involved. For instance, the refugee youth at Te Papa explicitly wanted to focus on positive aspects of life in New Zealand, and this emphasis also characterised earlier displays in the community exhibition space; the museum must respect such wishes to gain cooperation from all parties involved.
10.3 Central Problems Facing Immigration
Exhibitions — An (A)Effective Solution?

I have shown that affective exhibition design is a mainstay of representing migration history, enabling visitors to relate to immigrants past or present, and promoting the paradigm of multiculturalism as a positive and enriching. The prevalence of affective exhibition design is directly connected to the qualities of tangible and intangible museum objects related to migration.

The museum as an alleged ‘material heaven’ (Pearce, 1995, 387) has always been challenged when the theme of an exhibition does not lend itself to representation by material culture or when an existing collection holds no relevant artefacts. This seems especially pertinent for exhibitions focusing on migration, which depend more on the concept of an undertaking or quest and its outcomes, physical and psychological, than on artefacts. I argue that at the heart of current forms of exhibiting migration is an adroit reaction to the traditional understanding of the museum as a ‘material heaven’. A lack of ‘authentic’ and engaging three-dimensional objects stimulates innovative alternatives for displays, which compensate for this lack with emotionally charged immersive environments that focus on narrative and include stories of individual fates.

Naturally this depends on the projected self-image of a given museum and its emphasis on tangible, physical objects, as opposed to intangible or digital objects (see Parry, 2007; Lynch, 2000). Examples of one extreme are portrayed in Te Papa’s refugee exhibition, dependent entirely on intangible objects or audio-visual content such as photographs or video clips. At the other extreme are the rich collections of artefacts of the Toitū Otago Settlers Museum or the Puhoi Bohemian Museum. Both institutions focus on material culture and give them prominence. Nevertheless, Toitū expands on the material culture on display with digital databases that permit easy access to
interpretative texts; the most striking example of this integration is in the Smith Gallery of portraits, but it also features autonomous audio-visual content such as ‘Our Voices’. At Puhoi, budgetary limitations do not permit exclusive reliance on multimedia; nevertheless, even there, an audio guide is offered as an alternative to interpretative text.

In the design of a migration exhibition, the staff must confront a conundrum: the museum space is static, while immigration and emigration are inherently dynamic processes. While this issue is not restricted to exhibitions about migration, the question remains as to whether the medium of the exhibition is suitable for representing the complexities of migration.\footnote{Exhibitions focusing on war or on general human suffering face similar difficulties, as the true nature of their subject cannot be represented (see Williams, 2007).} Any authentic migration experience, voluntary or forced, can be separated into ‘Departure’, ‘Journey’ and ‘Arrival’, with at least one of these concepts represented in any given exhibition. While ‘Departure’ and ‘Arrival’ can both be illustrated by a variety of objects, stand-ins for the country of origin or artefacts related to a new life, migration exhibitions are typically sparse on objects relating to the journey. In many cases, everyday objects used during the journey were not regarded as adequately important for preservation, and all that remains might be a suitcase, small memorabilia and oral or written reports. The often mundane nature of the material culture preserved, such as tools, keepsakes, books or personal and household effects, is problematic as well. However, if a broad definition of what constitutes a museum object is applied, this problem disappears, as the limitation only concerns material culture; in many cases, a rich corpus of oral testimonies and written records such as ship logs and diary entries exist, as well as photographs of passengers and immigrant ships.

Often both the problem of a lack of material culture (or its mundane nature) and the static nature of the museum space are counteracted by restaged environments, scale models or audio-visual presentations. Te Papa, Toitū, Waipu and the New Zealand
Maritime Museum all feature recreations of steerage class cabins, with the latter simulating a rocking motion. All four cabins function as a transitional space, separating thematic sections and are positioned chronologically in the narrative. This segmentation in accordance with the recreated environments permits visitors to vicariously ‘travel’ through space and time, thus representing an attempt to counteract the static nature of museum displays, especially necessary if a ‘journey’ is to be depicted. In addition, at Toitū, a recreated settler’s cottage offers an immersive environment representing the arrival of immigrants. Both the Maritime Museum cabin and the Toitū cottage are furnished with replicas based on original objects, some of which are shown in nearby display cases at Toitū; this practice compensates for any lack of openly displayed representative artefacts in the cottage, while also meeting the conservation demands associated with the preservation of the originals. Puhoi and Akaroa feature elaborate scale models of the settlements, their surroundings, or historical set pieces in the form of period rooms at Akaroa. All aim to recreate the immigration experience or at least approximate some aspects of the experience during the journey or after arrival. Where large-scale originals are not available, Toitū, Voyager, Waipu and Te Papa all strive to add a unique characteristic: a three-dimensional manifestation of a subject. Where there are only mundane objects, the re-creation adds excitement and context. This can be described as an attempt to create authenticity, where there is none provided by original objects.

With regard to narrative content, immigration exhibitions deal in most cases only tangentially with political history; rather, they have the experience of people at their heart, a focus on social history and the history of emotions. A number of the institutions analysed have tended to move away from an exhibition design that mainly addresses fact, to address concepts of emotion. The Maritime Museum comes to mind, with its focus on involving visitors and establishing a connection with individual immigrants with direct prompts to sympathise, or Te Papa’s *Mixing Room*, offering digital records of
performances by refugee youth enabling a more personal connection, understanding of personal circumstances and thus emotional engagement. At Waipu, Norman McLeod works as a focus for visitor emotions, both negative and positive, combined with a depiction of the settlers that can prompt veneration. These exhibitions provide an affective environment that ultimately conjures up empathy in visitors for the migrants represented. This kind of experience is more engaging, and even mundane objects seem more emotionally charged when they bear the imprints of their former owners. The danger of this approach is that the immigrants may be portrayed as victims and later as heroes, but this danger can be avoided by providing multiple perspectives. Toitū uses the latter approach successfully and counteracts such dangers in featuring more nuanced narratives, for instance, of the journey by ship being sometimes an uneventful affair and sometimes rife with death and illness. In contrast, at Puhoi a selective account is not able to act against heroising tendencies, resulting in veneration of the settlers and their leader Captain Krippner.

In New Zealand, the topic of migration is engrained in the collective memory of the nation. Every New Zealander shares the experience of migration directly or through family members and ancestors who immigrated to New Zealand in the nineteenth or twentieth century, in the case of tangata tiriti, and some six centuries earlier in the case of the Māori. Māori keep this alive in oral traditions, in the recitation of whakapapa, for instance, a concept that is not the focus of exhibitions analysed, but transferred to European settlers at all six museums in the form of genealogical displays, as at the Smith Gallery at Toitū, the wall of settlers at Waipu, or the family-specific displays in Passports. This personal connection with the subject matter suggests that there may be a pre-existing programmed emotional response to a migration exhibition in the visitor, especially if it features a story similar to one’s own immigration experiences or those of one’s ancestors.
A focus on affective exhibition design is not solely a characteristic of recent migration displays; it can be traced in a variety of subjects that pose representational problems to the museum: war, suffering, genocide, atrocities and trauma of all kinds. What is the connection between these dark subjects and migration? While there will be common ground between these topics and forced migration, often caused by war and resulting in great suffering as well as trauma (see Lynch, 2014a), this is not necessarily the case for voluntary migration. It would be incorrect to ascribe traumatic experiences to all migrants; however, immigration is typically challenging and in specific cases the immigration experience is indeed stressful. For example, harsh travel conditions, the death of voyagers, or discrimination in the host country certainly qualify as traumatic experiences. I argue that the affective approach is often chosen to represent difficult histories as it facilitates the appreciation of dire circumstances by visitors. It can also have the potential to change preconceptions, as is the case with The Mixing Room, which provides visible proof of the potential of young people with a refugee background, but also, for instance, shows the true extent of the influence of French immigration at Akaroa, or the influence of different cultures on what have become Kiwiana in Passports. Both re-created environments and affective strategies aim to facilitate communication through substitution for or in support of material culture; such strategies may assist exhibition designers to overcome a lack of appropriate artefacts and to enhance exhibition attractiveness, often with the goal to change perceptions and open dialogue.

Given the importance of community representation in migration exhibitions the investigation of how immigration is represented would not be complete without discussing the ways this is influenced by the tendencies outlined above.
10.4 Representation and Self-representation of Communities

The New Zealand community of migrants is a mosaic of Māori, the first peoples, and northern and central Europeans, with Pacific and Asian influences which are increasingly evident in metropolitan areas. In some cases — Waipu and Puhoi for example — the entire museum is dedicated to one ethnic group and its immigration history. In other cases, such as Akaroa, Toitū, Voyager and Te Papa, the museum is faced with the challenge of acknowledging all the communities that influenced the history of a place or a nation. Financial and spatial constraints may result in the selection of groups that have a long-standing presence in a place; moreover, they may have representatives and lobbyists who can actively promote their community and campaign for their inclusion in a museum’s narrative. New or unorganised groups tend to be less frequently represented, as they lack a recognised presence and cohesiveness. Here, Te Papa is an exception, as the museum actively engaged with refugee youth in New Zealand, a previously unrecognised category without presence or cohesiveness. The Chinese represented in Toitū are a more typical example, providing a counterpoint to the dominant Scottish story. After a long and often difficult history, the Chinese formed strong links with each other and Dunedin at large, leading to a long-standing relationship with the museum. On a smaller scale, the Polish people in Dunedin have also achieved representation in Toitū. On the other hand, Pacific communities in Dunedin are not represented as such, mainly due to a less obvious cohesion and presence. To complicate matters, a divisive focus and the strict differentiation of people into ethnic or cultural groups also risks characterising them as eternal (im)migrants, always perceived as separate from the predominant culture or group.

Community engagement and liaison with communities, both tangata tiriti and tangata whenua, are major features of all exhibitions analysed. At Puhoi, Akaroa and
Waipu it is clearly the self-representation of a community, as the professional staff and volunteers are part of it, if not in a genealogical sense, then by courtesy of location. At Te Papa, the Maritime Museum and Toitū this may be true in some cases; however, in general these institutions of either national or supra-regional significance must institute cooperation with communities to access private collections if the museum collection is not able to represent a specific ethnicity, and also to satisfy demands of co-creatorship and cooperation. In this respect, I argue that authoritative representation by museums independent of the self-representation of communities is no longer the preferred modus operandi.

Te Papa’s experiment with co-creatorship for both exhibition objects and narratives since its inception can be seen as a successful trial of creating exhibitions in authentic partnership with a community. While Passports and initial Community Gallery exhibitions already relied heavily on cooperation with communities, its approach during the development of The Mixing Room addressed criticism of former procedures that led to a one-sided development process, with communities being content providers but having a minor role in exhibition design. It is true that the design of the The Mixing Room and some of its elements are the ideas of Te Papa professional staff; however, the contents were created in close cooperation with the refugee youth; even though some of the content they created may have been regarded as of low quality when compared to professional production standards, it was still used in the exhibition. This is equally true for the ‘Our Voices’ posts at Toitū. Although the editorial influences are stronger, the goal was to have ‘natural’, unrefined recordings of community members. This reflected Toitū’s desire to display ‘real’ people rather than artificial representations of the community. At the Maritime Museum, community involvement in The Immigrants is less pronounced. Nevertheless, various communities and their positive impact on New Zealand as well as problems encountered are represented, although not co-authored by community members. The Maritime Museum does employ a model of engaging visitors as content
providers in prompting them to share their immigration experience; in effect, it fashions them as part of a ‘migrant’ community.

Waipu, Akaroa and Puhoi museums were generated by their communities, and have an obligation to them, interacting with community members on a daily basis, given the small size of the townships. This means that they are influenced by the community and are expected to represent it and its ‘founding fathers’ in favourable terms, dependent on the locally preferred narrative. Indeed, this commitment forms the mission statement at the Puhoi Museum — namely, to honour the settlers and Martin Krippner. For the institutions studied, it appears that the more professionalised the institution, the more nuanced and differentiated will be the outcome. Following the professional restructuring of Waipu Museum, Norman McLeod’s controversial actions and character traits are dissected, and Akaroa’s French place image has been deconstructed following new staff appointments. At Puhoi, controversial details about Krippner are not discussed, as this would contradict the intention of the mission statement. As the only entirely volunteer-based museum in the sample with no involvement by regional government, Puhoi can be seen as a space where a community is able to represent itself free of the constraints imposed by such an organisational structure; however, it does so at the risk of inflating local versions of the past at the expense of more considered historical perspectives. Fully realising the mission statement combined with a successful attempt to present the settlers as ‘Bohemians’ to avoid conflict is a remarkable achievement and shows the potential of community representation in a non-professional environment.

All six museums, if they have Māori artefacts on display, attempt to cooperate with local iwi, in some cases through the establishment of advisory groups or boards during exhibition development. I have demonstrated that such cooperation has had a profound impact on the final shape of exhibitions, whether it be changes to the entrance section at Toitū; the movement, placement and display of the life cast of Tangatahara at Akaroa; or the separate representation of tangata whenua culture at Te Papa. Māori
wishes and protocols are taken into consideration and reflect a model of cooperation between New Zealand’s First People and museum staff.

Finally, the six institutions have in all cases the power to decide on the final shape of an exhibition; they can adjust allocation of space, choice and integration of artefacts and inclusion of stories. This is a necessity for the organisational structure of museums, where ultimate responsibility for exhibitions and their public perception lies with staff members. Truly cooperative exhibition development that minimises the impact of hierarchies of power is thus not a common principle, even though museums such as Te Papa and Toitū have made successful attempts to address some of these issues and negotiate both the wishes of communities and the necessities of day-to-day business.

Despite shortcomings, the exhibitions analysed display a tendency to have moved towards a more critical assessment of national or regional history. When Bell undertook her 1996 study, Māori history was largely absent in small museums; they aimed at preserving a ‘Pākehā’ culture and identity without accounting for New Zealand’s changing demographics. I would argue that in today’s refurbished and updated exhibitions, narratives of cultural exchange and ethnic diversity are brought increasingly to the fore, and they inform the still prevalent celebratory meta-narratives. In making past injustices visible, these exhibitions may also act as offers of reconciliation. It remains to be seen whether future exhibitions can focus more freely on these difficult histories without having to subscribe to celebratory modes of narrating history.
XI. APPENDICES

11.1 Question Bank Visitor Interviews

I. Pre-visit Questions: Expectations, motivations and presuppositions

1. Do you have any expectations with regard to your visit to Name of Exhibition?
2. What is your main motivation for visiting Name of Exhibition?
3. With whom are you here today?
4. Would you be so kind as to share with me what you already know about Theme of Exhibition?

II. Post-Visit Questions: Design and content

a) Design of the exhibition space and atmosphere:

1. If you think back to your experience today in Name of Exhibition, how did you feel about the exhibition's design?
   1.1 What is your opinion about the choice of colours?
   1.2 What is your opinion about the selection and presentation of text?
   1.3 What is your opinion about the selection and presentation of photographs (if applicable)?
2. How would you describe the atmosphere of the exhibition to somebody who did not yet visit it?
3. Which design element stood out for you?
b) Content of exhibition:

1. Could you tell me, in your own words, about your experience today in *Name of Exhibition*?

2. If you would have to tell somebody, who did not yet visit the exhibition, which story the exhibition tells, what would you tell him or her?

3. Was there anything in particular that made you feel very strongly about the subject – perhaps something that you saw, heard or talked about today?

4. What, if anything, did you experience that made you change your mind about something?

5. Which object or objects caught your attention and why?

6. What is the most important thing that you will remember about your experience here today?

III. Visual associative element:

I will now show you photographs of objects you might have encountered in the exhibition. Could you tell me how you feel about them?
11.2 Question Bank Museum Staff

I. General Questions about the museum:

1. How would you describe the nature of the museum? Is it a genuine migration museum or a hybrid?

2. What is a migration museum in your definition?

3. Could you give a brief description of the demographic breakdown of visitors?

4. How would you define the museum’s position and unique features in comparison to other institutions, like small to medium-sized regional museums or national museums in New Zealand?

5. What are the difficulties with the dissemination and representation of migration?

II. Questions focused on past, current and future exhibitions:

1. Could you give a short description of past exhibitions which dealt with the topic “Migration” and outline the differences to the current display or future developments?

2. What were the main design objectives with regard to the current/future displays?

3. What were the main controversies (if any) about the final shape of the exhibition during the design process?

4. What are the future plans with regard to the migration displays?

5. What is the museum’s approach to the dissemination of subjects connected to migration in terms of guiding the programs of the educational department and museum events?
11.3 Visitor Interviews Demographic Data Sets

11.3.1 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

![Age distribution of participants visiting Passports and The Mixing Room at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa](chart)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>26-35</td>
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<tr>
<td>46-55</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56-65</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-75</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N/S = 9, N = 33
Gender distribution of participants visiting *Passports* and *The Mixing Room* at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nationality or ethnicity as identified by participants visiting *Passports* and *The Mixing Room* at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NZ Pakeha</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealander</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ Russian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZ European</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>US American</td>
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<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pakistani</td>
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<td>Canadian</td>
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<td>Scottish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maori</td>
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N/S = 9
N = 33
11.3.2 New Zealand Maritime Museum

**Age distribution of participants visiting *The Immigrants* at the New Zealand Maritime Museum**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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</tr>
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<td>36-45</td>
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N/S = 0
N = 14

**Gender distribution of participants visiting *The Immigrants* at the New Zealand Maritime Museum**

- Male: 7
- Female: 7

N/S = 0
N = 14
11.3.3 Akaroa Museum

Number of Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality or ethnicity</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Age distribution of participants visiting *Horomaka* at the Akaroa Museum

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-75</td>
<td>3</td>
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</table>
Gender distribution of participants visiting *Horomaka* at the Akaroa Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N/S = 0
N = 13

Nationality or ethnicity as identified by participants visiting *Horomaka* at the Akaroa Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
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<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealander</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N/S = 1
N = 13
11.3.4 Puhoi Bohemian Museum

**Age distribution of participants visiting the permanent exhibition at the Puhoi Bohemian Museum**

- 18-25: 1
- 26-35: 4
- 46-55: 3
- 56-65: 1

**Gender distribution of participants visiting the permanent exhibition at the Puhoi Bohemian Museum**

- Male: 4
- Female: 9

N/S = 0
N = 13
11.3.5 Waipu Museum

Nationality or ethnicity as identified by participants visiting the permanent exhibition at the Puhoi Bohemian Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality or Ethnicity</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>NZ Pakeha</td>
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<tr>
<td>NZ European</td>
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<td>US American</td>
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<td>English</td>
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<td>Chinese</td>
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<tr>
<td>British</td>
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Number of participants: N/S = 4, N = 13

Age distribution of participants visiting The Search for Paradise at the Waipu Museum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36-45</td>
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<tr>
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<td>66-75</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>76-85</td>
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</table>

Number of participants: N/S = 9, N = 24

500
Gender distribution of participants visiting *The Search for Paradise* at the Waipu Museum

- Male: 12
- Female: 11

N/S = 1
N = 24

Nationality or ethnicity as identified by participants visiting *The Search for Paradise* at the Waipu Museum

- NZ Australian: 2
- NZ European: 1
- NZ Dutch: 1
- New Zealander: 1
- British: 4
- European: 4
- NZ Scottish: 1
- Scottish: 2
- NZ Maori: 2
- NZ Norwegian: 1

N/S = 5
N = 24
11.3.6 Toitū Otago Settlers Museum

**Age distribution of participants visiting the permanent exhibition at the Toitū Otago Settlers Museum**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Age</th>
<th>Number of Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>56-65</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66-75</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Gender distribution of participants visiting the permanent exhibition at the Toitū Otago Settlers Museum**

- Male: 11
- Female: 5

N/S = 0  
N = 16
Number of participants as identified by participants visiting the permanent exhibition at the Toitū Otago Settlers Museum:

- NZ Pakeha: N/S = 0, N = 1
- NZ European: N/S = 0, N = 2
- US American: N/S = 0, N = 3
- New Zealander: N/S = 0, N = 3
- British: N/S = 0, N = 1
- Maori: N/S = 0, N = 2
- European: N/S = 0, N = 2
- Caucasian: N/S = 0, N = 1
- Australian: N/S = 0, N = 1
XII. REFERENCES

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12.2 Acts

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Chinese Immigration Amendment Act 1888, New Zealand.
Chinese Immigration Amendment Act 1896, New Zealand.
Chinese Immigration Amendment Act 1892, New Zealand.
Chinese Immigration Amendment Act 1898, New Zealand.
Immigration Act 1964, New Zealand.
Immigration Amendment Act 1978, New Zealand.
Immigration Amendment Act 1984, New Zealand.
Immigration Amendment Act 1986, New Zealand.
Immigration Act 1987, New Zealand.
Immigration Act 2009, New Zealand.
Immigration Restriction Act 1908, New Zealand.
Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1920, New Zealand.
Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1931, New Zealand.
Immigration Restriction Amendment Act 1961, New Zealand.


Undesirable Immigrants Exclusion Act 1919, New Zealand.

12.3 Archival Documents

12.3.1 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Archives, 169 Tory St, Wellington, New Zealand


The Mixing Room. 50% Concept Design. (2010b). (EP-EX-011-01-04#e01)


12.3.2 Voyager New Zealand Maritime Museum, Archive, Corner Quay Street and Hobson Street, Auckland 1010, New Zealand

Voyager Immigration Gallery, Notes from Workshop 1. (2010, July 23).


Minutes of the Akaroa Museum Board Meeting held at the Akaroa Museum on Monday, 19 September, 1994 commencing at 1.30PM. (1994, September 19).

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Minutes of the 1st committee meeting of the Puhoi historical society 1992 held 1.15pm 3.5.92 in the Puhoi school. (1992, May 3).
Notes from Meeting of Puhoi Historical Society Committee meeting to discuss upgrading our museum. (2006, August 17).


Puhoi Historical Society Meeting 26.4.98 1.00pm Bohemia House. (1998, April 26).

Puhoi Historical Society. Minutes of Meeting held on 4 April 2004 at 3.05 pm in the Records Room. (2004, April 4).


12.3.5 Toitū Otago Settlers Museum, Archive, 31 Queens Gardens, Dunedin, New Zealand


Overview of Migration BIG PICTURE time line map. (2010, May 28).


100% Concept Design Meeting Minutes. (2011, April 5).

Co-Pat Team Minutes. Wednesday, 21 December 2011. 10.30 pm. (2011, December 21)


Otago Settlers Museum. 80% Concept Design Presentation. (2010, December 15).

Cottage Summary Sheet (2012).
12.4 Newspaper Articles


Immigration to Otago. (1872, October 26). *Otago Witness*, 20


Museum will not open by Christmas. (1963, October 22). *Akaroa Mail*. 

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Shaun Huddleston puts the finishing touches on a new display he has built for the Akaroa Museum. [Photograph]. (1997, April 4). Akaroa Mail, 9.


12.5 Electronic Resources


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12.6 Audiovisual Sources


12.7 Exhibitions


The Immigrants. New Zealand Maritime Museum, Corner Quay Street and Hobson Street, Auckland 1010. Date of visit: 2013, April 1, May 5-11.


12.8 Museum Staff Interviews


James, A. (2013, May 16). Director Workshop e. Personal interview.


