

"WE'RE NOT DEAD YET"

The representation of New Zealand Māori in three photographic discourses

Comparing colonial New Zealand photography, Jimmy Nelson's *Before They Pass Away*, and Instagram

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Quote on cover: JDHQ (2013).

Abstract

Looking at three different corpuses, this thesis looks at the representation in photography of New Zealand Māori. The photographs are analyzed for narratives communicated through visual representation. The first corpus consists of photographs taken between 1860-1940, gathered by Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow into *Out of Time: Māori and the Photographer 1860-1940*. The photographs in this corpus are shown to communicate messages that can be connected with the process of strengthening and stabilizing colonial power in New Zealand. Main tropes that are analyzed in the corpus are the Māori maiden, the Māori warrior, and the Māori as a 'dying race'. The second corpus is a selection of photographs from Jimmy Nelson's *Before They Pass Away*. The photographs in this book are connected to narratives of exoticization, exemplified in the occurrence of the trope of the Māori warrior. Nelson's work also communicates a narrative of a culture at risk of dying out, combining this with a narrative of nostalgia. The third corpus looks at posts from the Instagram-account of Tamaki Māori Village in Rotorua, New Zealand. This business emphasizes Māori culture as a living and contemporary phenomenon, but reiterates narratives of the Māori maiden and the Māori warrior on their Instagram-page, recalling tropes that have their roots in the colonial era. Additionally, they appear to be presenting a reductive account of Māori culture as consisting of *haka*, *poi*, and *hongi*. An important difference with the other corpuses is that the Instagram-corpus has a focus on interpersonal connection between the Māori performers and the tourists. This thesis traces certain aspects of representation through history, elucidating their links to power structures and dynamics as well as highlighting potential shifts in focus throughout the different corpuses, potentially indicating an evolution in the aesthetics of the tourist gaze.

Key words: Maori, New Zealand, postcolonialism, representation, discourse, power, photography, body, gender, tourism, Instagram, Jimmy Nelson.

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Introduction

Photographs are, nowadays, often considered virtually the most important souvenir of a holiday. This emphasis on photos is relatively new, and has much to do with the development of the technology used to take these photos. The increased ease with which amateurs are able to take studio-quality pictures due to the arrival of smartphone cameras and (relatively) cheap digital cameras has led to a widespread culture of visually documenting holidays and longer trips. This culture has a long history which has been analyzed by Urry (1990). He traces the history of the medium and its effects, theorizing a “tourist gaze” as a result of this history: the specific way in which tourists have been trained to look at the world around them. The ‘elsewhere’ needs to be photographed. Though people are free in documenting whatever factors of the ‘elsewhere’ they please, much of what is considered worth photographing is determined by years of developments in visual culture. We *learn* what we should see, what our (literal) focus should be on. This process of learning to see starts from birth, and continues to be influenced and developed throughout life: the process does not stop. Conventions and tastes within visual culture might change over time. However, these changes are gradual and might not even be noticed easily. In this thesis I will research three visual discourses with a focus on photography of Māori people from Aotearoa/New Zealand. The first visual discourse I will focus on will be a collection of photographs taken between 1860 and 1940. These photos were selected and bundled into a book called *Out of Time: Māori & The Photographer 1860-1940* by Michael Graham-Stewart and John Gow (2006). The second corpus of photographs I will analyze will be Jimmy Nelson’s photographs of Māori people for his book titled *Before They Pass Away*. This book was published in 2013, giving a contemporary perspective on photographic practices regarding the photography of Māori people. The perspective of contemporary photographers operating in the tourist-sphere will be analyzed in my third corpus: Instagram. The photographs I will analyze from Instagram will be selected from the Instagram-page of a tourism business in Rotorua, New Zealand. The selected attraction is Tamaki Māori Village, a business specialized in providing Māori cultural experiences. Tourists are welcomed into a replica of a pre-European settlement Māori village. In the village it is possible to (for example) visit dance performances, have a traditional Māori dinner called *hangi*, visit woodwork-workshops, and see the practice of *poi*, a style of performance art using weighted balls on strings. Though there are many more “Māori

experiences” being sold to tourists all over New Zealand, I have selected Tamaki Māori Village due to its leading position in New Zealand tourism. Visitors can book an evening experience for 130 NZD (adult rate), which converts to 75 EUR approx. During this experience, visitors often take pictures and share these to social media. Sometimes, the official Instagram-page reposts the pictures taken by one of their visitors. There is much to be said about these pictures, about their discursive positioning(s), their compositions, their themes, and so forth.

In comparing a late nineteenth- early twentieth century perspective with two twenty-first century perspectives, I hope to be able to analyze continuities and discontinuities in the visual language of photographing Māori people. In doing so, I will be able to comment on the discursive meanings of these photographs, and I will do that from a post-/decolonial perspective which is especially relevant for the New Zealand context.

New Zealand is famous for its rugby team the All Blacks, its functioning as a movie set for the Lord of the Rings and the Hobbit film franchises, its nature and wildlife, and for its indigenous population, the Māori. The Māori themselves arrived to New Zealand from their Polynesian homelands around the first half of the fourteenth century, and they were joined there by European colonizers/settlers in the nineteenth century. Between 1841 and 1907 New Zealand was a colony of the British Empire. The Māori chiefs had a treaty with the Crown called the Waitangi Treaty signed in 1840 which specified that Māori people had the same rights as British citizens in exchange for their sovereignty (English version) or governance (*kawanatanga*, Māori version) which they yielded to the Crown (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2012). Disputes arose over the translation, since both a Māori and an English version were drawn up and both had different implications. The existence of two versions left room for differences in interpretations of the terms agreed. This added to existing conflicts and created new conflicts over land ownership, leading to the New Zealand Wars (1845-1872). As a result of these conflicts, (approximately) 2000 Māori and 700 Europeans were killed and several millions of hectares of Māori land were confiscated (Derby, 2011). Additionally, the Māori economy was (mostly) destroyed, and Māori political autonomy was over. However, the Māori did gain the right to vote (in their own country) with the Māori Representation Act of 1867 (New Zealand Wars, 2020).

Nowadays, the Pākehā (white/ European) population of New Zealand hold most positions of power. Though Māori culture has suffered due to the presence and pressures of the European settlers and colonizers, it is still very much alive today. For example, 9 out of 10 Māori aged 15 and over indicated during the 2018 census that involvement in Māori cultural practices is

at least of some importance to them (Stats NZ, 2020, *provisional data*). Due to the Māori Renaissance that started in the 1970's and still continues to this day the Māori language, Te Reo Maori, is increasingly being used and taught in schools. While in 2013 only 3.7% of the New Zealand population spoke Te Reo (fluently), the aim of New Zealand Government is to have at least 20% of the population speaking basic Te Reo Māori by 2040. Additionally, the aim is to have all New Zealand schools teaching Māori (as well as English) by 2025 (Graham-McLay, 2018). According to the 2018 census, 17% of the New Zealand population is Māori (Stats NZ, 2019). More than 80% of Māori live in urban environments (Amoamo and Thompson 2010: 47).

A specific branch of New Zealand government called *Te Puni Kōkiri: Ministry of Māori development* focuses especially on Māori affairs. In many aspects, such as employment, education and income, disparities are visible between non-Māori and Māori New Zealanders. For example, though unemployment for Māori is in decline, the rate of 9.0% reported in the December 2017 quarter by Stats NZ is still double the New Zealand average (Stats NZ, 2018).

I am interested in finding out more about the visual tradition in photographing Māori people and how this tradition might relate to their presence in tourist photography today as well as their socio-political situation at the time of photography. I will be comparing and contrasting the European perspectives in the first two corpuses to the Instagram corpus, which is operated by indigenous people. My research question will therefore be:

What diachronic continuities and discontinuities in visual language can be analyzed in comparing and contrasting three photographic discourses regarding Māori people in New Zealand?

In order to answer this question I will be paying attention to the following subquestions:

How are Māori people represented in these discourses in regards to their bodies?

How are cultural markers such as clothes and accessories represented in these discourses?

How is the landscape and the natural world represented in these discourses?

I will reflect on which themes are dominant in these discourses. These visual themes exist in a system of meanings, which have been developing throughout history. Over time, certain visual cues have taken on linkages to certain narratives. These narratives might be defined as the stories societies tell themselves: the (culturally and historically variable) way they normalize thinking about certain topics in a certain way. These narratives can be placed into a

global context: representation and power-dynamics are intricately linked. Representations do not stand on their own: they operate and exist in a certain material context, and they normalize and exclude simultaneously (Buikema, 2007:77-78). We can complicate these narratives by engaging critically with the photo's presented here. We must ask ourselves what representations do in terms of structural violence or justice, especially now, with the rise of new moral tourism and sustainability, which is becoming more of a priority for many students, tourists, and scholars alike in this rapidly changing political and natural climate. In a sense, discursive justice also has to do with the sustainability of our tourism-practice. Researching the representations of the indigenous population of New Zealand diachronically could shed light on existing power relations and the (re)creation of said power relations through visual cultures.

Status Quaestionis

Maori as photographic subjects in the nineteenth/twentieth century

In the article “Māori People as Photographic subjects: A Colonial and a Contemporary View” by Marchant (1996), the author takes a diachronic perspective on the photographic conventions in portraying Māori. My thesis will add another perspective to the comparison, that of the Instagram-using tourist. This (relatively) new social media platform might have other stylistic rules and commonalities, thus functioning in another way than more traditional media.

Oesterreich (2018) elaborates on the public popular image on New Zealand in nineteenth century Europe. She goes into more detail on the portraits of Māori done by Gottfried Lindauer which were shown at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886 at the Royal Albert Hall. According to her, the “domesticity” which was exported to the colonies was to be celebrated at these Exhibitions, since these Exhibitions were part of the effort to extol the efforts of colonization (2018: 2). She argues that no one medium was singularly responsible for imprinting a certain idea of New Zealand in nineteenth century Europe, but that, rather, many media influenced and strengthened each other. She traces the two roles imposed onto Māori people at the time as being either the “noble” or the “barbaric savage” (2018: 7). Additionally, she relates the late-nineteenth-century European trend of thinking of the Māori as being “the Aryans of Oceania”, putting them in sharp opposition to the Aborigines of Australia, who were viewed as being animal-like (2018: 8). The Māori were, however, seen as a “dying race”, ensuring that their “Aryan” status was not threatening to the colonial powers (2018: *ibid.*) Oesterreich sees a distinct difference in how Māori men and Māori women are treated in colonial discourse, calling our attention to the importance of (paying attention to) gendered discourse in this thesis as well. Another important note she makes is how the image of New Zealand which was projected to Europe was key in attracting more settlers to the country, and “produce national identities in distinction from the colonized cultures” in the process (2018: 21). She concludes that the image of the Māori was based on “visual othering” and colonial stereotypes which were both positive and negative, which narratives both did and did not exclude each other, but ultimately both served the colonial project (2018: 24). The scope of her research is limited to the nineteenth century. My thesis will broaden this view by including two contemporary perspectives as well. Additionally, I will deepen the understanding of the photographic medium as a specific type of message-maker whereas she speaks of a multitude of media in less depth.

Thode-Arora (2018) wrote an article on the romanticized image of the Māori promoted to and by the European settlers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, focusing specifically on postcards and Māori portraiture. She argues that these portraits tells us more about what Pākehā thought Māori should be rather than how the Māori were at the time (2018: 5). She places the photographs in their technological and historical context, linking the image created of Maoriness to its value as a tourism attraction as well. She also adds the portraits by Gottfried Lindauer to her analysis, who based his portraiture on photographs available at the time. She also calls our attention to the role of the *moko*, the facial tattoos common in Māori culture. Importantly, she adds a paragraph into her work on how Māori themselves started accepting and using the photographic medium for their own purposes (2018: 17). The meanings that can be accredited to these photos are dramatically different from the meanings attributable to photographs taken by Pākehā photographers. Photographs can always be interpreted in multiple ways, and context is crucial (2018: 19).

In his chapter on the relationship between photography and the emergence of the Pacific cruise in the nineteenth century, Michael Hayes (2004) argues that tourism, colonialism, and the emergence of the use of photography were intricately interwoven practices. The camera was especially effective in conveying certain messages of otherness, due to the claim to veracity that the medium had. Photography produced images “as they were”: the camera reflected “empirical reality” (Hayes, 2004: 171). Hayes argues we should critically engage with this claim to veracity, and the power dynamics inherent in the photographic exchange. The author elaborates on the role of photography specifically focusing on the rise of and photography during Pacific cruise tourism and its connection to the (promotion of the) colonial project in the nineteenth century. However, his research looks at the representation of the people and cultures of the entire Pacific region rather than just Maori.

In her recent publication Michelle Erai (2020) researches how gender stereotypes and gender inequality shaped representations of Māori women and girls in the colonial era. Her approach reaches across media, with analyses touching on film, postcards, cartoons, and travel advertisements. She connects the representation of indigenous Māori women and girls with the violence and colonial doctrine perpetuated against Māori at the time. She calls the way in which this representation took place “colonial optics”. I will be referring to her work in this thesis and adopting her focus on issues of empire and how these messages are communicated and strengthened through images.

Jimmy Nelson's *Before They Pass Away*

Jimmy Nelson's photography, though very popular and much talked about in papers and online discussions, has not been widely researched from an academic perspective. Bullock's dissertation on the entirety of the *Before They Pass Away* book as well as additional photographic prints by Nelson traces the role of the "imagined primitive" and how this role develops throughout Nelson's work (Bullock, 2017). He positions Nelson's work in postcolonial and neo-colonialist framework (2017: 3). Furthermore, he argues that rather than "raising awareness", Nelson's main goal in producing this book was monetary gain, since the pictures do not accurately portray the tribal cultures at hand but rather rely on stereotypical representations to manipulate people into buying his products (2017: 3). The dissertation pays no specific attention the Māori portraits in Nelson's collection, but provides an excellent starting point for further analysis of Nelson's work.

A short research paper by Gabriel Márquez points towards the role of the trope of the 'savage' and how this is perpetuated through Nelson's work. He focuses especially on the language used by Nelson in *Before They Pass Away* to contextualize the images, indicating a distinct tendency to exoticize the people he photographs. At the same time, Márquez also notes a narrative of shared human roots perpetuated throughout the work, called the "Universalist idea of a shared human nature" by Márquez (2014: 1).

Maori (as photographic subjects) in contemporary tourism

Another study by Amoamo and Thompson (2010) researching the discourses on Māori people in a (modern) tourism context emphasized the concepts of *hybridity* and *third space* by Bhabha (1994, 1996). They emphasize the important role of tourism promotion in cultural change and cultural production. Amoamo and Thompson use an in-depth qualitative approach to research Māori tourism providers and stakeholders and how they create creative third spaces in which notions of Otherness are being re-inscribed. They call the current representation of Māori culture in much promotional material for the international market "somewhat stereotypical and homogenous" (2010: 36). Their use of a postcolonial framework for their research adds greatly to the depth of their analysis. My analysis will not be focused primarily on tourist discourse, but I will be taking this postcolonial view as my starting point in my analysis of the photographic discourses.

Additional research on indigenous tourism and its difficult relationship with self-commodification was done by Celeste Buntin (2010). Celeste Buntin reflects on the paradoxical relationship of the gaze and resistance which is inherent in the touristic exchange

with indigenous peoples and their visitors. The author compares Alaska Native American with Māori cultural tourism venues, arguing for a more “agential perspective” on the interactions taking place there than is often supposed (2010: 51). Celeste Buntin takes a culturally sensitive approach which takes care not to apply Western cultural understandings and practices and assumes them to be universal. Instead, she emphasizes the culturally situated importance that hosting has played in these Native communities throughout history (2010: 52). Selling culture is not the same as “selling out” (2010: 52). In the second corpus, Nelson is selling images of (an interpretation of) culture for his own monetary gain. I will be taking this agential approach (from the indigenous perspective, specifically) into account during my analysis of all three corpuses (where relevant).

Similarly, Amoamo (2007) has analyzed how Māori tourism operators are challenging the “Other” binary by using their individual and regional identities. In doing this analysis, she includes a short overview of the history of Māori representation. However, this representation is narrowed down to representation in tourism primarily, and mentions the photographs that were popular in the late nineteenth century only briefly (2007: 460). It was these early photographs, of which I will be researching only a selection, which were crucial in setting up the visual language that we are still engaging with today. She mentions dissent voiced by Māori people over their image in contemporary touristic discourses as well as the positive sides to these representations in attracting tourists and facilitating dialogue and specificity in identity.

Olsen (2008) has researched how Māori tourism operators portray indigenous culture in their brochures. In his analysis, he uses Fabian’s idea of “the organization of otherness through cultural constructions of time and space” to analyze how Māori operators represent their own identity (2008: 161). Through this auto-ethnographic comparative approach, the author concludes that the representations of Māori he analyzed gave an impression of a “timeless traditional people” (2008: 181). Their presence seems to be relegated to an imagined past rather than a living present, even by Māori tourism operators. Olsen calls this practice “self-Orientalism” (2008: 161). Furthermore, Olsen argues that this positioning adds to the appeal of the touristic attractions: otherwise they would become part of a “less-sensational contemporary everyday life” (2008: 181). Furthermore, the author stresses the importance of situating the Māori situation in its New Zealand context. The case of Māori representation should not be seen as broadly “indigenous” but rather as narrowly “Maori” (though both discourses will have influenced each other). He adds that this Māori representation has its own distinct tradition, but does not elaborate further on this claim. My

research project would add to the understanding of this distinct tradition of representing Māori people.

In a research note published in 1997, Barnett traces the history of the role of the Māori population in the rise of New Zealand tourism. Though this note is only three pages long, the overview of Māori tourism she provides is relevant for our understanding of this thesis. She places the first recorded instance of Māori tourism in 1860, when the first visitors were shown the Pink and White Terraces near Rotorua.¹ According to Barnett, the first use of Māori images in the tourism industry as a marketing tool was in the nineteenth century, stereotyping them into “guides, carvers, and entertainers” (1997: 471). It was only in 1989 at the New Zealand Tourism 2000 Conference that it was recognized that Māori culture could function as a key Unique Selling Point for New Zealand tourism (1997: 472). According to Barnett it was from this point onwards that Māori culture became a central pillar and a structural point of importance and pride in New Zealand tourism marketing.

Instagram images and their meanings, themes and topic, specifically in relation to tourism to indigenous groups, has not been widely researched. Smith (2018) has analyzed the way in which pictures on Instagram perpetuate a certain image of destinations, arguing that pictures fall into one of three motifs: “the tropical exotic, the promontory gaze and fantasised assimilation” (Smith, 2018: 172). He argues that these motifs re-inscribe and reiterate “colonial-era perceptions of the ‘other’” (Smith, 2018: 188). He reflects on Instagram’s position as a marketing and inspiration tool for modern travelers, thus focusing our attention to the importance of further research into this modern medium. His analysis appears to be focused mostly on travel photography on the platform in a broad sense, rather than my narrow focus on the visual presence of Māori in the tourist context.

My research project will add to an understanding of dominant discourse(s) and what this might mean for the consolidation and (re)creation of power-relations relating to for example colonial pasts and presents, whiteness and indigenusness. Elements of stereotypical “indigenusness” will be found represented in these discourses, as will stereotypical/essentialist narratives about Maori cultural identity. I will be contextualizing these narratives and looking for shifts in focus throughout time and corpuses.

¹ These terraces disappeared in 1886 due to the eruption of Mt. Tarawera and have still not been located.

Research design and methodology

In designing my research, I have chosen to focus on three different photographic corpuses to facilitate a diachronic perspective and start my comparative analysis at a time when New Zealand was still very much in the process of being settled by European colonizers. This facilitates a tracing of a way of seeing called ‘colonial optics’ by Erai (2020).

The first corpus will be a collection of photographs dating between 1860 and 1940. I have selected this corpus because the selection of photographs gathered in *Out of Time* is diverse and might be considered exemplary for nineteenth and twentieth century photography in New Zealand. The photographs were collected from archives across the world, most of which were situated in the United Kingdom, the colonial settler-country of New Zealand. Author Michael Graham-Stewart is an independent art collector and art dealer, focusing in his collections and publications on the “spaces between cultures” primarily (Bridgeman Images, 2020). He has published multiple books on photography of indigenous peoples, in addition to producing multiple publications on material culture (Bridgeman Images, 2020). His co-author John Gow is the director of the John Leech Gallery in Auckland. *Out of Time* is a publication of this same gallery. Gow is a specialist in New Zealand art, with a specific expertise in indigenous objects and historical artwork (John Leech Gallery, 2020). Since both authors are art-collectors and have specialized in indigenous culture in photography and material culture, I expect their selection to represent photographs depicting Māori in the time period spoken about (1860-1940) with some degree of accuracy. In the preface, the aim of the publication is described as “to present a chronological sequence of photographs, shown unmanipulated and with enough information to illuminate the moment of exposure.” (2006: 7). Additionally, the authors state that the book is “not a survey [...] but a selection” (2006: 7). Commenting on the selection process for the collection, Graham-Stewart said that they “acquired a cross section of images that were available at the time and that inevitably meant a dominance of material that had sold well then and thus survived in quantity” (personal correspondence, 2020).² Additionally, the authors took care to include photographs that “went beyond the stereotypical view of Maori” (*ibid.*). Furthermore, Graham-Stewart and Gow wanted to shed light on the stories of the people pictured, as well as highlight some lesser known photographers from this era (*ibid.*). Concludingly, Graham-Stewart stated that “the idea was to show a mix of the ‘real’ and the ‘constructed’ and quietly probe how both of those elements

² For a copy of the email, see Appendix A.

are present in most images” (*ibid.*). For my analysis I will be looking at the staging, context, and meanings communicated through the photographs in this corpus.³ The collection is a chronological overview. The pictures taken before 1900 show posed pictures only, whereas in photographs taken later we can see a few instances where the picture must have been taken without informing all people shown. I have focused my analysis on portraits where the sitter was actively posing for the photographer. Comparing specific narratives and themes communicated throughout the photographs, it will be useful to compare and contrast this corpus to the other two twenty-first century corpuses. The selection-process that took place in the early twenty-first century adds another layer of interpretation which merits scrutiny. The corpus, then, contains multiple levels of representation and selection. One layer is the representation of Māori in these photographs, another is the selection of which photographs to include in the book. Though this contemporary selection might complicate the assessment of the representational value of the corpus, it does not nullify its value. It is for these reasons that I argue that from their selection I will be able to analyze at least some of the way(s) in which these photographers tended to frame their pictures. Any conclusions from my necessarily limited analysis might be kept in mind when doing further research with a broader scope in future.

The second body of photographs will be the work focusing on the Māori in Jimmy Nelson’s book *Before They Pass Away* (2013). The popularity of his work and the wide reach his work has had so far make these photographs important and necessary to scrutinize academically. *Before They Pass Away* has sold more than 250.000 copies internationally (de Bruijne, 2018). The Dutch-British photographer has risen to international fame, has since brought out a second book with a similar theme called *Homage to Humanity* (2018), has been invited to speak at TEDxAmsterdam, and has been the subject of a BBC documentary (de Bruijne, 2018). Additionally, his work has been in expositions around the world. Locations include the Atlas Gallery in London, the Rademakers Gallery in Amsterdam, Fotografiska, New York, as well as locations in Estonia, and Sweden (Jimmy Nelson Website, 2020a). His influence, in short, must not be underestimated.

The third corpus I will be turning my attention to is very dynamic in nature: Instagram.

³ To a certain extent all pictures were actively staged at this time. Exposure time would have been as much as fifteen seconds, during which times the photographic subjects would have had to sit perfectly still in order to prevent fuzzy images. Taking an impromptu photograph or capturing movement was impossible. Any non-fuzzy image must, then, have been taken with the knowledge of the sitter. Over time, the technical possibilities developed further, and exposure times decreased as a result. For later pictures this logic therefore does not necessarily apply.

I will be analyzing a selection of photographs posted to the official Instagram-page of Tamaki Māori Village. I will be focusing specifically on Instagram due to the dominant role social media play in an increasingly globalized world. Especially in the tourist discourse these Instagram representations and recommendations play a huge role in creating and perpetuating an array of different tropes. Additionally, the role of social media in tourism discourses is relatively understudied as of yet. Placing this discourse in a comparative context with a historical corpus and a (relatively) contemporary artistic corpus will serve to elucidate the peculiarities and similarities of the discourses. I have selected Tamaki Maori Village in Rotorua because this tourism business might be considered exemplary for Maori cultural tourism in New Zealand. Rotorua is sometimes called the “Māori Capital of New Zealand” by tourism organizations and tourists alike (Taylor, 2001: 16). Tamaki Maori Village is the most awarded New Zealand attraction over-all, and was awarded the seventh place in the TripAdvisor’s Travellers Choice awards 2018 (Tourism Industry Aotearoa, 2020).

In my analysis, I will be adopting a combination of both a qualitative and a quantitative approach, though the onus will be on qualitative analysis. I will only be using the quantitative analysis to create an overview of the corpus before moving into in depth analysis of the preliminary themes posed in the quantitative analysis. I will be looking at visual themes, paying attention to the three themes I indicated previously in the formulation of my subquestions. In designing this methodology I was inspired by van Bussel’s dissertation (2019) on representations of the Maasai and Kazakh in three different discourses. She developed a methodology for visual analysis on which I will be loosely basing my own approach to the data at hand. She focused on analyzing clothes and attributes in one chapter, in another on the role of the surroundings, and in the third on the role of the body in the photographs in her discourses. I will be keeping these foci in mind when approaching the photographs in my corpuses, in addition to paying attention to gender and race. The emphasis will differ per picture depending on the most fitting theoretical framework to contextualize the photo at hand. One theoretical work I will be relying on in my analysis will be *The Body and the Lens: Photography 1839 to the Present* by John Pultz (1995). This book provides an overview of the ways of representing the body in photographs since the beginnings of the medium, tracing developments through the years. Another important work in my analysis will be *Tourism and gender: embodiment, sensuality and experience*, by Annette Pritchard (2007). In this book the focus is on the workings of gender(ed) dynamics in tourism marketing and media, in historical as well as contemporary contexts.

The second theme I will be analyzing will be the representation of cultural markers. In

my reading this will be quite a broad category, including *moko* (traditional Māori tattooing), clothing, accessories, and representations of *hongi* (traditional Māori greeting whereby two people touch foreheads) or the *haka* (a ceremonial dance that gained international fame due to its use by the New Zealand rugby team the *All Blacks*). I will be using insights from *The Clothed Body* by Patrizia Calefato (2004) as a starting point for my analysis. Calefato reviews the role and meanings of different ways of dressing, an educated understanding of which will be crucial to my analysis of cultural markers in the pictures reviewed. She argues that particular ways clothing convey certain messages which are not always consistent but worth analyzing none the less. The third theme I will be paying specific attention to will be the depiction of the landscape and the natural world in the pictures, and how the people depicted relate to said surroundings. This theme is reviewed in depth in *Land Matters: Landscape, Photography, Culture and Identity* by Liz Wells (2011). I will be using the insights from this book as my starting point for analysis.

In looking at these topics specifically in the analysis of each discourse, I hope to be able to comment on similarities and differences across the corpuses. In doing so I will not only be paying attention to the photographs themselves but also to any accompanying texts to the photographs.

Key Theories

Postmodern Theory

The overarching school of thought into which this thesis might be situated is postmodern theory. Though the postmodern school of thought is incredibly diverse and interconnected with a multitude of fields, main ideas are the critique of objective perception, and the critique of the idea of the existence of universal truth. According to postmodern thinkers, meaning can be multiple, with multiple interpretations existing on the same level of truth at the same time, and meaning-making is intimately connected to issues of ideology. Another one of the key points of this school of thought is the insight that categories such as “male” and “female” cannot be understood to mean the same things across or within time or cultures (i.e. they are not universally ‘true’). This anti-essentialist notion argues that the definitions terms are not stagnant and secure, they are constantly under construction, influenced by social, historical, and cultural factors (Pultz, 1995: 7-8). With its emphasis on de-construction, pluralism, and interrogation of ‘truth’, postmodern theory provides a beneficial framework for this thesis.

Postcolonial Theory

Another core school of thought I am indebted to is postcolonial theory, in which the issue of power and discourse is very important. This school of thought, though incredibly diverse in its ideas and discussions, centers on the study of the effects of imperialism and colonialism, especially focusing on European imperialism from the 15th century onwards. One important question of the field is whether or not one can ever really be “post”-colonial when the structures the colonial situation has brought about are still very much in power. The aim of the field has been described as “exposing, studying and interrogating the ongoing legacies and discursive operations of Empire” (Ponzanesi, 2007: 88). This relates to the issue at hand in this thesis since New Zealand was colonized in the 18th century by the British Empire, and discussions about Māori culture in modern New Zealand must take into account a history of settler-violence and cultural struggle. As mentioned in the introduction, the current position of the Māori community within New Zealand is improving slowly, but it is not great. Most positions of (institutional and discursive) power are being held by Pakeha. It is impossible to think about Māori in photography and not take into account the colonial past (and present) and all the broader cultural meanings this history brings with it.

Power and tourism

The power dynamic taking place within the tourism exchange between tourists, tourism-providers and institutional powers merits attention. Cheong and Miller (2000) argue that the reading of power as purely residing with the tourist over locals is reductive. They argue that power is *everywhere* in the exchange, following a Foucauldian analysis of power. This approach to power poses that power is more complex and fluid than a narrow understanding of power as *power over*, formally. Instead, power is to be understood as a “complex strategical situation”: “multiple and mobile field of force relations” (Foucault, 1978: 93-102 as referenced in Cheong and Miller, 2000: 374-375). Power exists in the exchange, then, and is not a stable entity but a constantly negotiated and renegotiated dynamic relationship. Within a tourism framework, this conceptualization facilitates the theoretical possibility to keep space for shifting and evolving power-positionings from (diverse) tourists, (diverse) locals, and any other relevant persons and organizations. The existence of power dynamics in tourism cannot be denied, though the exchange might be mediated and navigated (Cheong and Miller, 2000: 381). Moreover, locating power everywhere means that localized, seemingly non-political choices and interactions (also) take on significance. Another core aspect of Foucauldian power analysis is the linkage between power and knowledge. Exercising power produces knowledge, and vice versa: “knowledge induces effects of power” (Foucault, 1980: 52 as referenced in Cheong and Miller, 2000: 375). Foucault said the following: “What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply the fact that it doesn't only weigh on us as a force that says no, but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms of knowledge, *produces discourse*” (italics mine, Foucault, 1980: 119 as referenced in Cheong and Miller, 2000: 377). This analysis leads to the conclusion that “all knowledge is the product of power because everyone is subject to social control” (Pultz, 1995: 9). This social control is linked to the concept of “the gaze”, originating from an architectural model for an eighteenth century prison, Bentham's *Panopticon* (*litt*: seeing-all) (Cheong and Miller 2000: 376). In this circular prison, prisoners could be observed (at all times and from all angles) from a tower in the middle of the prison, though they would not be able to see if they were being observed. The (possibility) of observation became, then, a means of control. Being seen equals being controlled, and seeing, then, equals controlling.

Photography

This perspective on seeing causes photography to lose its innocence. Photography is not a neutral medium, it produces, normalizes, and communicates messages. A core thinker in the

development of this idea is Susan Sontag. In her groundbreaking work *On Photography* (1977), she poses photography as a process which aims to possess, and which functions as a tool for wielding power. She notes the way in which photography facilitates a view of the world as an exhibition: an object to be consumed. Urry and Larsen summarize her views as following: “To photograph is in some way to appropriate the object being photographed. It is a power/knowledge relationship. To have visual knowledge of an object is in part to have power, even if only momentarily, over it” (2011: 10). Sontag, furthermore, links photography and capitalist society. She argues that “a capitalist society requires a culture based on images [...] cameras define reality in the two ways essential to the workings of an advanced industrial society: as a spectacle (for the masses) and as an object of surveillance (for rulers). The production of images furnishes a ruling ideology and so social change is replaced by changes in images.” (Sontag as referenced in Erai 2020: 21) Similarly, Pultz argues that photography as a core development of the Industrialization period is a defining product of the modern era (1995: 9). Moreover, he argues that the photographic medium functions as a “metonym for the Enlightenment”. This school of thought values empiricism (experiential scientific methods) as the only true method to obtain objective knowledge. A core factor of this belief (at the time) was that the findings attained via this method were neutral, not tied to power: things were just seen *as they were*. Photography was the perfect medium for this ‘Enlightened’ subject: “the observer apart, freely viewing some object or scene” (Pultz, 1995: 9). This idea supposed that there was no entanglement of the subject with the observed object, no influencing of each other, and celebrated the idea of objectivity. Feminist scholar Donna Haraway (1988) has agitated against this conceptualization of knowledge, coining the term “situated knowledge”. This concept refers to the impossibility of neutral knowledge, and asks us to reflect on the ways in which even seemingly neutral practices (such as seeing or photographing) are always situated in time, space, body, and politics. Seeing is an action, and this action has meanings and implications. Erai speaks about this dynamic in her book on colonial optics in the New Zealand context, noting how messages conveyed through the visual (trans)form ideas in the audience (2020: 4). She argues that we should be “refusing the delusion of an innocent eye” (2020: 21).

Power and discourse

In this thesis, I will be adhering to Fairclough’s definition of power and discourse as existing in a dialectic relationship with each other (Fairclough, 1992). Though his work focuses primarily on linguistic discourse and was of prime importance for the development of the

field of critical discourse analysis as applied to sociolinguistics, I argue that his theories can be transposed onto visual discourse as well. Thus transposed, his understanding of power facilitates an analysis of these discourses as being interwoven with and intrinsically linked to power. One informs the other, and vice versa. It is in this context that terms like “politics of representation” gain meaning. As Buikema put it: “studying representation is not only about the referent of text or image, but also concerns the material context in which text or image operates. [...] Each representation acts to normalize some worlds and exclude others” (2007: 77, 78). Photography is necessarily a process of selection, and who or what is selected to be photographed has meanings which are tied to power structures. These power structures, however, might also be productively challenged by changing or questioning narratives, subverting expectations, and taking back agency.

Semiotics

Interpreting and analyzing visual materials is not a complicated process. An important approach for this thesis is the semiotic approach. This approach prioritizes analyzing how an image works in relation to broader systems of meaning (Rose, 2001). Semiotic analysis, then, moves beyond descriptive analysis or qualitative analysis. Instead, it focuses on signification, on signs. Bal and Bryson (1991: 174) say that “human culture is made up of signs, each of which stands for something other than itself, and the people inhabiting culture busy themselves making sense of those signs” (as referenced in Rose, 2001: 69). The field of semiotics is, according to Rose, “centrally concerned with the social effects of meaning”. Which meanings are identified and prioritized depends on the person viewing and analyzing said meanings, therefore necessitating a situated knowledge as mentioned previously. I myself am also a very particularly informed and situated audience of the photographs analyzed in this thesis. Perceptions are culturally influenced. How people make sense of things is not a reflection of how things are in essence but rather how they have been developing throughout history. This dependence therefore in no way diminishes the validity of the associations and meanings. Rather, differences in interpretations add to a critical cross-cultural understanding of seeing, interpreting and giving meaning.

Tourist Gaze

One important concept for this project will be the tourist gaze, a term coined by John Urry (1990). The theory of the tourist gaze focuses on the specific way in which tourist photography and visual culture has developed and functioned throughout history and today.

This “visual grammar” has been developed over years of global tourism and is linked to unequal power structures, creating narratives of “simultaneous ‘naturalisation’ and ‘fictionalisation’ (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 14). This tourist gaze might be described as a shared expectation, a filter almost, of what touristic experience should look like. Modern tourist experiences often adapt their program to facilitate the pictures the tourists want. Reality, in a sense, should be ready for visual consumption, and tourism might be argued to have become a “strategy for the accumulation of photographs” (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 15). This implies a shift towards a tourist consumption that is focused on the visual (Urry 1990: 135 via Jenkins, 2003: 309). It has been argued that a main mediator through which tourists perceive their touristic experience is exoticism, often linked with a drive towards nostalgia (Huggan, 2001). This exoticizing tendency of the tourist gaze will be a key theme throughout this thesis.

This overview of the theories that make up my main theoretical framework is non-exhaustive. I will be incorporating an array of additional theories and concepts into my analysis, and I will be introducing these when relevant.

Chapter One: *Out of Time: Māori & the Photographer 1860-1940*

Introduction

Out of Time, Māori & the Photographer 1860-1940 is a collection of photographs published in 2006 by the John Leech Gallery presenting a chronological selection of New Zealand Māori in photographs taken between 1860 and 1940. It does not pretend to be a complete overview of the photographic genre. Its aim, as stated earlier, is to show a “chronological sequence”, accompanying the photographs with information to help the reader understand more about the circumstances under which the picture was taken (Graham-Stewart and Gow, 2006: 7). Graham-Stewart and Gow are both professional art-connoisseurs. As stated previously, they “acquired a cross section of images available at the time” (Graham-Stewart in personal correspondence, 2020). In their selection, they had the additional aim to highlight some lesser known New Zealand photographers such as James McDonald (*ibid.*). Graham-Stewart and Gow wanted to show a mix of (stereo)typical and non-stereotypical photographs to show the breadth of the corpus. They acknowledge that due to the volume of the bestselling pictures preserved in the archives, these photographs have taken on a dominant role in *Out of Time*. Their idea was to “show a mix of the ‘real’ and the ‘constructed’ and quietly probe how both of those elements are present in most images” (*ibid.*). In this research, Graham-Stewart and Gow will be positioned as part of the audience in the dynamic between photographer, photographed, and audience. They are especially informed viewers with special executive powers in selecting which photographs they deemed relevant to include in this book. In my analysis, I will be navigating the different layers of selection within the corpus. It should be noted, however, that my research focus will be primarily be on the photographs themselves and the representational choices made within the layer of the corpus involving the photographer, the photographed, and a historical Western audience. Understanding what people found attractive or unattractive will add to an understanding of the Western (othering) gaze and the tourist gaze alike.

Overview and quantitative preparatory analysis

The first aspect I would like to talk about regarding this corpus is the title *Out of Time*. This title positions the bundle of photographs in a very particular narrative. The title was chosen by the authors in the twenty-first century, but the narratives in question have a long history which will be elaborated on in this thesis. The phrase *out of time* can refer to someone being out of time in the sense that their time is up, there is no time left. This phrasing implies danger for the person that is *out of time*, and it implies another time starting: a shift is expected or already

happening. Combining this insight with the subject matter of the book leads to a framing of the Māori as being *out of time*, as a vanishing people. *Their* time is up, a new time is starting. Another interpretation might be that the (people in the) photographs are not situated in time, but rather outside of it: the photographs timeless artefacts, the people timeless beings. Additionally, the title might be interpreted as implying that the photographs were lifted from the grasp of time itself: lifted *out of time* into the present. This reading positions the photographs and, possibly, the photographic subjects as existing primarily in the past. These initial associations with the title chosen for this book show how multiple meanings might be conveyed with one phrase.

In total, the book shows 107 pictures (including the cover), of which 18 are detail-shots of other pictures, and 2 are scans of photography related papers, leaving 87 unique photographs. In order to productively analyze this corpus, I will first make a few subdivisions. The first categories I will make will be photographs with and without people in them. In this corpus, 5 photos do not show any people, with 82 photographs showing at least one person. The book also records the notes on the photographs, which are sometimes as illuminating as the photographs themselves in illustrating the relationship between the photographer, photographed and the (intended) viewers. I have made a short quantitative survey of the corpus, noted below. Some photographs might fall into more than one category. Additionally, the borders between categories such as “young man” and “older man”, as with “young woman” and “older woman” are porous and shifting ones. Often the categories chosen and who is put into what category says more about the analyzer than the analyzed. This initial categorization should, then, primarily be seen as a tool in organizing the corpus to increase ease of qualitative analysis.

Amount of people in the photographs

<i>One person</i>	<i>31 (25 apparent studio photographs)</i>
<i>Two people</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Three people</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Four or more people</i>	<i>31</i>

Focus of photographs

Photographs with one or two people	
<i>Children</i>	<i>5</i>

<i>Young woman</i>	14
<i>Young man</i>	8
<i>Older woman</i>	5
<i>Older man</i>	8
<i>Mixed company (Combination of age groups)</i>	6
<i>Nature focus</i>	2
Photographs with three or more people	
<i>Village scene</i>	15
<i>Family</i>	2
<i>Children</i>	2
<i>Documentation of specific events (wedding; World War Two; Māori meeting; etc)</i>	10
<i>Nature focus</i>	2
<i>Mixed company (Maori/Pakeha)</i>	2
Photographs showing no people	
<i>Woodworking</i>	3
<i>Nature</i>	1
<i>Marae</i>	1

From this short initial analysis, we can see that in regards to numbers, there seems to be preference for portraiture and photography of bigger groups in this corpus. In portraiture, young women seem to be popular subjects, as well as older men and young men. In photographs portraying three or more people, the ‘village scene’ seems to be a favorite composition. In this pictorial composition, Māori people are either shown going about their daily life, posing in front of the village house, the *marae*, or another part of their village. In this corpus of photographs not all pictures were produced to be marketable but some also seem to have been produced with historical documentation in mind primarily. One example of this is a photograph of the 28th Battalion, which consisted of Māori soldiers, training New Zealand before shipping off to join the fighting in World War Two. They are wearing their British military uniforms and can be seen marching in formation towards an unknown destination not shown in the picture (2006: 135). Another example of documentation of an event in *Out of Time* is a picture of the Māori Reception at Arawa Park (Rotorua) (2006: 124).

In this, we can see that Maori people are seen inhabiting multiple spheres of public life: politics, war, and village life are all represented. The images I will be analyzing will be primarily portraits of one or two people, in which staging an aesthetically pleasing picture.

Qualitative analysis

I will be dividing the corpus into two main categories of women and men for the sake of facilitating analysis of gendered tropes in the photographs. For each category I will be looking at the way in which their bodies, their clothing and other cultural markers are represented. For the collective corpus I will also be selecting representative samples to illustrate the role of nature often represented in the photographs. The photographs used in this analysis can be found in Appendix B. I will also be referring to the pages on which they appear in *Out of Time* for ease of access.

Women in *Out of Time*

We will first turn to the representation of women in the corpus. As we saw earlier, there seems to be a preference in the corpus for relatively young women. An example of this in the corpus is a portrait made in approximately 1905 by Arthur Iles (1870-1943 (B.1/2006: 93)). This photographer was specialized in Māori portraits. In earlier analyses the sitter has been identified as Maggie Papakura, but the authors of *Out of Time* argue this identification to be wrong. One of James Iles' most important clients was the recently established Tourist and Health Resorts Department. Additionally, much of Iles' business was in selling postcards printed with images of Maori, which were in high demand at the time. In the photo, a girl in approximately her twenties is looking straight at the camera. Her hair is loose and curly, falling over her shoulders. One of her shoulders is naked, while the other is covered with a cloak made out of some kind of fur. The cloak is trimmed with a woven band that crosses her chest and disappears under her armpit. Around her neck, the girl is wearing a necklace strung with a pendant. The pendant is a humanoid shape. There is no visible clothing under her cloak, giving the spectator the impression that she is wearing the cloak on her skin and she is otherwise nude. Her cloak is striking, looking soft and warm, enveloping her. She is not dwarfed by it, however. Her gaze meets the eye of the spectator directly. Her facial expression is friendly, with a hint of a smile starting on her lips.

In traditional Māori culture, hairstyles bore great significance. Not only could hairstyles function as an indication of (high) status, they could also convey life events. Specific hairstyles might indicate mourning, for example (Tamarapa and Wallace, 2013a). Hairdressing of high-ranking individuals could only be done by persons of higher rank than

the sitter: the head was *tapu*, sacred (Rangi, 2017). Naturally, customs changed over time which was also but not only due to the arrival of the European settlers. This historical background indicates that it is likely that the loose hair of the model in this photograph was a choice by the photographer. It is important to note the connotations of loose hair at the time. During the Edwardian time (1901-1910), pompadour-hairstyles became fashionable in English society. The feminine ideal was embodied by the ‘Gibson Girl’ type, which had the hair piled high on her head (Sherrow, 2006: 138). Being well-groomed was of prime importance, and only young girls were allowed to have their hair down without it being considered inappropriate. Taking into account that New Zealand fashions might not have been changing at the rate the London fashions were, it makes sense to also take into account Victorian attitudes towards hair, which were not radically different. Only girls younger than approximately fifteen were allowed to wear their hair loose (Sherrow, 2006: 386). Pritchard writes that an important facet of the colonialist trope was the supposed contrast between the “chaste white woman of home” and “the highly erotic, highly sexed dark woman of far away” (2007: 173-174). She argues that in the nineteenth century the stereotype of the femme fatale was dominant in art, and that this stereotype was applied to the (sexuality of) women in colonized countries (*ibid.*) She connects the stereotype to the work of Gauguin, who died in 1903, two years before our picture was taken. This painter was a popular and well known artist in his time, portraying colonial Tahiti and its inhabitants. His portrayal of young Polynesian women focused on their “virginal” qualities, hoping to be able to “corrupt” them (Bade, 1979: 19, via Pritchard, 2007: 173). Representations often focused on this temptation, and loose hair was a big part of this sensual temptation, functioning as a symbol of “illicit desire [...] a suggestive sign of allowed disorder, conventionally a sign of woman’s sexuality” (Nochlin, 1989 and Pollock, 1988 via Pritchard, 2007, 174). The sensual connotations of her loose hair are fortified by her cloak. Oesterreich relates how in the nineteenth century there appeared to be an obsession with “the materials, the fullness and the form of the textiles worn by the ‘other’”(2018: 5). Though this picture stems from the early twentieth century, the same obsessions seem to exist still: the fur is luscious, seemingly inviting touch. Oesterreich notes that the contrast between bare skin and rough materials like leather or fur was erotically charged (2018: 5). This insight further adds to the sensual connotations that might be connected to the picture.

If we take into account the traditional cloaks that were most prominent in pre-

European Māori culture, it might be supposed that the fur the sitter is wearing is *kuri* dog-fur.⁴ There are two factors that make this unlikely, however. Firstly, this type of cloak had become increasingly rare at this point in time: the *kuri* had become extinct approximately 150 years previously. It might be supposed then that this is goatskin, with the introduction of angora goats in New Zealand in 1867 (Te Papa Tongarewa, 2020b). However, the fur in the picture does not look like goat fur. Additionally, the dog-skin cloaks were reserved for extremely high status chiefs. The sitter is not indicated to have been an important chief at the time. Instead, she appears to be sitting there as a generic Māori girl. The cloak, then, communicates otherness here, then, rather than high status. It also functions as a way to cover up the model while leaving one part of her, her shoulder, tantalizingly bare. Multiple facets of this photograph, then, seem to convey a message of sensuality. Her cloak makes her look soft, the fur bearing associations with closeness to nature (in contrast with for example woven fabrics). Oesterreich relates how leather, as so-called “primordial” material for clothing has been used to “animalize” women in the nineteenth century (Oesterreich, 2018: 5). It might be supposed, then, that a similar tendency exists in relationship to fur. Thode-Arora further notes the photographic reiteration dominant at the time of the Māori as a ‘dying race’, a narrative which existed in conjunction with narratives emphasizing the glorious nature of the ‘disappearing’ culture (2018: 29) She notes that “the individuals depicted are nearly always clad in pre-European Māori attire of the finest kind, including cloaks of the tassled *korowai* (chief’s cloak decorated with twisted black tags) or the *kahu kiwi* (adorned with kiwi-feathers) variety, accompanied by accessories such as greenstone ornaments and weapons” (2018, 29). She additionally notes that in some cases the accessories and garb can be seen in more than one picture by the same photographer, further supporting the analysis of the cloaks being a token for indigenouness rather than being appreciated for their cultural significance.

In the genre of the sexually available indigenous woman it is often the case that the gaze of the sitter is averted. This facilitates unhindered voyeurism: the audience can look without being observed. In this photograph, the opposite is the case. The girl is looking directly at her audience. Eye contact might be interpreted in many ways, for example as

⁴ Traditionally, Māori cloaks are either made out of flax fibers decorated with tassels (*korowai* style), cabbage tree leaf fiber (*kahu toi* style, only worn by high status warriors), or leaf strips attached to a woven foundation (*pake* style, used as a raincoat). A fourth style of cloak that was key in traditional Māori garb is the *kahu-kuri* cloak, made from skins of *kuri*, a Pacific dog breed. These cloaks were extremely valuable and often had their own genealogies or *whakapapa* (Te Papa Tongarewa, 2020a). They communicated chiefly status. When the *kuri* died out in the mid-eighteenth century, the Māori adapted and developed the *kahu koati*, goat-skin cloak. From the second half of the nineteenth century the feathered cloak (*kahu huruhuru*) gained popularity, quickly coming to indicate great prestige (Tamarapa and Wallace, 2013b).

openness, pride, or provocation. In this instance, her eye contact fits with the openness ascribed to the ‘sexually free’ exotic ‘other’: instead of demurely averting her gaze, the sitter meets her audience’s gaze and answers with her own. Her personality cannot be denied: she is there and she is present. There is an ambivalence here of sensual provocation, a stereotype framed by her photographer and contributing to a message furthering the colonial project, and her own agency: she is looking back, holding the audience accountable and preventing (total) objectification. The narrative portrayed here and in other examples of the corpus Sturma (2002) called the myth of the *South Sea Maiden*. This exotic and alluring type presented a space to the Western imagination where the existing boundaries between the sexes were not as stringent and might be transgressed and/or relaxed (Sturma, 2002). Others have called the trope the *Māori Belle* (Thode-Arora, 2018), or the *Māori Maiden* (Amoamo, 2007).

Other photographs in the corpus appear to show similar points of attention. In multiple instances the traditional cloaks and clothing are featured prominently, sometimes worn in combination with Victorian or Edwardian clothing. Generally speaking, one can see a tendency for the models in our photographs to wear covering clothing. In this particular corpus we can find one exception. This image shows two young women, hair tied back, leaning against a wooden fence looking out towards a point off-camera while wearing skirts only (B.2/2006: 35). The photograph was taken around 1870 and is attributed to Herbert Deveril (1840-1911). Graham-Stewart and Gow relate how Herbert Deveril’s photographs were used in the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition (2006: 35). According to the British Museum, prints included Rotomahana landscapes and portraits of Maori (British Museum, 2020). I could not confirm if this particular picture was showcased.

Nudity was transgressive for Victorians, but the demand for this sort of photograph in Britain was high (Graham-Stewart and Gow, 2006: 34). In supposing nudity to be part of the ‘otherness’ projected onto these girls and the Māori more broadly, their nudity became acceptable to behold, though still a spectacle and considered a sign of a lack of civilization. Not only are the girls half naked, they are also standing idly and comfortably together.

In order to analyze this picture, some further historical background needs to be provided. By 1870 New Zealand was in a financial depression, due to wool prices going down and gold production being in decline. In order to combat the economic malaise, Colonial Treasurer Julius Vogel tried to attract more immigrants to the country. He instigated the Immigration and Public Works Act 1870 (Philips, 2005). An office in London was created

where the so-called agent general worked to stimulate immigration proposals. The potential new immigrants were not immediately keen to emigrate. New Zealand's climate, its "natives", the New Zealand Wars, and the high costs and dangers of the journey had a negative influence on the reputation of New Zealand as a prospective new homeland (Philips, 2005). Isaac Featherston, the agent general, broadened his attention to include Scandinavia and Germany. After a few years the promotional work started paying off and immigrants from England, Scotland, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia started coming to New Zealand in increasing numbers, with a peak in numbers in 1874. In that year, 38.000 people immigrated to New Zealand, which remained the biggest annual addition to the country's population through immigration until 2002 (Philips, 2005). The immigrants were meant to start working on railroads, roads and in farming. The land that had been confiscated during the New Zealand Wars and additional land that was purchased from Māori was made available for the new migrants "to engender social order and 'British civilisation' (Philips, 2005).

Returning to the picture at hand, it seems hard to conceive that this romantic and calm scene is taking place in the same country. One term that is often connected to such idealized images is called 'Maoriland'. Erai notes how this "wistful" image was a "saccharine fantasy in which Māori warriors in heroic attitudes and Māori maidens in seductive ones inhabited outmoded Victorian forms, while at the same time the business of settlement sidelined and dispossessed actual Maori" (2020, 94). Associations of the Māori with nature, freedom, and the absence of restrictive societal norms furthered the contrast with the England of/after the Industrial Revolution. Additionally this framing added to an understanding of the Māori 'way of life' which emphasized difference to such an extent that integration in the 'new world' seemed almost impossible. Idyllic images such as the photograph here served to highlight an innocent, carefree, non-capitalist, primitive way of life that was quickly expected to disappear.

In the book *The Aryan Māori* published in 1885 the author Edward Tregear claimed that the Māori were "of pure Aryan descent" (Belich, 2011). Oesterreich notes that this positive idealization of the Māori came precisely at a time when "they had indeed ceased to represent a political danger to the colony of New Zealand, and were ideologically seen as a 'dying race', and without future prospects in their own land" (Oesterreich, 2018: 8). Now that the Māori no longer posed an immediate threat to power, colonial power could afford to allow positive ideas about the Māori to circulate. In 1884, one year before the publication of *The Aryan Maori*, the New Zealand Times published the following:

"There is no native difficulty, and there never can be a native difficulty. All the

proudest tribes are humbled in the dus[t] [...] The Maoris know as well as we do the rate at which they are approaching extinction. Anything like an organised opposition on their part is out of the question. A little talk, a little negotiation, and every native difficulty will disappear like the morning mist. This dying race should be tenderly treated. We, the strong, able to crush, should be kind to our brave but vanquished foe. [...] Dr Ballet quotes the words uttered by Dr Featherston just eight and twenty years ago: “The Maoris are dying out, and nothing can save them. Our plain duty as good, compassionate colonists *is to smooth down their dying pillow*. Then history will have nothing to reproach us with.” That this is our duty we know, and we hope that in future harsh treatment will be replaced by kindness.” (New Zealand Times, 1884, *sic*)

The sentiments displayed in the article show how at least parts of Pākehā society at the time looked at the Māori population: pity and vindication mixed with a form of (condescending) respect. In the same article it is stated that “indeed the most precious evangel for the Māori is to be taught habits of steady industry, as the only hope for the preservation of the race.” Comparing this with the photograph at hand, it becomes clear that this image is painting a picture of Māori life that is not feasible for survival. Instead, this photograph showing leisurely relaxation appears to commemorate a rapidly disappearing way of life. A way of life sweet enough to soothe the worries of potential immigrants, but keenly designated to the past none the less.

Men in *Out of Time*

We will now be shifting our attention to two photographs showing young Māori men. The first picture was taken around 1860 and is attributed to John Crombie (1827-1878). This Scottish photographer emigrated to Australia in 1852 during the goldrush and came to New Zealand in 1855. He opened a photography studio in Auckland shortly thereafter. The photograph shows a Māori man sitting against an even background (B.3/ 2006: 23). His hair is short, and he is wearing a dark loose European style suit which is buttoned closed up to his throat. His neck is covered by a white collar. His *moko* is clearly visible on his face, and he is looking off to the left side of the photograph. He is holding a piece of white bunched up fabric in his right hand, and a pipe in his left. He appears to be thinking, with the pipe stopped halfway through its trajectory to his mouth.

Looking at the historical context of this photograph, it must be noted that the Taranaki War, one of the most important conflicts of the New Zealand Wars, started around the time

this photograph was taken.⁵ Disputes had been brewing pertaining to landownership, with Māori increasingly resisting land sales and settlers arguing that the colonial government did not do enough to protect settler interests (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2014).⁶ The first armed conflict of the war broke out in 1860 in Taranaki, and further conflicts took place throughout New Zealand, especially in the North Island, over the next decade. Relations between settlers and Māori were already tense and now worsened still (*ibid.*). In 1865 the Daily Southern Cross published an opinion-piece titled “Māori and Gentlemen”, posing the two categories as mutually exclusive:

“The Maori, however educated, whatever may be his natural amiability of disposition, or how frequent and friendly soever his intercourse with Europeans, is a Māori still. He is unchanged. He has received a kind of rough polish, which only deceives the unobservant ; but beneath this varnish lies a cunning, scheming, deceitful savage. [...] although they ceded one-fourth of their land to the Government and sold to the Crown the remainder, they are patriotically re-selling to private individuals the ceded portion. Māori gentlemen, indeed! [...] We have one word to say in conclusion, and it is this, that articles such as that which we have quoted from the Press, written in entire ignorance of native character, and exaggerating in an extravagant degree any little virtue they possess and any shortcoming on the part of the authorities, are calculated to do a world of evil, and to prolong the struggle, and increase the hostility of the two contending races, in the North Island” (Daily Southern Cross, 1865, *sic*)

The sentiments expressed in this piece reiterate the negative view of the Māori and how these negative attitudes were connected to the struggle in the North Island and the disputes over land ownership. According to the writer of this piece, any positive assessment of Māori people would help to prolong the struggle. The photograph in question holds an ambivalent space in this debate. It might be argued that its framing serves to support a narrative of ‘civilisation’ of the ‘savage’, with his *moko* signifying otherness to a Western-European

⁵ There were constant wars and conflicts happening in the years up to this time, such as the Musket Wars and the Northern War (approx. 1810-1840). The 1850’s were a time of “uneasy peace” (Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2019). By 1858 there were more settlers than Māori in New Zealand, which increased tensions and pressures on Māori land (*ibid.*).

⁶ “The New Zealand Company argued that the recognition of Māori land rights contained in Article Two of the Treaty should be restricted to ‘a few patches of potato-ground, and rude dwelling places’. It dismissed the Treaty as ‘a praiseworthy device for amusing and pacifying savages for the moment’. There was some support for this view in London, but missionaries and Crown officials in New Zealand did not agree.” (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2016). The New Zealand Company was a company shipping colonists from Europe. They sold the immigrants land which they themselves bought cheaply, and used the earnings to provide subsidized passage to laborer-immigrants. They were dissolved in 1858 due to financial difficulties.

audience and the suit and the pipe signifying sameness and assimilation. At the time, Europeans were very interested in the practice of *moko*. Due to the Western perception of the Māori as a “warrior society”, they tended to interpret the *moko* as indication of social status and warrior prowess (Higgins, 2013). According to Higgins this association was not entirely correct, since some people of extremely high rank could not wear the *moko* due to their “extreme tapu”, meaning that they were too sacred to be tattooed (Higgins, 2013). The *moko* on the face of the sitter in the photograph might then have also been interpreted as warrior-esque, contrasting starkly with the European suit. Māori people often wore English-style clothing at the time already, sometimes combined with more traditional Māori garb. Kuchler and Were note that from the mid-nineteenth century missionaries encouraged the wearing of European style clothes (2005: 76). They pose that European dress, due to its covering and somewhat restricting nature, might arguably be conceived as “a form of body modification that inculcated certain Christian ideals of bodily concealment and psychological and sexual inhibition, in line with understandings of moral righteousness and purity” (2005: 76). At the same time, the *moko* on the sitter show a clear belonging within Māori cultural practice. Two cultures are clearly expressed, existing together on the same person.

This photograph coincides with a period of government that strove for assimilation. Between 1845 and 1853 and between 1861 and 1868 the Governor of New Zealand was George Grey, who believed that the best way forward for New Zealand race relations was adopting a racial amalgamation and cultural assimilation approach. He aimed for the gradual but sure “destruction” of the indigenous culture in the process (Gump, 1998: 90). Before Grey, a separationist policy was favoured, which was meant to “protect indigenous peoples from the effects of white expansion” and to help prevent tensions and conflict (*ibid*: 93). Grey on the other hand argued that introduction to and absorption into Western cultural practice and employment and teaching Christian values could help the Māori survive the nineteenth century as well as further stabilize colonial rule and custom (*ibid*: 93). Even after Grey had resigned as Governor the colonial government still maintained the “amalgamation” policies. Gump rightly points out how these policies, though they appear to imply at least some sort of respect for both cultures, in practice aimed for the Māori to “capitulate wholeheartedly” to colonial rule, which was, unsurprisingly, met with resistance (*ibid*: 106). The photograph at hand can be productively placed in this historical context to illustrate how these policies were effective to a certain extent, how they were showcased, and how an audience might have interpreted the photo in its own contemporary context.

This picture stands in stark contrast with another photograph depicting a Maori man in the corpus. This image shows the man standing in front of Tama-Te-Kapua in Ohinemutu (B.4 / 2006: 97). The photograph is titled “Whakaronu (Guard)”, and is part of a set of pictures taken in 1905. Others images in the set were titled “The Challenge” and “Defiance”. The photographs were sold as postcards. The photographer, Thomas Pringle (1858-1931), worked for the Tourist Department, working to “capture [...] Māori life throughout the country” (McLure, 2004: 57 via Graham-Stewart and Gow, 2006, 97). The man in the photograph is wearing a *piupiu*, which is a garment made of flax fibers that are dried and attached to a woven or plaited band. It can be worn either across one shoulder or as a skirt. The person in the photo is wearing it as a skirt. Under the *piupiu*, the man is wearing a shorter white piece of clothing, possibly shorts. The man is holding a *taiaha*, which is a traditional Māori weapon. He is lifting the *taiaha*, looking at the camera while holding it, but he is not actively demonstrating its use. The photograph calls to mind associations of Māori culture with war, warriors, and wildness. Bell relates how there was quite a demand from Europeans for photographs of Māori men holding weapons, and how this type of photographs fed into the stereotype of the Māori as “fearless fighters” (Bell, 1992). He further notes how this stereotype had both positive and negative connotations: painting the Māori as brave and noble warriors fit into the narrative of the Māori as the ‘Aryans’ of the Southern hemisphere and added to the romance of their image. Painting Māori as bloodthirsty people fighting for the fun of it, on the other hand, fit into the narrative of the Māori as barbarians and savages (Bell, 1992). This “dualistic view” “coexisted quite happily in the minds of Europeans” (Bell, 1992: 205). It bears noting that the man in this image does not look very intimidating, he looks relaxed and non-threatening. His weaponry, a traditional *taiaha*, calls to mind images of times gone by. Pringle did not ask the man to pose with a gun, though Māori had incorporated guns into their warfare from the beginnings of contact with Europeans. The trope of the Māori warrior that we can see depicted here, then, calls to mind images of the trope of the noble savage, belonging to the past rather than the future.

Another photograph in the corpus shows an old man sitting in nature (B.5/2006: 79). The photograph is titled “Last of the race Matene Korako Wera. Ote Hapu Ngatimamoe” and is attributed to Thomas Muir (ca. 1852-1945). It was taken around 1895. The photograph is additionally inscribed with “Died Sept. 21 1896 Aged 120”. The man in the photograph is looking at the camera, looking very aged. This impression is emphasized by the title and the subscript inscribed on the photograph. As we have seen exemplified in the 1884 New Zealand

Times article quoted earlier, the idea of the Māori as a dying race had social currency at the time. Thode-Arora also refers to this tendency, remarking how many Pākehā considered Māori culture to be “practically bygone” (2018: 12). Social Darwinism was popular at the time, a racist school of thought that posed that the elimination of indigenous races was inevitable when faced with white society. The *dying race* narrative is reiterated also in this photograph. Notably, the old man is situated in nature, positioning him as part of the landscape. This landscape appears to be untouched, not yet cultivated or altered by the settlers or anyone else. A sense of purity might be argued to be conveyed here, mixed with a sense of awe at the age of the sitter. The age of the man in combination with the untouched lands shows the audience a glimpse of ‘the way things were’, a picture of a past that was soon to disappear.

Conclusion

In this limited though detailed initial analysis of *Out of Time*, we have already seen multiple themes arise in the depiction of Māori photographic subjects during these parts of the colonial era. It should be noted that the New Zealand Māori were (and are) not a uniform body of people. Rather, the Māori population of New Zealand had allegiances, conflicts, and specific cultural practices between *iwi* (tribes consisting of different *hapū*) and/or *hapū* (groups consisting of multiple *whanau*, families). We cannot see this nuanced reality reflected in this corpus, with Māori portraits pretending to portray a general version of Māori culture rather than specificity. Tropes of the *Māori Belle*, the Māori as *Dying Race*, and the *Māori Warrior* can be seen emerging from the corpus. The search for the exotic seems to have been part of the colonial project, with radical otherness justifying racially motivated politics of assimilation and repression. The photographs in this corpus were all taken by photographers of European, even British, descent. Arguably, these photographs could be positioned as early examples of the tourist gaze as proposed by Urry (1990), in that the photographers searched for photographic opportunities within a very specific framework of exoticism and a search for difference.

Chapter Two: *Before They Pass Away*

Introduction

The second corpus to be analyzed in this thesis titled *Before They Pass Away* was published in 2013. The book is a collection of 402 (color) photographs by Jimmy Nelson of indigenous tribes around the world. The publisher of the book teNeues describes it as follows:

“Jimmy Nelson captures the lives and traditions of the last surviving tribes who have managed to preserve their traditional ways and customs within our increasingly globalized world. The British photographer’s epic portraits present these dignified inheritors of noble and age-old traditions in a proud spirit and in all their glory—a unique visual experience. This exquisitely photographed showcase for world tribal culture is not only a joy to look at, but also an important historical record. This book reveals the wide variety of human experiences and cultural expressions across the ages [...] This historic volume showcases tribal cultures around the world. With globalization, these societies are to be prized for their distinctive lifestyles, art and traditions. They live in close harmony with nature, now a rarity in our modern era. Jimmy Nelson not only presents us with stunning images of customs and artifacts, but also offers insightful portraits of people who are the guardians of a culture that they—and we—hope will be passed on to future generations in all its glory. Nelson’s large-plate field camera captures every intricate detail and fine nuance for posterity. What’s more, this splendid pageantry is set against a vivid backdrop of some of the world’s most pristine landscapes.” (teNeues)

The Independent headlined an article on the book, relating how Jimmy Nelson chose an “unashamedly glamorous style” in his photographs of indigenous peoples to combat the often “patronizing” way in which they have been documented in the past (Merill, 2014). He felt that often indigenous peoples had been photographed without their consent and not at their best, and how he wanted to shift the narrative to show them in a glamorous light, when they are “most proud of themselves” (Siebelink, 2018). Nelson re-iterates the staged nature of his pictures in multiple instances, seemingly contrasting with the publisher’s statement which emphasizes the value of the photographs as historical record. His motivation is to “iconize fragile and remote, disappearing cultures and tribes, and put them on a pedestal” (Cragger, 2015). On the one hand Nelson appears to have wanted to create an “irreplaceable ethnographic record of a fast disappearing world” (Mosbergen, 2017, quoting Nelson’s own website; the text on there has since been deleted/moved) while at the same time aggrandizing

against the label of anthropologist or photojournalist, instead arguing that he is creating “art as a cultural statement” (Seymour, 2019). Nelson said that “his pictures [...] are celebratory, and intended to be aesthetic rather than factual. “There is no sociology, no statistics. It’s how I see the world.” (Vidal, 2014).

Additionally, he told CNN that his photography of indigenous peoples served as a “form of self-therapy” after traumatizing childhood experiences with sexual abuse at school (Seymour, 2019). In an interview with National Geographic, Nelson stated that “you can only love yourself or understand yourself if you understand the other well. I have used the other as a mirror” (Bunskoek, 2018, my translation). It appears that Nelson is quite literally using the Other to define his own sense of self. He also hopes to strengthen the sense of self and self-worth for the indigenous peoples and cultures he photographs (Jimmy Nelson Website, 2020b). The Guardian reported that Nelson has been open about his policy of not paying his models (Vidal, 2014). His books and posters, however, often sell for multiple thousand euros with, for example, a signed copy of *Before They Pass Away* at Babooka Leiden selling for 6.500 EUR (Babooka, 2020).⁷ Vidal (2014) quotes a price of up to 45.000 GBP (each) for prints of the portraits.

Nelson links his work to that of Edward Curtis, an American photographer focusing on photographing Native Americans at the beginning of the twentieth century. According to Survival International, an organization fighting for rights, respect and recognition of contemporaneity for tribal peoples, Curtis’ work framed Native Americans as a “Vanishing Race”. They add that this framing took place “at a time when the US government was still actively driving them off their land” (Survival International, 2015). The link with Nelson’s work is easily made. Nelson argues that the indigenous cultures photographed for this book are in danger of disappearing due to globalization and technology. He is of the opinion that these tribal peoples will lose their ‘authenticity’ and disappear when confronted with modern technologies and interconnectedness. He told the Huffington Post that he saw the indigenous

⁷ The book is sold on the website accompanied by the following text: “The purity of humanity exists. It is there in the mountains, the ice fields, the jungle, along the rivers and in the valleys. Jimmy Nelson found the last tribesmen and observed them. [...] He smiled and drank their mysterious brews before taking out his camera. He shared what real people share: vibrations, invisible but palpable. He adjusted his antenna to the same frequency as theirs. As trust grew, a shared understanding of the mission developed: the world must never forget the way things were” (Babooka, 2020). The narrative communicated here strongly exoticizes the groups Nelson has visited. There almost seems to be a hint of magic associated with the groups, as seen in the phrase “mysterious brews” and the talk of “vibrations, invisible but palpable”. Additionally, the last sentence refers to the cultures Nelson visited as being part of “the way things were” rather than the way things are and will continue to be, confirming the narrative of impending doom (reminiscent of the *dying race* narrative) and nostalgia to better times in an imagined past.

tribes as “the last bastion of human purity and authenticity”, and that Nelson “felt compelled to document the final gasps of these remote cultures” (Mosbergen, 2017). In reaction to this, Tim McLaughlin commented “[w]ith his talk of “the last authentics” and “pure sources,” one almost expects Nelson to start talking about eugenics” (2014).

From these different avenues of communication surrounding the book and Jimmy Nelson’s photography more broadly, a few dominant narratives are already distinguishable. Márquez (2014) distinguished two narratives existing simultaneously in the corpus and its accompanying texts. On the one hand, he sees a narrative of difference through exoticization, on the other he sees a narrative of sameness through “naturalization” of the tribes (2014: 2). The latter narrative is the idea that all humans are, in a sense, the same: human nature binds us all. Barthes calls this the “Myth of the Human Community” (1957). Márquez notes how Diderot, a French philosopher of the Enlightenment, “saw “civilisation” and “society” as a depravity of human nature (Tinguely, 2006), so “savages” must be a purest form of humanity and closest to the essence of all human being” (2014: 5). The similarity with Nelson’s view on his photographic subjects is clear, with his emphasis on the disappearance of the way of life that he sees as “the last bastions of human purity” (Mosbergen, 2017).

I would like to point out, additionally, how Nelson is consistent in his framing of the peoples he photographs as at the point of dying out, fading away, merging with Western civilization, or other narrative framings of the same process of coming to an end. The ‘true’ cultures that Nelson seems to envision as ‘authentic’ appear to be a type of ‘pure’ culture that have not known any influence of Western culture whatsoever. This idea supports a very stagnant concept of culture, leaving no room for development through time, and instead arguing for an essentialist view of what these Indigenous cultures *are* and forever *should be*.⁸ He is nostalgic for ‘the way things were’. This type of mourning, present in the entirety of the Nelson corpus, is reminiscent of a type of nostalgia Renato Rosaldo coined ‘imperialist nostalgia’ (1993). He typifies this nostalgia as follows: [the tendency amongst agents of colonial power to exhibit] “nostalgia for the colonized culture as it was “traditionally” (that is, before they first encountered it) [...] The peculiarity of their yearning, of course, is that

⁸ McLaughlin (2014) relates the following anecdote showing at least one of the difficulties caused by such a narrative on authenticity: “In his 2003 Massey Lecture, “The Truth About Stories” author Thomas King talks about the difficulty in presenting himself as a North American native when speaking publically. In particular, if he dressed as a native and spoke as a native he was seen as “entertainment.” Interesting, but not to be taken too seriously. If, on the other hand, he dressed as a white (western suit and tie) and reasoned like a white he was no longer either authentic or native and had no authority to speak on behalf of first nations. There is no escape from the authenticity trap”.

agents of colonialism long for the very forms of life they intentionally altered or destroyed” (Rosaldo, 1993: 69).

Furthermore, Nelson consistently frames the peoples in his work as being far away. Márquez notes how his “localisations show a Eurocentric representation (conscious or unconscious) of the rare “tribes” at “world’s end”. (Márquez, 2014: 4). In his accompanying text on New Zealand, Nelson also emphasizes how far away the country is: “New Zealand is about as far off as it gets” and, as highlighted text on his website: “New Zealand isn’t just on the edge of the world. It’s also on the edge of time.” (Jimmy Nelson Website, 2020c). The distance between the supposed audience and the people in the photographs could not be bigger, it seems.

Overview and quantitative preparatory analysis

Nelson published thirteen photographs of the Māori in *Before They Pass Away*. Most images are accompanied with a short text providing information on Māori history and culture, while others only have their title and no accompanying text.

Amount of people in the photographs

<i>One person</i>	9
<i>Two people</i>	1
<i>Three people</i>	0
<i>Four or more people</i>	4

Focus of photographs

Photographs with one or two people	[10]
<i>Children</i>	1
<i>Young woman</i>	2
<i>Young man</i>	4
<i>Older woman</i>	1
<i>Older man</i>	1
Photographs with three or more people	[3]
<i>Group</i>	3
<i>Children</i>	1
<i>Nature focus</i>	3

Photographs showing no people

[0]

Qualitative analysis

In analyzing the photos of the Māori in this corpus, I have selected representational examples which can be found in Appendix C. I will also be referring to the titles of the work for ease of access.

Women in *Before They Pass Away*

The first picture I have selected bears a remarkable resemblance to the portrait of the Māori woman by Arthur Iles (taken around 1905) which I analyzed in the previous chapter (B.1). In order to avoid repetitive analysis, I will keep my analysis of this version of the photograph relatively short. Titled *Rauwhiri Whinitana Paki, Maori, Taupo Village, North Island, New Zealand, 2011*, the photograph shows a young woman sitting in front of a dark background, looking straight at the camera (C.1). The girl is not smiling, has straight hair that is falling loosely around her shoulders, and she is wearing a *kahu huruhuru*, a feathered cloak, covering one shoulder and leaving the other bare. She is wearing a necklace with a white pendant, possibly carved from bone. She is wearing a feather from the *huia* bird in her hair, which is hanging down in her hair. This feather is the only addition to the photo that is not present in the 1905 Iles photograph. The almost eerie similarity might indicate that Nelson was aware of the existence of the Iles photograph and was deliberately trying to recreate the 1905 photograph. This does not exactly fit the narrative that Nelson projected when he said that he wanted to photograph indigenous peoples in a glamorous way in a break from the tradition of photographing indigenous groups in less than flattering ways. Alternatively, the similarity might be argued to show the historically embedded nature of Jimmy Nelson's "glamorous" photography. I argue that this similarity also indicates how his over-all vision of indigeneity and representational choices for his photographic subjects do not exist in a vacuum: they communicate a message which is historically and politically embedded. The connotations of both photographs will be different. The sensual notes that I analyzed in the Iles photograph might be less present in the modern photograph, for example, since Western attitudes towards showing skin have changed somewhat over the years. It is interesting, however, that Nelson chose to include this particular image as one of two portraits of women in the corpus. The idea of the *Maori Maiden / South Sea Maiden* returns here, a theme that appears to have survived and moved into the twenty-first century regardless of our shift in perspective on showing skin.

The one other woman photographed in an individual portrait is a mature woman of bigger stature, wearing traditional clothing and bone-white hair accessories adorned with intricate carvings (C.2./ *Connie Adam, Maori, Bay of Islands, North Island, New Zealand, 2011*). She is also wearing *ta moko* on her chin. She is wearing three *poi* (balls on a string used in the traditional *poi* dancing) around her waist. The text that accompanies this picture references the practice of *moko* and alleges that “people of high social status were always tattooed, whereas indigenous men with no tattoos were considered worthless”. We saw earlier on that this statement is not necessarily true and that the practice of *moko* was rather more nuanced. No older women have been given a place in the selection of photographs for *Before They Pass Away*.

Men in *Before They Pass Away*

Turning to the representation of men in the corpus, I would like to highlight a portrait of a young man sitting in front of a dark background (C.3 / *Maori, Gisborne Festival, North Island, New Zealand, 2011*). The man is looking off to the side. In his hair, which he is wearing in dreadlocks, he is sporting two *huia* feathers, stuck in so that they stand up straight. He is wearing a feathered cloak draped across his shoulders like a cape. Additionally, he is wearing a necklace with black beads that are interspersed with white bigger ornaments, possibly bone. At the bottom of the photograph we can just see a *taniko* woven border of his skirt. His chest is bare. The skin on his face is covered with *moko* patterns. The accompanying text gives the reader more information on the “haka war dance”. The text gives the impression that the *kapa haka* is *only* a war dance, while it is actually a type of dance accompanied by song that might be applied to many situations such as a welcome, a funeral, a wedding, and so forth (Smith, 2014). The text next to the photograph strengthens the warlike impression the man in the photograph conveys. He looks fierce, powerful, and proud. The other portraits of men in the corpus appear to convey similar narratives.

Contrasting this portrait to the 1860 photograph analyzed in the previous chapter (B.3) shows a distinct difference in emphasis. Nelson has chosen to represent Māori masculinity as bare-chested, fierce, proud, and intimidating. The pose of the 1860 man and the man photographed by Nelson is similar, with both men looking off into the distance. Both look proud, both are wearing the *moko*. In Nelson’s image, however, the association of Māori is with war and aggression, especially combined with the text on the *haka*. The 1860 photograph, conversely, appears to convey a message of assimilation/adaptation of Māori culture into English society. Other portraits of men in the Nelson corpus highlight different aspects of (Nelson’s idea of)

Māori masculinity, with portraits for example showing an old and dignified looking man and a young boy with his arms crossed, giving off an obstinate impression. Another portrait features a young man, bare chested, wearing a short feathered band around his shoulders and two *huia* feathers in his hair, looking into the lens (C.4. / *Paora Mano, Maori, Bay of Islands, North Island, New Zealand, 2011*). In addition to the *moko* he is also wearing smeared out kohl around his eyes, giving the impression of haphazardly applied grime. All of the men have bare chests, though some are (partly) covered with traditional cloaks. He is looking into the camera with his head slightly rotated to the side, spotting the audience from the corner of his eyes. The strength and power communicated through the image, called up by having the sitter pose as warrior and wearing warlike grime as well as showing a strong looking nude body, conveys a message of hyper-masculinity. Márquez connects these narratives in Nelson's images with the "stereotypical image of the savage in the 18th century: wild, natural, aggressive and strange" (2014: 3). He concludes by saying that in this way the "stereotype of the 'tribe' is [...] reinforced" (2014: 4). In a review of *Before They Pass Away*, Kiwi blogger Scott Hamilton wrote that "[a]ny New Zealander who looks at one of the portraits of Maori included in Nelson's book will immediately recognise the absurdity of the photographer's project. Like a Victorian-era painter, Nelson has dressed Maori up in 'traditional costumes' and portrayed them in front of a pristine piece of forest. Looking at Nelson's photograph, we would never guess that Maori drive cars, earn cash, run political parties, record hip hop albums in their native language, and generally inhabit the world of the twenty-first century" (2013).

Groups in Before They Pass Away

Next we will turn our attention to the group photographs in the corpus. All of these images are situated in a natural environment. The first is a picture of two young women in traditional cloaks, holding *taiaha* while looking at the camera (C.5 / *Noel Pearse, Dominique Per, Maori, Huka Falls, North Island, New Zealand, 2011*). They are standing in (front of) a waterfall, surrounded by moss covered rocks and tree branches. They are wearing their hair down and are looking fiercely at the camera, head held high. They look intimidating with their weapons held firmly across their bodies and standing in power poses. Márquez analyzed this particular photograph in his article as well, emphasizing the "defiant attitude" of the women (2014: 3). Again, he argues that it is this type of picture that reinforces the stereotype of the 'tribe' (2014:4).

Nelson has chosen to situate all his group portraits in a natural environment rather than

in front of houses or other human-made structures. This particular photograph was taken in front of a waterfall. Another photograph shows five children sitting on horseback, with two children sharing one while the others each have their own (C.6./ *Stephen Brown, Bully Cooper, Christian Kerei, Seldom Torrey, Daman Bellany, Maori, Taupo Village, North Island, New Zealand, 2011*). The horses and the children are posing on a beach, near the waterline. The children are half naked, wearing swimming trunks or something similar. The beach is very rocky with only small patches of sand visible, and the waves can be seen crashing in the background. A big piece of white driftwood is visible in the center-front of the picture. According to the accompanying text, the picture is taken at or near “Taupo Village”. Taupo is a town in the North Island, located inland and situated on the edge of a big volcanic lake. The term “village” is not usually applied to the town, which is the biggest in the Taupo region. It appears that Nelson chose this term himself. It communicates a different message from its (more accurate) alternatives “Taupo” or “Taupo Town”, emphasizing smallness and rurality.

Another group photograph was also taken in (front of) a waterfall (C.7/ *Eru, Hone Mikaka, Erena Mikaka, Robert, Tani Mikaka, Eru, Te Aroha Mikaka, Sky Bay of Islands, Haruru Falls, North Island, New Zealand, 2011*). The last group photograph of the corpus was taken on the beach, also picturing a *waka* (traditional canoe) (C.8. / *Eru, Hone Mikaka, Sky Bay of Islands, North Island, New Zealand, 2011*). There are four men in this photo, three adults and one child, all holding traditional weapons and wearing traditional garb. Two of the men are tattooed with *moko* designs on their bodies, though none have facial *moko*. Though much might be said about the gendered aspects of the messages conveyed in these photographs, I want to focus on the role of the natural landscape in these particular images. Landscape matters, according to Liz Wells (2011), and Mitchell (2002) argues that “landscape” is verb rather than a noun: ‘to landscape’ is an action, involving active choice on the part of either the actor(s) shaping the landscape or on the part of the actor(s) framing and representing the landscape. Wells urges us to think about the implications of the role of photography as making things knowable, “helping culture to appropriate nature” (2011: 3). Placing his models in these wild, seemingly unmodified places enforces the narrative chosen by Nelson of indigenusness and purity (with its connotations of untouched-ness) and indigenusness as intimately connected with closeness to nature. There appears to be a sort of nostalgia emanating from Nelson’s framing of indigenous cultures, including Māori culture. He laments the imminent loss of this “purer” way of life, wherein the people are closer to nature and

closer to their own selves. Modernity is framed as being (further) removed from nature, and Nelson's work might constitute a (premature) nostalgic fantasy of the connection to nature which is, according to the title of the book, soon to die out. It is not a coincidence that teNeues mentions the "close harmony with nature" these people live in, and that they frame this way of life as "a rarity in our modern era". The theme of imperialist nostalgia returns here, with Western 'modernity' seen as the cause of death of Indigenous cultures, and Nelson using a key product of said modernity, his camera, to express his nostalgia for (an imagined version of) better times when the cultures were still 'pure'.

Conclusion

Jimmy Nelson's personal assistant Hannelore Vandenbussche, who traveled with him on his shoots, has written a book in which she elaborates on the "stories behind the pictures" (2015). Speaking about the photographs of the Māori Vandenbussche noted how Jimmy Nelson was "diligently shooting portraits of tough men, gorgeous women and innocent children's faces (*litt: kindersnoetjes*)" (2015: 106, my translation). The framing of Māori culture is clear: (hyper-) masculine men, beautiful and attractive women, and innocent children. Innocence as a theme connects to the framing of Māori people (and indigenous people more generally) in this corpus as untouched by the woes of modernity. Some might argue that this framing should be considered positive. The men and women portrayed look powerful and strong. The pride in their culture can practically be heard through the photographs. The difficulty with Nelson's framing lies not within this part of the narrative *per se*. Rather, it has to do with the overarching narrative of impending doom and disappearance, tinged with nostalgia for an idealized past. Shooting these shots and then publishing them under the title *Before They Pass Away* calls to mind the piece I quoted in the previous chapter, published in the New Zealand Times in 1884: "The Maoris are dying out, and nothing can save them. Our plain duty as good, compassionate colonists is to smooth down their dying pillow. Then history will have nothing to reproach us with."

Though Nelson is quick to deny that his title refers to people dying and instead insists that he is speaking of cultures passing away, this framing is only marginally less troubling. It appears as if the way to "save" these cultures is to take photographs. Nelson is framing his photographs as a way of capturing the glory of days gone by, essentializing and exoticizing Māori culture in the process. Stephen Curry, director of Survival International, wrote the following: "supposedly they can be "saved" by being photographed or filmed. It suggests that their "passing" is both natural and an inevitable result of history, to be mourned perhaps, but

not opposed. Why bother? [...] In reality, many minority peoples, especially tribal ones, are not “disappearing”: they are being disappeared, through “our” illegal theft of their land and resources. [...] The criminal, often genocidal, treatment of many tribal peoples remains underpinned by a portrayal eliciting from us little more than wistful pangs of history lost. Nothing wrong with nostalgia of course, but there’s a lot wrong with presenting crimes against humanity as just another historical inevitability, as natural and unstoppable as Canute’s rising tide.” (Curry, 2014). Curry’s piece for Truthout was met with skepticism by Nelson, who told the Guardian that he thinks Survival International has a “hidden agenda”, but would not elaborate on what he meant by this statement (Vidal, 2014).

As we have seen throughout this analysis, Nelson’s work is a prime example of imagery that works to exoticize Indigenous cultures, including Māori culture. Nelson’s aim in this work was literally to capture the most distinctly *other* cultures he could find, emphasizing difference throughout the work. The search for the exotic in this corpus takes place within a narrative of nostalgia and cultural essentialism, which emphasizes (a version of) pre-European Māori culture as *the* Māori culture and leaves little room for any developments that happened over the last 200 years.

Chapter Three: Instagram posts of Tamaki Māori Village

Introduction

Contemporary tourism practice in New Zealand often includes Māori culture as an attraction. This part of New Zealand tourism is especially dominant in the North Island. Rotorua, sometimes called the “Māori capital of New Zealand” in popular discourse, is an important hub for Māori cultural experiences. Though Māori culture functions as a core Unique Selling Point for New Zealand tourism marketers, the Māori Tourism Task Force expressed concerns in 1987 already regarding the representation of Māori culture in the tourism industry. They feared homogenization of the diversity in Māori tribal traditions and urged resistance of such oversimplifications (Māori Tourism Task Force, 1987, via Amoamo and Thompson, 2010: 41-42). Amoamo and Thompson (2010) looked at the ways in which “Māori encompass a wider set of subject positions than portrayed by tourism media and how such representation disrupts binaries of colonized/colonizer and traditional/modern” (2010: 36). They say that “tourism might act as a medium for offering postcolonial counter-narratives of resistance that reclaim cultural power and political discourse in the wider domain of indigenous representation” (2010: 36). Connecting their thesis to Bhabha’s idea of Third Space cultures (1994, 1996), they argue that new identities are being formed constantly in this contact zone: hybridity in identity and practices is the result. They recognize the oftentimes stereotypical and formulaic ways of representing Māori culture in tourism promotion, but note how many indigenous peoples have also, on the other hand, strived to formulate their own representational practices even within the tourism context. Amoamo and Thompson argue that this “stems from a desire to change perceptions of ways of seeing the ‘Other’ whilst also re-creating socially shared values in a cross-cultural context” (2010: 37). A crucial note to make here is also that “when every cultural agent (especially global capitalism) is mixing and matching forms, we need to be able to recognize strategic claims for localism or authenticity as possible sites of resistance and empowerment rather than of simple nativism” (Clifford, 1997: 183 via Amoamo and Thompson, 2010: 39). Māori tourism operators have been aiming to broadcast a more diverse image, reclaiming their history and place in the present in the process.

Tamaki Māori Village is a key cultural experience provider in Rotorua and nationwide that is very popular among visitors. In 2018 the *hangi* experience provided at Tamaki was voted the seventh best cultural experience in the world in the TripAdvisor Travellers’ Choice awards (Tourism Industry Aotearoa, 2020), and first in New Zealand experiences (NZ

Herald, 2018). The village employs over 120 staff members and has an annual turnover of more than 10 million NZD (Captive Audience, 2020). It was founded in 1989 by Doug and Mike Tamaki, two Māori brothers. The company started as a bus tour called Tamaki Tours Ltd, initially funded with the proceeds of the sale of Doug's Harley Davidson motorbike. Tamaki Heritage Group is still family owned and has branched out into other ventures as well (Captive Audience, 2020). They started a similar attraction in Christchurch, although this business was forced to close in the aftermath of the 2011 earthquake and the financial recession that followed in the region (NZ Herald, 2012).⁹ The company now mainly focuses on its successful business in Rotorua, where they provide cultural experiences to visitors from across the world in a replica of a pre-European Māori village. They also offer educational programmes to students at different levels. Subjects available are (for example) the Treaty of Waitangi, Māori arts, and (Pre-European) village life (Tamaki Website, 2020a). According to their website, their mission has always been “capturing the true essence and synergy of the Māori culture and helping it evolve [...] combining tradition and contemporary elements, honouring legends from the days of old and placing value to their worth and wisdom today.” (Tamaki Website, 2020b). They also reiterate a future-directed vision here, relating how Tamaki Māori Village is “where the past, present, and future of Māori culture thrives” (*ibid.*) They also stress the role the village has played in providing meaningful employment for many Māori in Rotorua. During its thirty years of history, Tamaki has become a “vehicle of exchange”, a place where Māori identities were (and are) strengthened and shown to global audiences (*ibid.*).

In *Tourism and Innovation*, Hall and Williams quote Tamaki Tours as example of Indigenous entrepreneurship (2008: 224-225), emphasizing how the venture was a family project from the start, and emphasizing how this organization is specifically a “Māori tourism business” not only in its products but also in its business model (Te Puni Kokiri, 2001: 116 as quoted in Hall and Williams, 2008: 225). Amoamo and Thompson note how within Māori tourism business, *kaupapa* is an important term. Literally meaning “guiding principle”, this term refers to “the ‘Māori way’ of doing things”, which “responds to epistemic challenges and the significance of retaining one’s cultural identity within the dynamics of globalization” (2010, 40). It appears that the directors of Tamaki Māori Village subscribe to this *kaupapa*

⁹ Here, they provided the *Lost in our own land* experience. This was a re-enactment of the colonization period, focusing especially on the losses suffered by the Māori population during this process, especially land loss and its concomitant unbalancing of Māori societies (Willis, 2014: Ch.5). This endeavor might be argued to be an excellent example of a re-negotiation of identities and touristic image of the Maori, and the creation of a ‘third space’ as theorized in Bhabha (1994, 1996).

and that they are experiencing great success because of it. Mike Tamaki, Co-Founder of Tamaki Māori Village, said: “Māori culture thrives today because it has continued to evolve, while holding steadfast to our customs and beliefs. Our ancestors carved a very distinct pathway for us to follow in to the future” (Tamaki Website, 2020b).

Overview and quantitative preparatory analysis

I will be taking the year 2018 as my year of reference for the Tamaki Māori Village Instagram. I choose this year in favor of 2020 due to the (potentially COVID-19 based) absence of posts and activity, with only one post contributed this year so far. Similarly, I have chosen 2018 over 2019 due to the general lack of posts in 2019 with two posts total. In 2018, Tamaki posted 34 times. One post was a video, the other 33 were photographs.

Amount of people in the photographs

<i>One person</i>	2
<i>Two people</i>	10
<i>Three people</i>	4
<i>Four or more people</i>	6

Focus of photographs

Photographs with one or two people	[12]
<i>Young woman</i>	2
<i>Young man</i>	10
<i>Mixed company (performers/visitors)</i>	10
Photographs with three or more people	[10]
<i>Cultural activity</i>	2
<i>Snapshot (not posed)</i>	1
<i>Mixed company (Maori/Guests)</i>	6
<i>Guests only</i>	1
Photographs showing no people	[11]
<i>Quotes from reviews</i>	9
<i>Nature</i>	1
<i>Waka</i>	1

From this initial survey of the photographs in this corpus, we can see a clear preference for photographs of men rather than women. Also, we can see that the performers are often shown posing together with the visitors. Out of 22 photographs showing people, 16 are photos where Māori performers are posing with tourists, with one picture showing only tourists and the remaining photographs showing only performers. All of the pictures where performers and tourists are posing together are reposts of tourists' posted on their own Instagram-pages, as well as the two individual portraits of performers. The corpus also includes a significant amount of photographs without people in it. The majority of this part of the corpus consists of quotes of reviews visitors left, for example: "We learnt, interacted and enjoyed their food and their beautiful culture. If you have a chance to go please do! – Kimberley Whittaker". The Tamaki Instagram had 3.121 followers at the time of writing. The intended audience for these posts is multi-layered. Most posts in this analysis will be reposts from other Instagram-accounts, meaning that the original posters first added the photographs to their private pages. The intended audience for this layer of the interaction depends on the individual poster, differing depending on the status of the individual Instagram-user. The user might be (for example) a travel- influencer with a relatively big audience, or they might be using their Instagram as a personal page, where the followers usually have a personal connection to the Instagram-user at hand. When Tamaki reposts the original, the intended audience changes. Tamaki appears to be using their Instagram for marketing purposes and community outreach, with messages aiming to sell their product to Instagram users. Six out of ten internet-users have Instagram, and 65% of Instagram users is between 18 and 34 years old. More than one billion Instagram-users are active on the platform at least once a month (Omnicores Agency, 2020). Tamaki Māori Village curates which Instagram-posts to repost, selecting the ones that fit their brand best. When reposting, the caption written to accompany the original post is preserved.

Qualitative analysis

I have included screenshots of the Instagram-page of Tamaki Māori Village in Appendix D. I refer to their position in the screenshot, referring to their row and their position. I have also noted their date of posting for ease of access.

Women in the Instagram corpus

There are not many pictures of female performers at work represented in the corpus. One photograph that was reposted by the account shows a young Māori woman wearing moko on her chin, the *moko kauae* (D.1: Row Two, Left / 27-11-2018). She is wearing traditional dress

(a *piupiu* and a woven top with traditional designs). Her hair is tied back, and decorated with two feathers. She is moving, her skirt is swishing around her, and she appears to be singing. Her arms are crossed in front of her body and she is holding *poi* in her hands. She is mid-movement with these *poi* as well. All in all, the photograph gives a dynamic impression. Her form is well-lit, and the background is black, as it would be on a stage. The audience can see through the reeds of the *piupiu* but where one would expect her legs to be there is only darkness, rendering her lower body invisible. She is the only one in the photograph. The photograph is a repost from the Instagram-user @serene_memories. The performer is young and beautiful. It might be argued that the theme of the Māori maiden might be returning on Instagram also. The movement of her hips is emphasized, potentially bearing sensual connotations. Furthermore, it bears noting that the photo has an entirely black background and features only our model. This close perspective gives the impression of a private and intimate experience, while the performance is actually taking place in a bigger group of performers. The black background might be said to give the impression of timelessness, obscuring contextual clues of contemporaneity (excepting the artificial lighting).

Another photograph shows a Māori woman named Rosie posing next to promotional material featuring her portrait (D.1: Row Two, Middle / 20-11-2018). The caption reads that “the beautiful Rosie” has represented Tamaki in a campaign for Inspiring Journeys, a tour-operator focusing on Australia and New Zealand. This caption immediately presents Rosie to the audience as a woman to be admired: she is beautiful first and foremost. The text on the advertisement reads “Meet Rosie Belvie at the Tamaki Māori Village”. In the (advertisement)photo, Rosie is looking at the audience, wearing traditional clothing, *moko kauae*, feathers in her hair, and a half-up half-down hairstyle which emphasizes her curls. In this instance, much of the stereotypical image of Māori culture and the Māori maiden returns. It might be argued that the promise of a meeting with beautiful Rosie echoes the sensual undertones present in the historical discourse. In the background we can see greenery (out of focus), setting the scene outside and in nature, which, as we have seen before, is not uncommon staging for images of Māori culture. The model Rosie is posing next to the advertisement, now wearing a black (modern) dress, no *moko*, loose hair, and a big greenstone necklace. This is the only instance in the corpus where we can see one of the performers in their off-duty clothing. It is interesting to see that this reality is shown on the official Instagram-page of Tamaki Māori Village: it indicates the staged nature of the experience at Tamaki, while simultaneously re-iterating the modernity of Māori people today. The other

images on the page, however, present a coherent image of the performers dressed in traditional clothing and performing traditional rituals.

It bears noting that the performers featured in the photographs are all of similar (lean) build, while in the short video that was posted the cast seems to be slightly more diverse in body types. This might indicate a process of selection for the photographs where the most stereotypically desirable bodies are highlighted to present the most attractive image on the company's Instagram.

Men in the Instagram corpus

Māori men are represented often in the corpus. Fifteen photographs out of twenty-two photographs showing people feature men only (focusing on the performers) with an additional three photographs featuring mixed company (D.1, D.2, D.3). All but three photographs of the male performers together with the tourists picture the performer sticking his tongue out and bulging his eyes, in gestures called *whetero* (the tongue) and *pūkana* (the eyes). *Pūkana* and *whetero* are often part of the *haka* and *waiata* (songs). In many instances the tourist is also participating in this gesture, though some opted for a smile or a surprised face instead. One photograph shows a *hongi* taking place, a traditional formal way of greeting whereby two people touch noses which takes place during the *powhiri* ceremony (welcoming ceremony). Looking at the clothing of the performers we can see a very distinct choice for traditional clothing only, often with the performers working bare-chested (seemingly throughout all seasons). Most of the performers are quite muscular, with a few bigger men represented on the Instagram. All of the performers are wearing facial *moko*, with some also wearing the patterns on their bodies. The repetition of the *pūkana* pose, the *moko*, the traditional clothing, and the addition of the *taiaha* weapon in most photographs of men in this corpus indicate a very strong image of the *Māori warrior* projected via this medium. It is a familiar trope. Amoamo (2006) relates how the stereotype is used in modern tourism images and how this image has been 'made safe', so to speak. She notes, following Scherer, how the trope "exist as representations in commercial discourse that are gazed upon yet never physically encountered, existing only as images in the trophy cabinet of colonialism and global capitalism" (Scherer, 2004: Ch.6, via Amoamo, 2006: 74).

Related to this, the captions of three of the photographs picturing one or more male performer(s) with one or more tourist(s) emphasize connection. The photograph showing the *hongi* was captioned by @allyannm with "When you finally get accepted into the family

🌿 😊 . [hashtags]” (D.1: Row One, Right / 11-12-2018). Similarly, @millywilcox captioned a picture showing her doing *whetero* (with her eyes closed and while half-smiling) together with one of the male performers (who is doing *pūkana* and *whetero* and wielding a *taiaha*) with “me & ma boo” (*sic*) (D.2: Row One, Left / 02-09-2018). A photo reposted from @janegalliazzo is captioned with “learning haka from the bros [hashtags]” (*sic*). In this photograph, two male performers are shown doing *whetero* together with a man and a woman (D.1: Row Four, Left / 16-09-2018). There are three types of connection represented here: a familial bond, a romantic-leaning bond (“boo”), and a platonic connection (“bro”). In all instances these bonds are emphasized by the shared participation in a cultural practice (*hongi* or *whetero* and/or *pūkana*). In doing so, the visually threatening Māori warrior (especially in regards to the photographs in which *whetero* and *pūkana* are being performed) is renegotiated and made friendly. The traditional practices are co-opted by the tourists as a fun activity, in which they ‘try on’ the other culture. The narrative here focuses on fun and light interaction, connection (possibly even romantic connection) and shared experiences. This focus on experience fits into a general trend in contemporary tourism in which tourists are looking for personal links and stories rather than encountering culture in a more static context. The narrative which is desirable to represent on social media is one of personal linkages, the finding of (new) family, friends, and possibly (thereby) also the self. A sense of belonging is communicated repeatedly. There is a shortening of distance between cultures seen here, exemplified in framing meetings of people of different cultural backgrounds as interaction rather than (pure) observation. ‘Doing’ culture rather than seeing culture is viewed as more ‘authentic’, with connection and friendship as an envisioned result.¹⁰ In this process, certain actions (i.e. *whetero* and *pūkana* as part of the *haka*) start to signify an entire culture as a whole. The broadcasting of these moments of connection via Instagram points to a certain performativity in the action. Larsen (2006) sees tourist photography as a performance, in which the photographers have an intended audience in mind when choreographing their pictures “to produce their *desired* togetherness, wholeness, and intimacy” (2006: 250, emphasis in text).

Relatedly, there seems to be an emphasis on a somewhat jocular approach to the experience, presenting the situation as a form of banter, a form of ironic interaction, almost.

¹⁰ Assessing the “true’ level of ‘authenticity’ of the experience/connection is not the point of discussion here. The conceptual issue of cultural authenticity is very complex, which makes marking anything (in)authentic a difficult process. For discussions of authenticity and (Maori) tourism see Condevaux (2009), Taylor (2001), and Wang (1999).

This approach is not completely insincere or ironic, but rather might be categorized as a form of new sincerity. New sincerity, which agitates against the harshness of pure ironic approaches to life, might be used by actors, “deploy[ing] ironic devices towards sincere ends” (Dunne, 2018: 1307). In this instance, the Instagram-posters use a subtle interplay between text, image, context, and audience to convey a message of light humorous notes in these interactions, avoiding appearing gullible without becoming cynical or undermining the actual experience totally. Dunne (2018) relates this new sincerity with the concept of *murketing*, a form of marketing that uses this form of double truth (cynical and gnostic, conceited and intimate, earnest and ironic) to successfully appeal to urban and younger consumers. This target audience is also an important demographic using Instagram, and a core demographic in the New Zealand backpacking scene, which makes this *murketing* approach a good fit for the Tamaki Instagram.

Conclusion

The goal of Tamaki Māori Village appears to be an immersive cultural (historical) experience which also shows tourists how Māori culture is still thriving today in new and traditional forms alike. In intent, they appear to be operating in (and creating) the Third Space Amoamo and Thompson (2011) spoke about. On their Instagram, however, the narrative still seems to be of a homogenous Māori culture that can be reduced to an essence of *hongi*, *poi*, and *haka*. In his analysis of colonial tropes visible on Instagram, Smith (2018) argues that “[l]ocal residents, when pictured, are configured as genericised icons of exoticism that serve to imbue the tourist’s experience with authenticity” (2018: 172). One might hope that visitors are aware that the cultural experience offered at Tamaki does not reflect the daily reality for “the Maori” today but is rather a (touristified) retelling of the past. The images posted on the Instagram-page, however, appear to convey quite an oversimplified image of Māori culture, with a strong focus on the image of the *haka* as a core cultural activity and an emphasis on interpersonal bonding.

Navigating the tourist sphere is a difficult challenge, especially in cultural tourism interacting with historically marginalized cultures. Amoamo and Thompson noted how “[i]n a postcolonial context we need to ask how colonized people challenge a socially imposed categorization other than by organizing themselves as a category constructed according to that categorization, and so implementing the classifications and restrictions that it seeks to resist.” (2010: 38). This analysis points to a core finding of this chapter as well: Tamaki aims to show how Māori culture is alive and thriving in contemporary New Zealand society, renegotiating

dominant narratives on Māori culture in the process. On their Instagram, however, they convey a narrative about Māori culture that echoes many visual traditions relegating Māori culture to an idealized past rather than a (more realistic) complicated present. Additionally, tropes like the *Māori warrior* and the *Māori Maiden* are reproduced, exoticizing Māori culture in the process. Their Instagram-presence emphasizes connection and shared experience, with tourists showing up in the pictures many times next to the performers. There appears to be a shift, then, in the tourist gaze as well: we have not seen inclusion of the tourist in the photographs analyzed earlier. This shift might have to do with the different communicative goals of the Instagram-medium in comparison to the portraits seen in Nelson's work or *Out of Time*. Instagram-pages are often used for self-expression, chronicling the life experiences of the user. This might be seen as a form of marketing, presenting a positive narrative of the self to the audience. Showing the self in these pictures is necessary to form a strong individual Instagram-presence. Tamaki Māori Village, similarly, uses their Instagram to market their tourism-product. Showing customers having a good time communicates messages of fun, connection, and the potential for authentic memories, fitting in with the envisioned brand for the business.

Conclusion

Having looked at three different corpuses and contextualized the images of Māori people within these, I have shown how certain narratives return time and again, as well as how these narratives connect to power and ideology.

In *Out of Time* the photographs communicated a broad scope of possible subject positionings through the photographs, with photographs documenting Māori soldiers marching off to fight in World War Two on one end of the spectrum and staged versions of (the essence of) ‘Māori daily life’ on the other. However, some themes that continued and developed further over the years were already present. An important finding here was how messages of transgression and sensuality were present in the imaging of Māori women. For men, themes of warrior-identity were present. Both these themes can be linked to a dominant narrative of the Māori as a ‘dying race’. This framing of Māori people can be connected to the socio-political landscape at the time. The New Zealand Land Wars and the concomitant land losses for Māori which greatly affected Māori communities and consolidated colonial rule played a big role in this analysis. The narratives communicated through the photographs analyzed intimately connected with ideology, empire, and power. Two basic narratives can be distilled from the corpus: on the one hand we can see an image of the Māori imagined as romantic, carefree, and welcoming. On the other hand we can start to see an image of the Māori typified as brave warriors. The latter view only appears to have developed after the Māori lost the majority of their land. In this corpus, the visual markers of threat are almost absent, with emphasis on either assimilation (exemplified in the photograph of man with *moko* in European suit) or nostalgia (exemplified in the photograph of the Māori warrior in front of a *marae* and the photograph of the girls next to the fence). In the other corpuses, containing images taken in the twenty-first century rather than the nineteenth and twentieth, more emphasis is placed on the intimidating image of the Māori warrior.

In Nelson’s *Before They Pass Away* we have seen an image of Māori culture and people that emphasizes beauty in the women, strength in the men, and exoticism in general. The group-photographs are all situated in natural environments, supporting a narrative of connection between the Māori and nature. The natural environments chosen as backdrops for the photographs all appear to be devoid of human intervention. This communicates a message of purity and wildness. Nelson has stated how he thinks the cultures he photographed are “the last bastion of human purity and authenticity” (Mosbergen, 2017). The overarching narrative, again, is that of Māori culture as a dying culture, as indicated by the works’ title, combined

with a positioning of (*t*)his version of Māori culture as the essence of said culture. In a broader sense, Nelson positions his photographic project concerning indigenous cultures as a way to self-therapize.

The analysis of the Tamaki Māori Village Instagram-page yielded ambivalent insights. On the one hand Tamaki has as its aim to contemporize the public image of Māori culture and show the world how this culture continues to thrive. On the other, the image they project via their Instagram re-iterates (essentializing) tropes we have seen in the other two corpuses as well. For the female Māori performers, the emphasis appears to be on beauty and grace. For the male performers, the images overwhelmingly focus on the Māori warrior trope, and especially on the *whetero* and *pūkana* as part of the *haka*. These cultural practices are co-performed with tourists in this corpus, creating a narrative of authenticity, bonding and connection. The intimidating poses of the male performers are re-negotiated and made safe by existing in co-performance with the visitors. All performers are wearing *moko*, which contrasts with the relative absence of the *moko* in the first corpus, with only a few photographs showing the patterns on face or body.

From this selective look at photographs depicting Māori in three corpuses, many continuities in visual language can be seen, like a tendency to exoticize members of the Māori population. Linked to this trope is the way in which the women in the corpus are often typified to be beautiful, sensual, and elegant (in all three corpuses), and the men as strong and intimidating (especially in *Before They Pass Away* and the Tamaki Instagram). At the same time the narrative focus appears to have developed to a somewhat narrow understanding of Māori culture that emphasizes pre-European times as the ‘true’ culture. In the *Out of Time* corpus there were also photographs showing the mixing (or rather, in the case highlighted in this thesis, assimilation) of Māori culture with European culture as a matter of pride. In Nelson’s work, markers of ‘Westernization’ or ‘modernization’¹¹ are excluded from the photographs. On the Tamaki Instagram, a similar tendency can be seen, with only one example of an employee of the Māori Village wearing modern clothing rather than the traditional clothing seen elsewhere in the photographs. This fits into the experience provided at Tamaki, focused

¹¹ ‘Westernization’ and ‘modernization’ are both difficult terms which do not/should not necessarily mean the same thing. I argue that a society can be ‘modern’ while maintaining traditional practices and (for example) clothing: modernity and tradition are not mutually exclusive. It should also be noted that ‘modernity’ is not a term exclusively applicable to the West. I am referring here to markers of contemporaneity that many people (like Nelson) *associate primarily/only* with Western civilization, i. e. watches, smartphones, et c.

as it is on pre-European times. Navigating portraying historical stories and traditions while leaving room for contemporary development of Māori culture is difficult. The emphasis at Tamaki Māori Village is not on the Māori as a dying race/culture, but rather on continuity and growth of Māori cultural traditions. However, the experiences take place in a village that is a remake of a pre-European contact Māori village, and the images on the Instagram convey a simplified version of Māori culture that refers strongly to pre-European life. This might work to promote an image of Māori culture as being primarily a thing from the past rather than a living, contemporary part of New Zealand life.

Discussion and recommendations for further research

First and foremost, I want to reflect on the specificity of my own reading of the material. My selection of the photographs and the resulting reading was, naturally, influenced by my own academic and personal background. The corpuses lend themselves for many differing readings, and I do not pretend my reading is the one correct reading of the photographs at hand. Further research is needed to further nuance the analysis presented in this thesis.

Additionally, I want to stress the importance of involving historically marginalized voices in research, especially when the research is focused on interrogating practices of representation of said historically marginalized voices. The importance of hearing the insights of Māori tourism providers on representational practices and how they navigate this issue within their own business cannot be overestimated. In my initial research design I envisioned information provided by the performance providers as the core of my project. This was not possible since New Zealand was in lockdown at the time and the (offices of the) businesses I had approached were not open. The involvement and centering of indigenous voices in scholarly research on indigeneity (either in tourism or in other contexts) should be prioritized.

Especially in the context of a postcolonial world, it is important for white researchers from Western Europe, like me, to actively search out and listen to the voices of historically marginalized groups. In rectifying and correcting the enormous Western bias in academic writing and not repeating colonialist violence by interpreting “the Other” without listening to their voices, researchers should take care to involve the people they are researching in said research. Though doing so was not achievable for this thesis, I urge future research to take this issue into account.

Though I researched and reflected on the selection process for *Out of Time*, the specifics of the process were not traceable in the span of this research. The representational value for the corpus, therefore, cannot be assumed. One of the authors, Michael Graham-

Stewart, indicated that the authors had included photographs that were popular in the archives, as well as some that “went beyond the stereotypical view of Maori” and that were rarer (personal communication, 2020). Which photo belonged to which category was not indicated in the book. Any claims made in regards to this corpus, though cross-referenced with other academic sources, must be viewed with this limitation in mind. The focus of this thesis was on qualitative analysis, but quantitative research looking more at what types of photographs were most dominant at different points in time would help in forming a more complete view of the visual tradition.

In the second chapter of the thesis, the focus was on the photographs of Māori in Jimmy Nelson’s *Before They Pass Away*. In analyzing this small corpus, I mainly compared and contrasted it with the photographs in *Out of Time*. It would have enriched the analysis to include other media such as paintings, especially by C. F. Goldie and Gottfried Lindauer. Other perspectives it would have been interesting to include would have been, for example, contemporary Māori artists such as Sofia Minson. Additionally, it would have been interesting to see if Nelson wrote different/more text in the book-version of *Before They Pass Away* in comparison to the online versions of the photographs I accessed. If I had had access to the photographs in the book, I might also have commented on (for example) the order in which he chose to publish them. One of the consequences of the pandemic for this research project was that my access to academic resources was limited, most notably access to (academic or public) libraries. This meant, for example, that I had to rely on digitized versions of books, which sometimes meant only having access to older versions. It also meant that I did not have a physical copy of Nelson’s *Before They Pass Away*. I accessed the relevant photographs through the Jimmy Nelson website. The experience of the context for and the contents of the photographs will have been different accessing them through this website than it would have been had I been looking through a physical copy of the book. Additionally, some relevant academic books I was looking to order from New Zealand and Australia were not being shipped due to COVID-19 restrictions. Though I am confident that I have written a well-researched thesis, these limitations have been difficult to navigate.

In my analysis of Tamaki Māori Village, it bears noting that I had to select 2018 as a year of reference for my analysis due to lack of activity in later years. I am unsure why their activity dropped so drastically in 2019 and 2020. More research is needed into more active tourism business Instagram-pages and the narratives produced via this medium. In this thesis, I have focused only on posts (re)posted to the main page of the Tamaki Māori Village Instagram. Including tagged posts and posts marked with #tamakimaorivillage and related

hashtags would have added more nuance to our view of projected and received messages from the experiences at Tamaki, as well as a clearer view of which posts Tamaki choose to repost and which photographs they choose to leave be. I chose not to include this into my analysis for the sake of clarity. I also had to limit my research-focus due to time limitations. Further research might also turn to the role of irony and sincerity on Instagram, which I mentioned only very briefly. Additionally, research might focus on the changing aesthetics of the tourist gaze on Instagram in travel photography, and how this relates to the different envisioned audiences for Instagram.

In this thesis I have provided an introductory insight into themes visible in photographs taken of the Māori population of New Zealand over the last 160 years, with a specific focus on the late nineteenth and early twenty-first century. I have contextualized these themes and indicated how they can be connected to issues of colonialism, globalization, and essentialism in tourism as well as in a broader (inter)national context. In a world that prioritizes the visual, that is so often centered around visual consumption, it should be a priority to educate ourselves on the meanings of what we see. Erai called this education the refusal of “the delusion of an innocent eye” (2020: 21). In this refusal lies potential for growth: if we know what we are seeing, our analysis of visual culture might reveal “both the operation of violence and oppression and the means to potentially refute and repel them” (Erai, *ibid.*). What we see matters, and critical engagement with what we see is crucial.

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Appendix A: Correspondence with Michael Graham-Stewart

Received to willemien.vanheusden@student.ru.nl on 04-06-2020.

Dear Willemien

Thanks for your email. That book/collection was a very long time ago and I am not sure I can tell you anything interesting or further about the selection process. As you saw we acquired a cross section of images that were available at the time and that inevitably meant a dominance of material that had sold well then and thus survived in quantity. We wanted to show a mixture of arresting and typical photos as well as some rarer ones that went beyond the stereotypical view of Māori that the rest of the world were happy to consume. And also tried to use the selection to tell the stories of the individuals pictured and highlight some photographers who had not been featured as much as they deserved. Such as James McDonald who worked more for the government and hence whose prints were never widely distributed commercially. So I suppose the idea was to show a mix of the 'real' and the 'constructed' and quietly probe how both of those elements are present in most images

all the best of luck with your research, Michael

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