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MASTER THESIS

Master of Art, Society & Culture

The Anthropology Museum in the Post-Colonial Era

A Case Study on

How Indigenous, First Nations communities are represented

at the UBC Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver.

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Abstract

This research aims at answering the question of how indigenous, First Nation communities from the Pacific Northwest Coast are represented at the Museum of Anthropology (MoA) in Vancouver. Following the debate around Anthropology museums in the Post-Colonial Era, this research examines how the museum of Anthropology in Vancouver engages in new museological practices. The qualitative methods of analysis consisted of a Visual discourse analysis of the display as well as a thematic analysis of interviews conducted with staff members of the Museum involved in curation. The exhibition was recorded and coded through photographs, while the interviews were coded in the software Atlas.ti. The emerging topics were then examined and compared. Both sources of data were examined under the categories of Alexanders Social Performance theory, that looks at museums as a social performance with the components of the actor, audience, social context, collective representations, means of symbolic production and cultural script.

The analysis found that the Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver engages into practices such as critical museology and implements discourses of cultural fluidity trying to create a discourse of Indianness and indigeneity as a culture that cannot be separated into historical categories like pre-contact, post-contact and recovery period with the end of colonialism (Oliver, 2010). By mixing contemporary art and artifacts the museum creates another discourse of indigenous heritage as art by aestheticizing the material through the mise-en-scène. Furthermore, Moa implements recommendations such as the UNDRIP (2008) and The Taskforce agreement between indigenous communities and Canadian museums, to ensure that indigenous communities are part of presenting their own culture. With that come respectful discourse, a discourse of acknowledgment, collaboration, consultation and community work that build the basis for a multi-perspective approach that includes different traditions. One discourse that was visible was the avoidance of engaging in decolonization practices by reflecting on historical trauma. The Museum prefers to engage in a conversation without sides and confrontation. It also still holds a discourse of academic expertise and authority. The interviews showed furthermore that personal relationships with indigenous nations build the foundation for MoAs position as being a progressive institution in the department of museology and Anthropology.

Keywords: Indigenous representation, Visual Discourse Analysis, Anthropology, Post-Colonialism, Critical museology, Social Performance Theory

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List of Abbreviations

BC – British Columbia, Canadian province

MoA – Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver

RCAP – Royal Commission on Aboriginal People

UBC – University of British Columbia

UNDRIP – United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

1. Introduction

As everywhere around the world, the age of western colonization saw a great impact on aboriginal communities such as the First Nation, Métis and Inuit communities in Canada. During this age, western imperialist powers saw themselves as superior to indigenous cultures, that were described to have a lack of complexity and civilized manners in comparison to European cultures. The 'discovery' of these cultures resulted in the partial or total destruction of cultural heritage and the near extinction of language of the communities. The assimilation politics of the western powers were believed to soon make these cultures disappear, which led scientists to collect, record and display native heritage (Oliver, 2010). With Colonialism the ethnography or Anthropology museum was born – A museum based on the distinction between western civilization and primitive, tribal cultures. Indigenous cultural and spiritual belongings are now on display in Museums all over Canada and the world such as the UBC (University of British Columbia, Vancouver) Museum of Anthropology. Gail Lord, one of the world foremost museum planners and head of LORD Cultural Resources, stated in a discussion about repatriation and ownership, that still today "You will not see objects from different cultures side by side but an interpretation of civilization which suits a 19th imperial mindset - you do not see a multicultural approach" (Museums: Repatriation, and Ownership, 2018, p.1).

Since the legal end of Colonialism in the 1970s, museums now face the questions of how such cultural belonging can be displayed and what role museums play and played in the popular idea and narrative of what indigeneity is. Post-Colonial theory and Critical Museology are just two theoretical examples of the discussion that questions museums historical, political, social and cultural implications in outdated ideas about western superiority. The extent of rights and position that indigenous communities can, should and are allowed to take in the preservation and display of cultural artifacts, sacred object or contemporary artistic interpretations of their cultural visual heritage sparked a hefty a discussion in the museum sector in Canada about tradition and authority – About the role of the Anthropology museum in the Post-Colonial Era (Museums: Repatriation, and Ownership, 2018).

The UBC (University of British Columbia) Museum of Anthropology (MoA) in Vancouver holds a collection of approximately 45.000 objects to 50.000 objects and only 8000 to 8500 are First Nations belongings according to the current director of MoA, Anthony Shelton. That part of the museum's collection consists of indigenous artifacts and art, daily life objects and sacred material. MoA is an important institution in the representation of indigenous, Canadian culture in British Columbia where indigenous culture remains pervasive. The Museum of Anthropology has a large collection of Pacific Northwest First Nation's artifacts on display as well as ongoing

collaborations with First Nation people from the region. It advertises its collaboration with First Nations (Annual Report, 2018) and claims to be dedicated to working in compliance with the UNESCO Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (Guidelines for Management of Culturally Sensitive Materials). It's building designed by Arthur Erickson, also was designed as a homage to First Nations tribes and supposedly mimics the traditional houses with poles, while using modern materials.

Overall MoA makes a valuable and interesting case study to understand the trends of transition into the post-colonial era in the museum. This case study aims at understanding if and how new ideologies and concepts such as decolonization and new museological practices such as critical museology, collaborative and multi-vocal approaches and repatriation find their way into actual exhibitions - To examine whether old colonial museum models still persist or whether new ways of representation manifest themselves in the exhibition. As the differentiation between western tradition and indigenous culture was one of the main trademarks of Anthropology museums in colonialist times the research question of how indigenous, First Nation communities from the Pacific Northwest Coast are represented at the Museum of Anthropology (MoA) in Vancouver is a relevant question to see the changes that occurred in colonialist museum discourse. This research looks specifically at the First Nation communities of the Pacific Northwest Coast in the province of British Columbia. The research question of how indigenous, First Nation communities from the Pacific Northwest Coast are represented at the Museum of Anthropology (MoA) in Vancouver is answered in this research.

This research question is relevant for museum practices to the extent that it thoroughly examines one of the largest educational institutions of British Columbia, Canada about First Nation art and culture, whether and how for example policies of the Canadian Government, the Truth and Reconciliation Committee (2015) and the UNESCO Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) are actually implemented in modern heritage management practices and how these new ideas create a new image of indigeneity today. One of the major critiques about studies in the humanities about colonialist discourse in the post-colonialism time in representation, consists in the fact that the focus often solely lies on representation (Slemon, 1995). This research not only on the semiotic field of representation but considers the colonialist tradition of the institution, with all the implications that it comes with.

These questions will be investigated through the qualitative methods of interviewing with important contributors to the exhibition process and through a visual discourse analysis of the display that contains First Nations belongings. The thesis is structured into four parts. Firstly, I will discuss the traditional components of the Anthropology museum as an institution and the recent developments that happened in the museum sector to counter these traditional methods

and discourse. Then I will go on to introduce Social performance theory as a framework to analyze museum displays. The methodology contains a detailed explanation of the case study, the research design and the problems that arose during the fieldwork and analysis. And lastly, the results of the analysis are lazed out, followed by a concluding discussion about the results, its relevance and implications and suggestions for future research.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Historical context

The indigenous people of Canada faced waves of colonization from the 17th century onwards and suffered the loss of culture, language and rights (Oliver, 2010). When the first contact with European settlers in the province of British Columbia occurred, in which the Museum of Anthropology of Vancouver is situated, the province was home to more than 200.000 First Nations with 50 different languages (Dickason & McNab, 2009). This period is defined as the pre-contact period, that then transitioned into the period of western colonialism. Throughout this period of colonization, the Canadian government tried to eradicate First Nations culture by assimilation strategies under the Indian act of 1876 (Oliver 2010), which prohibited to dance and celebrate native life through ceremonies, potlatches or other spiritual and cultural activities (Pettipas,1994). In the 1950s, Canadian First Nations started to use these assimilation policies and treaties to defend their rights which resulted in the Canadian government gradually averting their policies (Oliver, 2010). With for example juridical cases to claim black ancestral land from the 70s onwards and the acknowledgment of residential school abuse by Jane Stewart, the minister of Indian Affairs and Northern development in 1998 (Dickason & McNab, 2009), Canada entered a new period of recovery and reconciliation with First Nations (Oliver, 2010), the period of Post-colonialism.

In this thesis, I will oftentimes refer to colonialist ideas, narratives and discourse which were formed during the period of colonialism. By colonialist discourse I mean a narrative of domination and subordination of the western colonialist powers from Europe, that defended the superiority of the "essential qualities of the West" referred to as "the Greco-Latin pedestal" by Fanon (1965, 37, p.8). The ideology of white superiority was constructed and legitimized around the belief that humanity is divided into races that all have their assigned role, the Europeans being made 'masters and soldiers' by nature to "regere imperio populus" – to rule the people (Renan, 1871 as in Saïd, 2000). "The regeneration of the inferior or degenerate races, by the superior races" (Renan, 1871 as in Saïd , 2000, p. 418/419) became the mission of colonialist powers.

2.2 The Anthropology Museum and its anthropological tradition

In this chapter I will refer to concepts and topics that have been dominating indicators in Anthropology Museums for a narrative of colonial superiority, I order to determine where the

Museum of Anthropology follows traditional anthropological tradition and where it may transcend beyond that.

On the Pacific Northwest Coast of Canada, most anthropological artifacts have been acquired, stolen, bought or taken between 1875 and 1925, a period in which commissioned collectors among others tried to gather anything that could be associated with indigenous culture (Doxtator, 1988). The motivation was to fill up newly formed anthropological museums in Canada, the United States in Europe (Doxtator, 1988). Indigenous cultures were believed to soon be extinct for which reason these objects were being gathered partly for scientific interest, entertainment of the masses and the display of legitimate colonial domination over the primitive - a display to enhance the idea of the progressive west (Doxtator 1988; Chwatal, 2018).

Originally museums were cabinets of curiosities that were full of objects from different disciplines ranging from Anthropology to fine art. The idea of the universal museum, however, evolved throughout the 19th century into a division between the disciplines and objects were categorized either for their aesthetic value - hence as art objects - or for their cultural value - hence as cultural artifacts classified by the originating culture (Turgeon & Dubuc, 2002). Objects presented as Art tended to be western, while artifacts often originated from culturally other, 'primitive' cultures (Doxtator, 1982; Perloff-Giles, 2010;Chwatal, 2018). The simple act of classifying objects from other cultures as artifacts and western objects as art in two different types of museums - the art museum and the Anthropology or natural history museum - made a clear distinction between the colonizer as the bringer of culture and the colonized as the primitive (Perloff-Giles, 2010). One can argue that this division is a division of the known culture and the unknown culturally other for western audiences. The notion of art as something elevated – hence western culture being superior- signals a clear division based on hierarchical thinking. The Anthropology museum itself as an institution is therefore signifier of western culture, of Colonialism specifically and serves as representative of such (Lidchi, 2013; Smith 2006; Watson & Waterton, 2010). As the Anthropological museum is therefore rooted in colonialist thinking, but also heavily influenced and biased by European culture, traditions, philosophy and science, the institution is a political one.

2.2.1 The constructed notion of difference

Anthropology as science seeks to describe nations or people with their customs habits and points of *difference*. The concept of Anthropology museums is based on the reflection of cultural distinctions viewed through the eyes of the dominating culture. Anthropological heritage display is a political and authorized construction of meaning (Allcock 1995; Smith 2006; Smith and

Waterton 2009) which has its roots in constructing a view of the different, the other. This means that social and geographical distinctions were historically constructed within a power relationship between the Western colonialist view and the others in the traditional Anthropology museum of the 19th century (Hall,1992; Bal, 1992; Lidchi, 2013). The creation of this sort of narrative is also described as a myth model (Obeyesekere, 1997), a term that refers to a constructed narrative based on a shared belief system. In colonialism this myth was constructed by combining opposites (Bal & Janssen, 1996) where civilization stood on one side and its negative counterpart, primitive barbaric indigenous cultures stood on the other. Different practices to distinguish the other in a museum are for example stereotyping through the concept of exclusion, the role of fantasy, and fetishism to signify power (Lidchi, 2013). Another way of constructing difference is through *excluding* everything related to the influence of colonialist culture on indigenous culture or simply the absence of mentioning western influence on artifacts.

As the traditional Anthropology museum was based on highlighting the difference between cultures based on the mentioned myth of colonialist superiority, the way difference is portrayed seems to be the underlying issue at hand when looking at the future of the post-colonialist Anthropology museum. With the end of colonialism in the 1970s, the anthropological tradition of displaying cultural difference in such a way started to break down. This raised the question of what political and social positioning anthropological museums would now take. While critics voice their concern that the anthropological museum has no future as its initial mission is no longer compatible with post-colonialist societies (Jamin 1998; Gonseth, Hainard & Kaehr 2002; Galinier & Molinié, 2011), new approaches appeared, to keep the institution of the Anthropology museum alive. In recent years the *division between art and artifact* starts to crumble. The Musée d'Éthnographie du Trocadéro, for example, changed its name into Musée du Quai Branly in 2006, rejecting its identification as an Anthropology museum and rearranging its display by treating their collection as aesthetic objects instead of anthropological artifacts (Perloff-Giles, 2010). Another approach of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston resulted in a display that incorporates art objects and artifacts from the Americas alike, designed to showcase how artistic practice in America evolved through time (Perloff-Giles, 2010).

This trend towards the showcasing the cultural artifact - an ethnographic object - as an art object is a clear indicator for a change in the anthropological tradition. Museums here then try to find methods to erase the distinction of difference and hierarchy, making all cultures equal in their display by showcasing all objects – western and foreign – as art and not artifacts. However, one must question whether this results in a mere denial and avoidance of facing the colonial past of the institutions: Specifically, the problems that come with showing objects under the traditional setting of Anthropology museums. Another issue with this approach seems to be that

difference between cultures seem to be disregarded and a lot of interesting and valuable information about the benefits of cultural difference are lost by simply creating a new artistic context for artifacts. Difference is necessary as difference is essential to understand the meaning (Lidchi, 2013). Meaning is only constructed because of the dialogue with the different. How difference and if difference is portrayed is therefore essential to understanding the approach that museums take to tackle their colonialist tradition in a post-colonial setting. In the above-mentioned examples avoidance of showing cultural difference is chosen to tackle this issue. By choosing this path museums may very well also disregard cultural conflict and neglect their history as a political institution altogether.

2.2.2 Authenticity

Another way to present fist nations that could potentially be seen in the display, is a forged or over-simplistic construction of what *indigeneity* is and means today (Jakobs, 2000). Historically *real Indianness* was seen as everything that came - according to Anthropologists - before European culture ergo in the pre-contact period. Lowenthal (1985) points out that when objects look old a greater sense of *historical value* is attributed to the piece, creating a sense of greater cultural value. The objects that are objects belonging to the past, become objects used in the present and are guaranteed a privileged position in contemporary society because of their value that derives from their age (Choay, 2001). In order to be an authentic indigenous object, it must be free from any European influence and construction as this meant to otherwise lose the original culture (Doxtator, 1988). By therefore not changing the physical object, authenticity was thought to be safeguarded. Authenticity through historical value is then attributed because of material signs of the past on objects but also by showcasing indigenous heritage objects as something without European influence.

Gloria Jean Frank, herself a member of a First Nation community voiced her concern in her article 'This is my dinner on display: A First Nations reflection on museum culture' about the practice to label objects with information in the past tense, which reinforced the notion of indigenous culture being extinct (Frank, 2000). Signs stating 'object temporarily removed' without any further explication what object was positioned here and why it was removed enhance the feeling of mystery (Frank, 2000). Objects being all locked behind glass cases as precious artifacts, while in fact, they were simple household utensils (Frank, 2000) support the idea of the object as an artifact. These small choices within the exhibition about indigenous culture, made her feel as if indigenous culture is displayed as something mystical and extinct (Frank, 2000) and not a culture that is alive and part of Canadian society. Where and how do the exhibition

techniques transcend historical periods and blur the definition of what a 'real, Indian artifact' is and where do they reinforce traditional connotations?

Going one step further Frank, reflected on her experience as a First Nation tour guide (Frank, 2000) and states that as an indigenous person certain First Nation exhibits make her feel uncomfortable as they showcase images and films of contact of European settlers with First Nation tribes. They are therefore explicitly showing the point of view of colonial settlers. Why? Because photography was a tool used by western colonizer and scientists. She explains that photographs and films are and were staged even back in 1919 to fit the European vision of authentic indigeneity. This fact was not addressed at all in the exhibition nor implicitly nor explicitly. One problematic point here is that in addressing these facts the museum would openly question its authority and credibility, question Anthropology as a science throughout history. At the same time, it also then positions itself as an institution that goes beyond colonial tradition and recognizes its political, social and cultural power. The question arises whether museums should openly and explicitly have a social and political point of view. This will be further discussed in the following part about authority and privilege.

In post-colonialist times it is difficult to define what is an indigenous object and what is not. What is considered to have cultural value and what does not. Anthropology museums generally consider an authentic object to be an "object produced by local artisans and conserved in its original state" (Turgeon & Dubuc, 2002, p. 24). *Traditional craftsmanship* can then become the deciding factor of whether a contemporary piece can become an anthropological artifact worth standing in the museum. Objects that are *hybrids* of indigenous and western traditions on the other hand are often considered as less important (Turgeon & Dubuc, 2002). This becomes problematic in post-colonial times as materials and crafting methods that were originally brought through colonization can be fully integrated into present day indigenous culture (Clifford as in Turgeon & Dubuc, 2002). Something that is considered as an original, authentic indigenous artifact by indigenous audiences may very well be rejected as inauthentic and unrepresentative by anthropologists and non-indigenous audiences (Clifford as in Turgeon & Dubuc, 2002). This means that authenticity can have a different meaning for different audiences and different actors that contribute to the exhibitions if indigenous voices are implemented in the exhibition process.

The perception of authenticity can also be achieved through an illusion of truth. In museums, for example, the truthfulness of the display can be underlined by the reconstruction of scenes supposedly representing the original *context* (Haraway,1989). Cultural objects often cross into modernity, by being taken out of their temporal, geographical and natural context (Clifford, 2002), which suggests that indigenous cultural material changes its meaning through classification and categorization and loses its authenticity and meaning altogether as the ascribed

meaning does not exist anymore outside its original context. The original meaning of an object then changes for the museum visitor but also indigenous audiences that see the object on display. Display strategies meant to preserve the cultural and social meaning of an artifact here serve to avoid this problem. Other methods that are used to showcase historical documentation are display cases, open displays without any protection or simulacra - which are objects that are commissioned by the museum to fill a position of something they do not own (Lidchi, 1997 as in Rose 2001).

Spatial organization becomes an important factor in how authenticity, historical accuracy and truthfulness are perceived by the visitor. The spatial organization here does not only refer to the organization of the display but also the layout of the museum exhibitions and rooms, together with the tools used to create a certain atmosphere such as light, sound and colour. Glass display cases, for example, translate truthful representation, not through accurate contextual representation but it refers to a classification system (Lidchi, 2013) of the museum. The visitor is then inclined to see the display an analytic truthful display instead of it being truthful through accurate representation (Rose, 2001). Those displays are often accompanied by written text such as labels and captions, panels or catalogues. These serve according to (Lidchi, 2013) to provide a reference of the natural function and context of the object in order to create a constructed meaning, but also to create a sense of accuracy, authenticity and truthfulness. Labels do prioritize certain information over others and therefore add to how meaning is produced in the display. Emphasis and prioritization can also be an indicator as to what information is considered valuable by the museum. Which information is provided on labels, which information is prioritized and what *rhetorics* are employed? Mieke Bal's (1991) analysis of the American Museum of Natural history for example explains how a rhetoric of realism leads to an almost unquestionable representation of truthful knowledge.

2.2.3 Authority and Privilege

The perception of truth in the case of the Anthropology museum as an institution is highly linked to academic privilege and cultural authority of the institution. What makes museums an influential institution is a fact that they are awarded a high level of *cultural authority* as they are perceived to be the safe keepers of culture by SOCIETY (Walby & Piché, 2015). Museums create a sense of collective identity as they are a version of a memory of history, which is given particular significance (Brockmeir, 2002; Fehr, 2000), and they, therefore, paint their version of history to be the truthful version (Bal, 1996). Foucault suggests that specific discourses are dominant in institutions of social power and importance because those specific perspectives underline a notion

of being the absolute, *objective truth* (Foucault, 1980). Museums authority is then seldom contested, because an objectivity refers to a judgement made based on a neutral assessment. The idea of what indigenous heritage means and essentially constitutes in, is then constructed in a museum by the actors holding the power of decisions: namely people educated under western academic systems. This discourse of indigenous heritage is authorized through the agency of the museum and museum actors. Michael Ames (1994), a former director of the Museum of Anthropology of Vancouver, sees the problem in the fact that museums are the "the self-appointed keepers of other people's material and self-appointed interpreters of others' histories" (page 2). Museums, therefore, show a highly interpretive view that is based upon western *academic traditions and classification systems* (Ames, 1994). While the shape and form of how ethnographic material is displayed often changes according to new technologies and paradigm shifts within Anthropology, the objects are 'frozen' in these never-changing *academic categories* (Ames, 1994). *The institutional privilege*, that comes with a notion of indisputable objective and scientific truth then make it hard to question the narrative that the Anthropology museum translates into their display about indignity. New interactive exhibition design methods contribute to the idea that these traditional modalities of the display are being overcome, while the underlying discourses and representations tactics are in fact the same as in traditional glass-case displays (Waterton, 2010). To put it in a metaphorical way: The product (the narrative conveyed about indigeneity) stays the same, while the packaging (the Anthropology museum and the exhibitions tactics) gets a nice, newly rebranded design.

2.2.4 Provenance and Ownership

One of the ways to enhance the notion of scientific validity of the information provided in museums is to showcase the provenance. With western societies publicly moving away from colonialist and imperialist ideas, one topic that Anthropological museums face nowadays is the question of ownership, as most ethnographic objects on display have been taken during the period of western colonialism. In 2018 Felwine Sarr and French historian Bénédicte Savoy released their report on the issue of repatriating heritage, which stated that the majority (90 percent) of African art and antique cultural heritage objects currently reside outside the continent (Sarr & Savoy, 2018). A vast amount of these objects has been taken in the colonial period, and indigenous people claim ownership over their cultural objects (Zakaria, 2018). The British Museum, for example, has been approached by the Rapa Nui tribe of the Easter Island, that demand the return of the stone giant Hoa Hakananai'a to its native lands (Zakaria, 2018). This debate about the ownership of cultural objects is one that affects all anthropological museums.

Cody Delistraty, a writer and art critic sees the difficulty for ethnographic museums in finding a good balance between displaying ethnographic material neither solely through their colonial origin nor fully ignoring its provenance and colonial past (Delistraty, 2018).

Considering the debate surrounding ethnographic museums, the provenance of objects needs to be considered when we look at representation and especially written text that accompanies the displays. The path from one owner to the next of an object highlights colonialist history, ownership rights but also the social importance of an object. How and in which way provenance is provided gives further indication on how a museum positions itself as a cultural, social, political and academic institution. Provenance here not only refers to the provenance of objects but also the provenance of the material, interviews, quotes and other data used on display. Displaying provenance is also a way to enhance the authority of the museum as a legitimate owner of an object. By for example explaining a certain object is loaned or was bought with consent of indigenous communities, portrays the museum as a serious institution that does not support colonialism. This can be on one hand an indicator for collaborative approaches. On the other hand, the rhetoric's and the way information is provided can also disguise a violent background of acquisition for example, but still reinforce the notion of objective and scientific research at the museum – hence supporting the museums' academic authority once more.

2.3 Critical Museology

With new frameworks such as critical museology arising, museums now face their politically problematic past and must engage critically with the anthropological, colonialist tradition of displays. Earlier approaches based on anthropological scientific traditions drew from the belief of objective and apolitical representation (Hasian & Wood, 2010). Critical Museology or New Museology on the other hand is based on the idea that an institution such as a museum "acknowledges the nonobjective status of knowledge and the political inflections to which it is subject" (Shelton, 1995, p. 11). This critical approach asks for curation methods that question historical background, objectification of information and the acceptance of multiple versions of truth among other things (Hasian & Wood, 2010): it questions the anthropological, academic, cultural and colonial tradition of the Anthropology Museum in its entirety. As Shelton (Hasian and Wood, 2010) put it: "colonial museums simply need a dose of "a new honesty." (p.133). He sees the urgency in "rearticulating knowledge systems (…) and repurposing museums and galleries in line with multicultural and intercultural states and communities" (Shelton, 2013,p.1). This approach then tries to transcend the museum art gallery from a dated ideology based on colonialism into the post-colonialist era.

The critique on this controversial framework consists in the fact that it paints the museum as a subjective institution and exhibitions and curation can very fast become a means for new political and cultural ideologies to be represented in the museum. The museum would then become more of a political institution then a keeper of knowledge in the academic sense. Then again it already serves a political purpose in any case as objectivity in the museum as an institution is a constructed illusion as previously explained. Another argument against this approach is that it invites the public as well as the curators to question and discredit the museums' importance based on exhibitions, objects or its history that previously contributed to its success and popularity (Hasian and Wood, 2010). This would then to a certain extent undermines its authority.

Critical Museology is a new approach that sounds perfect in theory but in practice the challenge becomes to find the right balance between reflection, acknowledgement, restitution and restructuring while keeping up the importance and privileged position of the museum as an institution. If the institution were to lose its importance, it would not receive no funding and no visitors and therefore disappear. These approaches can appear in different forms and different intensities, from acknowledging colonial history and its implications for indigenous communities to openly displaying collaboration, multivocal perspectives and repatriation efforts. By incorporating multicultural approaches and views anthropological museums can become the voice for counter discriminative views, rather than following the anthropological tradition of how the culturally other is portrayed. Some practical propositions as to how to include critical musicological ideals into museum practice could include the evaluation of exhibition not in terms of sensitivity to their content but on what effect they have on contemporary issues about identity creation and power relations (Durrans, 1992). Artifacts and objects need to be displayed with insight into the original social context and cultural background. New ways to communicate content - such as audio, video and tactile technologies - should be implemented in the display (Durrans,1992).

A fundamental part of critical museology in Anthropology museums is the practice of decolonization that looks at confronting historical trauma (Lonetree, 2012) and to critically reflect on western museum models, that paint indigenous cultures to be inferior and primitive (Harrison, 2012). What decolonization looks like practically though is difficult to define. Each institution, that is confronted with colonialist traditions, has their own definition of what decolonization looks like. The Abbe Museum in Maine, USA states it to be "at a minimum, sharing authority for the documentation and interpretation of Native culture" (Abbe Museum, n.d.), while MoA shows their willingness to decolonize by supporting indigenous communities "right to "maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expression" (UBC Museum of Antropology , 2019). So what can

decolonizing a museum look like? What are possibilities to decolonize and implement critical approaches?

2.3.1 Acknowledgement

A major milestone in *the acknowledgment of indigenous rights* was the release of the UNESCO Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2008, which states the rights of indigenous people all over the world that "constitute the minimum standards for the survival, dignity and well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world." (September 13, 2008, Article 43). Inclusion, collaboration and partnering with aboriginal cultures is advised to cultural institutions, which include museums. The initial proposal sparked a discussion between UN member states and indigenous representatives about the articles affirming Indigenous peoples' right to self-determination. In response, human rights lawyer Youngblood Henderson stated that "[Member states] worried about the implications of Indigenous rights, refusing to acknowledge the privileges they had appropriated for themselves." (2008, page 70). After Canada endorsed the declaration in 2010 – calling it an aspirational document (CBC News, 2016) -, critics remained skeptical and describe the statement as an 'illusion of support' (Chief Stewart Phillip of the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs as in Hui, 2010) and an attempt to just change the public perception of Canadas position without any true commitment to the UNDRIP. This would essentially leave the Canadian Government in a position of resistance towards indigenous rights (Lightfoot, 2010). In 2016 the government promised the full implementation of the UNDRIP into the Canadian constitution (CBC News, 2016) while Kwakwaka'wakw Justice Minister Wilson-Raybould explained in a speech that this process is unworkable as it is incompatible with the Indian Act (APTN National News, 2016). One must question whether this illusion of support is also reflected in Canadian institutions.

As the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver officially supports the UNDRIP, it means that indigenous people of Canada should theoretically exercise the right to "protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures" (UN General Assembly, 2008). The critique of Lightfoot (2010) and Chief Stewart Phillip (Hui, 2010), may indicate that potentially MoA is only superficially engaging into these new frameworks through the acknowledgement of indigenous people. However, over the last 40 years, different approaches in several forms, from collaboration, participatory community research, inclusion in curation or indigenous curation, education, reevaluation of exhibitions by native communities and experts, repatriation of artifacts as well as constant dialogue with native communities in question have been implemented and practiced at the Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver to overcome the colonialist tradition of the

Anthropology museum (Ames, 1999; Clapperton 2010). Depending on the depth and form of the acknowledgement it would indicate that the museum is moving away from these traditions. As one of the most important museums on indigenous Pacific North Westcoast heritage, this aspect would support the trend of a change in the museum world away from colonialist models as mentioned previously. Despite these efforts, it was stated in the 90s that MoA still had done little to change the colonial practice of indigenous culture exposed as primitive in typical colonialist scenarios (Jones, 1993).

2.3.3 Collaboration

The next step after acknowledgement would constitute in collaborative approaches. The task force agreement between First Nations and Canadian museums has as goal to forge new relationships between Canadian museums and First Nations (Assembly of First Nations; The Canadian Museum Association, 1992) and asks for collaborative curation. The goal of this committee is to "develop an ethical framework and strategies for Aboriginal Nations to represent their history and culture in concert with the cultural institution" (Assembly of First Nations; The Canadian Museum Association, 1992, p.8). The fact that collaboration between First Nations and museums should be based on an equal partnership with mutual respect between the parties, stands out (Assembly of First Nations; The Canadian Museum Association, 1992).

In terms of authority, the agreement states that First Nations should be appreciated for their knowledge and approaches while the museum staff should be appreciated for its empirical approaches and academic knowledge (Assembly of First Nations; The Canadian Museum Association, 1992). By acknowledging each other's expertise, the museum and First Nations would then work in collaboration in a way that possibly results in a multi-perspective approach within the actual exhibition, by showing different sides of history, social context, meaning and the attribution of value. But collaborative approaches also pose challenges. In a project that included First Nations as full partners in an exhibition project in 1994 -1996 at Museum of Anthropology, Vancouver, Canada, Michael M. Ames, the director of the MoA at the time, describes that the process was difficult as professionals involved as well as professionals abroad voiced serious concerns about "potential risks to research opportunities, academic freedom, and curatorial prerogatives" (Ames, 1999, p. 2). Both parties operate under two different perspectives: Scholars as legitimized and authorized safe keepers and interpreters of knowledge by academic background and indigenous people as a safe keeper of tradition and culture by embodying the material represented. It might be difficult for indigenous representatives to be considered full partners in

the curation of artifacts, as the classical anthropological museum is historically a western, academic driven and colonial institution (Ames 1999).

The problem of collaborative approaches lies in the fact that First Nation's authority over their cultural knowledge may somewhat be a fetishized idea of authentic knowledge (Griffiths, 1995), while the museum then has a liberal, accepting and collaborative position. The indigenous goes then back to its traditional roots while the western, academic institution overcomes its difficulties with colonialism and sees the future. The museums' authority - the colonizers' superiority - is then again established over the dominated, primitive culturally other (Griffiths, 1995). The irony here lies in the fact that the museum then becomes a political trap for both the museum actors and indigenous people as both fall into their respective roles - the primitive and the enlightened, civilized - while trying to overcome those through collaboration. The difficulty of understanding how collaboration challenges authority and colonialist discourse or reinforces them lies in the fact that it is a matter of interpretation.

Another problem that collaborative approaches pose is in their visibility. While efforts may be made to implement them, they are often unseen by the visitors (Schultz, 2008) and difficult to translate into the exhibition. A research based on the project "A Partnership of Peoples" at the Museum of Anthropology in Vancouver showed that the main benefits in collaborative approaches lie in personal relationships and interactions (Schultz, 2008) between actors involved in the process. The question remains as to how the museum of Anthropology makes these relationships and collaborative approaches - if at all - visible in the exhibitions. One method of displaying equal collaboration is to use multivocal approaches: to show indigenous views as well and western academic perspectives in an equal manner. Shelton (2000) and Phillips (2011) claim that this method questions authority and institutional privilege of museums, which would indicate a radical form of critical museology.

Overall the above-mentioned process is evidence though that indigenous, Canadian communities have been in the past been an active contributor and decisive force in the display of their own cultural objects at MoA for over 20 years now. It can be assumed, that the representation of indigenous, Canadian cultures is at least partly influenced by active members of the cultures in question.

2.3.2 Repatriation

Another possible way of implementing critical museology into museum practices is repatriation. The controversy of cultural ownership has been addressed in 2002 in the Declaration of the importance and value of the Universal Museum, which argues that repatriation of cultural

material would diminish the value of museum collections, by becoming narrower and less diverse (Curtis, 2005) - hence less educative. While this may be a commonly shared position of museums with anthropological material on display, the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples in Canada also expressed that they "simply cannot understand the depth of these issues or make sense of the current debate without a solid grasp of the shared history of Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people on this continent." (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996). This indicates that indigenous views and requests are being heard throughout the museum sector and actively addressed by government officials.

French President Macron, for example, promised to return 26 objects to Benin, taken in 1892 during his tour through West Africa in 2017 (Saxby, 2019). While Macron's vocal condemnation of the French colonial past and this act of restitution were widely celebrated, critics voice that this act is a mere representation of a Neo-colonialist power hierarchy between France and Africa (Saxby, 2019). Saxby points out in this context that the relationship between anti-colonial gesture and Neo-colonial policies and positions are a point to be thoroughly examined (2019). Sarr and Savoy (2018) warn that restitution and repatriation can potentially be used as an instrument for political, diplomatic or economic gain. Another critique that is voiced, is that disposing of cultural objects that are no longer useful for a country in their political discourse, may be given back, without actual reconciliation and debate around what colonialism has caused (Saxby, 2019). The risk in this is that history might be forgotten, and a narrative of insurmountable cultural difference might become the norm.

While repatriation together with reconciliation can indeed be part of the museum's ideals and, including indigenous voices can also merely be a political tool that reinforces historic power hierarchies. By promoting these positions, the museums would be the active, inclusive powerful institution, which in the current social context and the debate around more inclusion and rights for indigenous people would be favorable. Indeed, it could potentially be that this leaves indigenous cultures to still be represented as the passive receivers of western benevolence. Therefore, it is important to look at whether MoA tries to reconcile within their display and how this concept may oppose other discourses. Tonkiss (1988 as in Rose 2001) suggests looking for "the work that is being done to reconcile conflicting ideas, to cope with contradiction or uncertainty or to counter alternatives" (p.255) within the display to see how the museum deals with these practices and anthropological tradition.

2.4 Representation

In order to understand how representation works and how these political and social ideas might be embedded in exhibitions design and display, one must look at representation tactics. Representation is to be understood in this context as the process in which cultures make use of a signifying system (language, images etc.) to make meaning (Hall,1997). It's the way that a sign is used to stand for a specific meaning that is then arranged to form certain constructions of meaning (Mitchell, 1995). One way representation can be dissected is by looking at the object itself, the manner in which the object is represented and the means, ergo the material used in the process (Mitchell, 1995). This gives an idea ofthe visual layer of representation. But what does an object represent? Representation works by using objects that function as a sign for something that we use to comprehend our social, cultural, and physical context (Lidchi, 2013). The signifier is the physical manifestation of what is seen – ergo the actual object- and the signified is the mental concept that we attribute to it (Lidchi, 2013). Representation becomes the production of meaning through a cultural lens and is in the constructionist perspective: a play between reflective and intentional approaches (Hall, 1997).

Curation as a practice then is an interpretive practice and curated artifacts to a certain extent the interpretation of the view of the curator on the museum. Heritage objects such as indigenous artifacts in the MoA, do then not only represent an interpretation of a curator view but are also a representation and distortion of the social relations under which they were produced (Watson & Waterton, 2010). One reason for this as Waterton (2010) points out lies in the fact that museum objects are not allowed any other history and meaning than the one that is chosen for it in the museum context. Therefore, objects in a museum display may convey a different meaning than originally intended when they change from their natural context into the museum context as previously mentioned. The meaning that is conveyed is heavily influenced by the underlying discourses. In this context, the term discourse refers to a specific type of knowledge about society and the world which is a defining factor in how the world is interpreted and how people should do everything in it (Rose, 2001). Representing culture through an exhibition represents therefore a great challenge, as every exhibition will translate to a certain extent an underlying discourse. The representation tactics become a tool to translate these discourses implicitly or explicitly. In the context of this research we have referred to different discourses such as the colonialist discourse and the discourse of critical museology.

How are immaterial stories and concepts then turned int exhibitions, that represent a specific meaning? Curators, that classify and selects artifacts for display and designers, that shape the space in which the objects are displayed, work together to create an event in which they use

"objects, texts, visual representations, reconstructions and sounds to create an intricate and bounded representational system" (Lidchi, 2013, p. 168). These aspects are all separated but interrelated at the same time as they together generate an atmosphere and meaning. The meaning of one thing depends on the meaning carried by the other things around it. This process is referred to as intertextuality (Rose, 2001). Text, glass case display, audio and video material, light and architecture all are interconnected and influence each other's meanings.

2.5 Social Performance Theory

Modern societies seem to depend on processes - such as using cultural institutions - to create a shared identity (Giesen 1998, Ringmar 1996). Alexander (2004) describes this as a social process in which actors - in this case, the museum - create and display their subjective interpretation and meaning of their social life. They do so in a conscious or unconscious manner. According to research on museums and heritage sites as social actors (Hoebink, 2017), this would suggest that museums as actors may unconsciously reproduce interpretations, traditions and perspectives of social life as they believe them to be. This is a particularly complex idea in ethnographic museums, such as MoA which emerged from colonialist traditions, as they then may reproduce discourses unconsciously.

The theory of cultural pragmatics (Alexander, 2004) offers a perspective that goes the middle path between structuralist theories, which investigate meaning by relating to it as a text. This theory gives another angle on representation. It looks at representation as a social situation in a dynamic system, in which human, the environment or context and the phenomenology of the interactions are separate aspects that blend together within a social performance. This performance constitutes of seven aspects: The actor, the audience, the social context, collective representations, and the mise-en-scène (or the models of representation), the cultural script and the means of symbolic production. Social Performance Theory offers a way to analyze these different components, while acknowledging their interconnectedness as explained in relation to representation.

The actors and audiences are the people that are taking part in the museum as a social performance. The actors, in this case, are people such as the curators that take an extensive part in creating the exhibitions at MoA ergo the people that work from the background to make the performance happen. The audience is the element that receives the content and interprets the content. Rose (2001) explains how in museums visitors or audiences are made to behave in a certain way by specific rules such as not touching museum objects and being silent for example. She calls this museum technique the disciplining of the visitor. Another way to enhance those

rules, that in fact underline a discourse of power and knowledge of the museum, constitute in spatial arrangements such as spatial routing - a set route to follow for the visitor - or seating opportunities in front of particular pieces. The audience becomes a persona that - through seeing and observation - is asked to create an understanding of the display (Rose,2001). What makes the museum an interesting case to look at it as a social performance, is that the exposed object on display is there to create a statement that is addressed to the audience (Bal & Janssen, 1996). Without the audience, there would not be the goal of successful social performance and persuasive discourse.

The social context is the context in which the performance operates (Alexander, 2004). This means the economic and sociological structures as well as the political ones that the museum finds itself working within (Hoebink ,2017). The social context can become more visible when the museum is faced with new public debates, as for example debates about decolonization, repatriation and the future of the anthropological museum, which we referred to earlier. In this case the museum becomes a place of multiple social contexts depending on the audience. First, it is a museum in post-colonial Canada and therefore represents as an institution the countries values and ideals. It then also becomes a place of political ambivalence due to the debate surrounding post-colonial relationships with indigenous people. It also is an institution based on wester academic traditions and embodies therefore all the unwritten rules that come with Western academic ideas such as research, academic excellence, objectivity and authority. On the other hand, it also functions as a tourist destination. One can observe that the social context has many different layers that also depend heavily on the intention and position of visitors. A tourist might be more aware of the social context of the museum as a tourist attraction, while a researcher might see the museum as a place of knowledge and so on. Another part of these western values of the museum is the way how art and artifacts are to be appreciated. The qualities of the objects are enhanced in a specific way that is based on a long tradition of western representation strategies. The social context then also widens onto the historical, political and cultural context in which the museum operates and heavily influences all other components.

In the background of the social performance MoA, a system of collective representations is present that constitutes of all sort of discourses such as social power structures, cultural values and epistemologies (Alexander, 2004), which are shaped again by social context. These narratives underlie the whole performance (Alexander 2004). They are somewhat the discourses that are largely implicit in the exhibition. While these background symbols operate in the background the cultural script operates in the foreground of the social performance. The cultural script is a mix between textual script (such as text, audio and visuals) to support what the object means and how it should be looked at (Hoebink,2017). Scripts that relate to the spatial organization are meant to

guide and help the audience to understand the content of the exhibition. This can be through a predestined route or through spatial scripts that allow more freedom to find your own way as a visitor. While these aspects are somewhat more visible collective representations are often not directly visible because exhibitions and heritage display are somewhat "…pervasive cultural performances of normalization" (Schirato and Webb 2004, p.147). Visitors do not really realize and perceive them as they are part cultural patterns of behavior for example as to how to behave in a museum. If these were explicit, they would not contribute to a social performance that is successful as the experience of the visitor would be interrupted by a disrupted, unknown element. Cultural scripts or discourses could possibly be the above-mentioned idea of indigenous First Nation communities as primitive or as exotic, extinct cultures in the case of MoA.

The mise-en-scène at the museum is basically the spatial organization, lightening, the architecture, the layout of the room and all the technologies used in the display as mentioned earlier. One could also say the mise-en-scène is the exhibition design (Hoebink, 2017). The goal of a successful mise-en-scène is to support the other aspects to create a visual and sensual context in which the performance can be experienced (Alexander, 2004). One has then to not only look at the actual display such as the objects and text but also how they are emphasized by the spatial arrangement, light and other means as they tend to have a big impact on the atmosphere, the overall feeling that is transported through the exhibition (Balcombe, 2018).

The last aspect, the means of symbolic production, represent all the physical elements, of the display as a social performance, such as objects and cases but also the museum building. What becomes important here is to look at the choices of material displayed. Why were certain means chosen over others, why were some emphasized more than others and how does that happen? The material aspect that is connected to historical value plays a big role in the museum context and the materiality of the means enhance their authenticity greatly.

To see the museum as social performance and to examine discourse within these structures with input from behind the scenes by the actors, gives a new framework on how to conduct discourse analysis in cultural institutions. It serves as a tool to define where discourse is constructed and can be used in order to create a successful experience for visitors but also to determine blind spots of museum actors in regards to what they want to translate into the display and what they actually do translate into the display. What is important to note here is that discourse can be articulated in most of the above-mentioned components of social performances: In the mise-en-scène of the museum, in the cultural script and the collective representations. All these aspects come together in a successful social performance and all the meanings that are created, all the discourses that are present are dependent on each other. Discourse and social

performance are similar. Both have as goal to be successful (Alexander 2004) and persuasive (Gill, 1996).

3. Methodology

3.1 Museum of Anthropology of Vancouver (MoA) at the University of British Columbia (UBC) – A case study

To answer the question of how indigenous, First Nation communities are represented at MoA gives an insight to post/colonial processes in MoA. The goal of this research is to understand the underlying discourses. This case tries to examine how institutions rooted in colonialist ideologies transcend into post-colonialist times as they are important educational facilities that take part in constructing a narrative about power structures and cultural difference in society.

The Museum of Anthropology of Vancouver (MoA) represents one of the largest educational facilities about Indigenous Canadian, cultures and claims to be a progressive leader in the field ethnographic museology implementing concepts such as decolonization, integration and collaborative approaches with indigenous communities Canada. As museums are institutions that legitimize but also naturalize social relationships (Dicks, 2003) it is important to study how MoA represents the active, living, native communities of Canada since museums also play an important role to redefine national as well as local commemorative traditions (Hoelscher & Aldermann, 2004). They shape the view on indigeneity today through their representation strategies and discourse. Specific changes away from anthropological traditions are also claimed to happen at MoA. The museum started a new kind of anthropological approach, when the new building was opened in the 70s, to acknowledge the aesthetic and artistic qualities of First Nations art and heritage objects (Ames 1994; Clifford 1992). The enhancement of aesthetic qualities and little textual interpretation showed anthropological findings in a new light (Ames 1994; Clifford 1992). Not only is a shift in anthropological traditions seen in terms of representation and discourse then, but the museum also engages itself politically in present-day issues that First Nations face, in collaborative approaches and in the advancement of critical museological approaches (Shelton and Houtman 2009). MoA therefore constitutes a good case study based on its western and ethnographic tradition, its institutional importance within British Columbia and Canada, and its representation of present-day ethnic minorities. The question of *how indigenous, First Nation communities from the Pacific Northwest Coast are represented* at the Museum of Anthropology (MoA) in Vancouver is researched in this context.

3.2 Research Design

As the Museum of Anthropology of Vancouver works closely with the communities on the Pacific North West Coat and is present on one of the community's territories, this research will primarily focus on Pacific Northwest Coast indigenous communities and their representation. It must be noted here that MoA also displays a vast number of ethnographic objects from other cultures and continents from Latin America and Africa to Europe and Asia.

The strength of this research lies in the comparison of the critical analysis of the display or museum as a social performance under the aspect of the mise-en-scène, the cultural script, collective representations with the information provided by the main actors involved in the exhibition design. This gives the opportunity to look at how intention and discourse on the actor's side are translated into actual display and to understand the reasoning behind certain choices. It therefore gives a clearer picture of the museums as a social performance. In this research curators, marketing staff and direction have been interviewed to examine how they view MoA in terms of indigenous representations, what goals they have and what happens in the background.

The research question of *How indigenous, First Nation communities from the Pacific Northwest Coast are represented at the Museum of Anthropology (MoA) in Vancouver* will be addressed in this research through the qualitative method of Visual Discourse analysis of the exhibition about indigenous Pacific Northwest Coast heritage as well as use of secondary data such as audio and visual material provided by the museum as support for the exhibition. This research tries through discourse analysis to understand the strategies used for this persuasion (Rose, 2001) and how the museum as a social performance tries to successfully convey their perspective, by analyzing the different components (Hoebink,2017). This is particularly interesting to observe in museums, because discourse is produced and circulated in institutions (Nead, 1988) and therefore constitutes a social context that produces and reproduces popular discourse about indigeneity in Canadian society. Furthermore this research attempts to understand the communicative dimensions of exhibitions to understand how public knowledge is constructed unconsciously but in collaboration through the different aspects of social performance (Hasian & Wood, 2010). Because the Museum in this research is seen as a social performance.

3.3 Data scope and data collection

This data is gathered in form of photographs and audio material to record the content of the exhibition. The photographs serve as devices to analyze the display. The units of analysis here is

the exhibition of First Nations material at MoA. The second source of data are semi-structured interviews with museum staff members involved in curation, marketing and direction. Furthermore, secondary data was used in terms of online newspaper articles and video material to define the debate and discussion around ethnographic museums at this day.

The collection of primary data in forms of photographs, video and audio, as well as the interviews with staff members, took place from the 17th of April 2019 until the 17th of May 2019. The units of analysis for the visual discourse analysis are total of 1448 photographs, that constitute of objects on display - in closeups and as entire cases-, labels, descriptions, architecture and lightning. They are collected and categorized into four categories according to their exhibition space: the Great Hall and Hallway, the Masterworks Gallery, the Multiversity Gallery and the exterior of the museum. The appendix (6) shows a small selection of the display that has been analyzed.

The semi-structured interviews were conducted in the timeframe of April 17th 2019 until May 17th of 2019 with three curators of MoA, the director as well as the Senior Marketing and Communications manager and the scope of the interview data is about 5,25 hours. One of the interviews however was not recorded due to technical issues. The interview was one hour and thirteen minutes long. A detailed table about the interviewees can be found in the Appendix 4. The method of semi-structured interviewing was adjusted due to interview-bias related issues into a form of dialogical (Kvale, 2006; Lucius-Hoene & Deppermann, 2000) and semi-structured interviewing, to make the interviewees feel more comfortable and in order to let the interviewees stir the conversation into direction the researcher did not previously think of. The researcher was able to share her own position to establish a basis of trust to gain better insight into what position the actors behind MoAs display hold. This resulted in a broader range of information. To select the interviews the method of purposeful sampling method of criterion sampling was used as it provides the cases richest in knowledge and information (Patton, 2002). The curators, the director and the head of communications were identified as the most knowledgeable individuals about MoA stand towards exhibition processes and MoAs ideals therefore the most experienced individuals about the researched material (Cresswell & Plano, 2007). All interviews were held face to face at different locations suggested by the participants at MoA. As there was no personal relationship between the respondents and the researcher, possible bias was avoided as the respondents did not know any of the researcher's opinions or views prior to the interview and could therefore freely share their opinion.

To ensure the reliability of the data, the respondents were asked to consent to being recorded. All interviewees consented to being recorded during the interview and are aware of the use of the data. One respondent did not consent to their name being published, but their position held at

MoA. Therefore, the choice was made to list all respondents with their current title of employment rather than their names, to ensure anonymity.

3.4 Operationalization

The photographs were first categorized in the different exhibitions and analyzed separately as exhibitions. The data classified and analyzed within actor, the audience, the social context, collective representations, mise-en-scène, the cultural script and the means of symbolic production to see where similar discourses may be identified and where differences arise in the discourse about indigenous communities of Canada at MoA. The table shows what was part of the different components. As all components are indeed present in most pictures – ergo the mise-en-scène as architecture, the means of symbolic production as objects, the social context of the museum and its visitors, the collective representations through rhetorical tools in labels for example - at the same time, all images had to be looked multiple times under different angles. The components that can be analyzed visually are the mise-en-scène, the means of symbolic production and the cultural script. These three are explicit, while social context and collective representations are a functioning in the background and are a matter of interpretation and research. The different parts analyzed concerning these three categories are explained in the table (1. Categories analyzed under Social Performance Theory). The mise-en-scène included everything supporting the exhibition such as architecture, light., visual design choices and interior design choices. The means of symbolic production included to look at the architectural structure and the objects themselves and their materiality. The cultural script looks at the textual components that are conveyed through rhetoric methods such as text on labels, audio material and digital content provided in the exhibitions.

All concepts and notions explained in the literature review were analyzed under the above-mentioned categories of social performance theories and how they manifest themselves in the display. The exhibition was categorized also by the periods of pre-contact, post-contact and recovery period (Oliver, 2019) and how the political and original context of the displayed belongings is represented. Here references to time period and differentiation or non-differentiation between historical period were an indicator. Historical value and artistic value were distinguished, by looking at how MoA makes a difference between artifacts or art objects in their display, and whether this distinctions apply. Aesthetic quality could be indicated through rhetoric's of describing the aesthetic features of the objects, highlighting certain aspects through light installations while the object as artifact might be indicated through a historical description, quotes about spiritual meaning and the original use of the object.

CATEGORIES	ASPECTS ANALYZED
MISE-EN-SCÈNE	• Exterior Architecture • Exhibition design • Spatial Organization of the exhibitions • Light: natural light sources, artificial light sources, light design • Material choices for supporting material: wood, glass, concrete, fabrics, paper… • Color choices • Display cases • Glass Cases, Open display cases, pedestals… • Supporting material to hold objects in place: f.ex standing, hanging, laying • Typography choices on labels, panels, posters, wall scriptures ect • Wall design • Digital media carriers/quality • Sound and video carriers/ quality • Indication signs • Interior Architecture • Decoration on windows, floor, walls • Seating possibilities
MEANS OF SYMBOLIC PRODUCTION	• Objects – material aspects such as age and state • Artifacts • Prints • Art pieces • Videos • Audio recordings • Photographs • Statues • Posters • Leaflets • Architecture as a whole
CULTURAL SCRIPT	• Textual script, rhetoric – support information on: • Labels • Panels • Posters • Indication signs • Wall-Scriptures • Audio • Video • Digital media • Books • Leaflets and booklets for visitors • Other descriptive material

Table 1: Categories Analyzed under Social Performance Theory

How the UNDRIP manifests itself in the display, and h.ow First Nations are acknowledged and recognized was another point. Recognition and acknowledgment served as a basis to also see how critical museology with the concepts of decolonization, repatriation and collaboration is implemented through rhetoric's in labels, through displayed objects and though indigenous voices throughout the exhibitions. Difference portrayed as the exclusion of western influence was another concept that was looked upon, by examining how hybridity of cultural heritage or its absence was used in the exhibition.

The questions and answers of the interviewees were classified in the section of social performance in order to compare the results of the coding to the analysis (Appendix Questionnaires 2). As the Interviewees represent the actors in the social performance of the museum, personal questions about the profession, the involved parties and their personal motivation were asked to the respondents. Questions about audience were for example asked in relation to feedback, in relation to intended audience. The means of symbolic production referred to the actual objects and what decision processes decide which means of symbolic production are used in terms of material and objects. The social context was covered by discussing the changes in the museum sector especially surround anthropological traditions and debate. The section of collective representations was covered by talking about the processes and approaches the MoA takes and where the actors see MoAs value as an institution.

3.5 Analysis

Discourse analysis aims at studying the way objects are spoken about and are positioned and portrayed by institutions and their epistemological view. The idea is to understand how the exhibition reflects the museum discourse that does take place in a physical, three-dimensional space (Smith& Foote, 2017). Visual discourse analysis is a qualitative methodology that focuses on the effect of discourses as well as their context and social production and therefore aims at first exploring the notions of discourse, discursive formations and productivity (Gill, 1996) and can secondly pay attention to the practices of the institution, therefore the politics of representation (Rose, 2001). It is a highly interpretative as the analysis is a reconstruction and interpretation of meaning and how meaning is created through the actual display, language used, visual and spatiality (Kuronen, 2015) and is highly dependent on the empirical data that is gathered (Rose, 2001). Most attention on discourse has been focused on one or two-dimensional text. The museum presents a three-dimensional space in which discourse is affected through the layout, placement and other characteristics of the mise-en-scène in the space (Smith & Foote, 2017). The qualitative methods of visual discourse analysis present the best option, as we want to understand

a case on a micro-scale level and build theory based on empirical research. As relatively little research has been done to analyze museum discourse within the 3-dimensional space (Kuronen, 2015), this research offers an approach that can be replicated in different museum and arts and culture sectors, to see if intentions by cultural institutions are actually translated into the display. This helps to determine if new ideologies and concepts such as decolonization and new museological practices find their way into actual exhibitions, or whether old colonial museum models persist, and change is just seen in the theoretical and rhetorical level museum practices and not the practice itself. The analysis consisted of looking at different components in regard to mise-en-scène , cultural script and means of symbolic production and determining where discourse described such as authority, privilege and critical museological approaches.

In order to lead the analysis and keep track of different concepts or their absences a list of questions for each concept was used (Appendix 6.3). The analysis consisted in several rounds of coding while looking at different aspects in each picture separately such as the mise-en-scène of a glass case display which includes the lighting, and the atmosphere and design choices for labels for example. Then the displayed objects and material aspects of supporting material was looked at, while disfiguring the central themes in the cultural scrips. The rhetoric's and design choices played an important part as they conveyed most of the visible implicit information about prominent discourse. Leading questions in the theme of objects portrayed as art or artifacts, for example, were "*How are the objects categorized? What does it indicate? What hierarchies are made visually, aesthetically, rhetorically" ,* which all can refer to all three categories of Social Performance theory individually and in combination. A similar set of leading questions can be seen in the Appendix (3).

The interviews were transcribed and coded with the software ATLAS.ti, using open coding in the first round of coding in order to find topics and categories that can inform, contradict or support the results in the visual discourse analysis. The aim was to compare the results of both analysis processes to understand how the actors influence the display, where they succeed to implement their goals and where they fail. Thematic analysis, that aims at finding overarching topics and patterns to inform the research question, was used in this round of coding (Fereday, & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). The patterns and codes found in the interviews were linked to each other in a coding tree to visualize connections between the topic. The second round of coding was used to categorize these links into the categories of social performance, to make clear in which aspect of the museum as a social performance are implemented.

3.6 Methodological reflections

Visual discourse analysis demands full reflexivity (Phillips, 2001 as in Nielsen, 2006). In social constructionism meaning is constructed which means. The researcher must be conscious of his or her role as researcher and on how she engages with the empirical data from the data collection to the analysis. The cultural background as well as equipment, how, why data and the way data is analyzed has to be transparent (Nielsen, 2006). In order to engage with the display with fresh eyes and to avoid bias, I went to see the display several times and before the interviewing process began as well as after having conducted a first round of coding. My biography influences the research as well as interpretation of the data at hand (England, 1994; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). I have visited the Museum Anthropology of Vancouver every year since 2014 and might therefore have a biased opinion. Furthermore, I have been raised until 15 years old with the traditions of indigenous North American communities and their cultural heritage. I might therefore have a sensitivity toward First Nation cultures, as I harbor as strong opinion on colonialist tradition and ideologies of portraying indigenous people. Hence the interpretation of the data gathered may have been affected. Bal (1996) explains that the main critical argument concerning discourse analysis in museums is that the researcher is also the audience. Being exposed to the product I am therefore performing within the social performance of the museum so to speak. This research can therefore by no means be an objective analysis of the display but may nevertheless offer a new perspective on the representation of First Nations at MoA. Ethnography and visual discourse analysis cannot be objective as qualitative research methods are always interpretive and imprinted by the personal experience the researcher has gone through as individual (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007).

The difficulty of the research lies in finding a suitable method of analysis of the discourse as Foucault's methodological statements are vague and most discourse analysts do not state what methods they use and how they are applied (Rose, 2001). Jonathan Potter (1996) describes discourse analysis as something that can only be learned by doing it and that it is somewhat of a craft skill. By practicing beforehand on other material and looking at the material several times in a row and different categories, first the categories set by social performance theory and then the concepts described in the literature review, as well as an open round of coding to determine themes in labels and rhetoric's as well as in the actual display.

One limitation that this study brings is the fact that the effectiveness of the MoA as Social Performance has not been answered. The degree of success or failure in terms of the audience experience raised questions, that are not answered here. While these questions are important to determine whether the discourses translated into the exhibition by the agents in the museum

(such as curators, designer, directors) from an audience perspective (Benett,1995), audiences have not been the focus of this research and this would have resulted in a different kind of approach.

4. Analysis and Results

In this analysis, I will explore dominant discourses within the exhibition. While we find many indicators and different notions for different discourses, specific examples are discussed to underline the argumentation in the analysis.

The museum is divided in 4 spaces: The Great Hall, the Rotunda and Hallway, the Multiversity Gallery and the Masterworks Gallery (Appendix 6). One enters first the Great Hall through a hallway that leads towards an illuminated, big space, with high ceilings to accommodate the high poles of First Nation communities. To the right one can go towards the Multiversity Gallery, which is a space that is rather dark in comparison and is filled with objects on display in glass cases and drawers. Through a hallway from the Great Hall, passing by the Rotunda one can access the Masterworks Gallery. It is a much smaller space of one room with a couple of glass cases, with selected objects, that is lit up by spotlights. This space contains screens to project video material, modern glass panels that showcase quotes from indigenous voices and audio material of these people speaking these quotes out loud.

The hallway from the entrance to the Great Hall visually ends with a First Nations totem poles that mark the entrance to the Great Hall. It is flooded by daylight shining through a wall made almost entirely of glass. It appears that the hallway is an extension of the entrance of the museum. The visitor enters a setting that seems like a traditional longhouse due to the architecture and nature around the entrance. Here the architectural features of Erickson come to light by creating an environment that is a modern-day interpretation of indigenous housing from the Pacific Northwest Coast indigenous communities. The few objects are carefully selected to set the tone of the exhibition. This mise-en-scène serves as a preparation, as a built up of interest and curiosity but also as an indicator of dominant museum discourses about First Nation representation throughout the museum.

When talking with the museum actors it becomes clear how this atmosphere was constructed and why it was constructed in this way. The analysis of the interviews provided a possibility to understand the reasoning behind certain choices in the display, but also which position MoA takes as an institution and how this position is translated into the exhibition. The overarching topics that were found were *museum structure, museum ideology* that is strongly connected to *repatriation, community work, collaboration* with their respective *processes, relationships* (academic, personal, professional) and how they influence exhibitions. The notion of *respect* and following

indigenous protocols seems to be of great importance for the Museum. The challenge of objectivity vs. subjectivity through a personal *bias,* but also due to the p*olitical and legal issues* the museum faces was addressed. Another dominant code that appeared was the *anthropological tradition vs. multi-perspective approaches,* which was related to a *critical and reflective framework.* Concerning the *objects* and *representation* dominant codes that emerged from the coding process were the presentation of the *indigenous people as artists* as well as *indigenous heritage objects as art.* What was extensively discussed in three of the five interviews was the wishes and feedback of the *intended audiences.*

4.1 Indigenous Heritage as Art or Artifact?

One of the more dominant discourses throughout MoA is the display of First Nation heritage as art and indigenous people as artists. One must note here that the focus on First Nations aesthetics and artistic qualities is visible throughout the different exhibition but is most prominent in the Great Hall. Upon entering the museum one can directly continue one's way straight to the exhibition entrance. The pole structure continues into the hallway and at the end of that way one can see bright lights. But first, the light gets dimmer as the visitor steps into a hallway, which is lined by three sets of three platforms on both sides of the hallway. These platforms each showcase a range of two to six-First Nation objects in an open display, with only a small glass barrier in front of them to indicate to the visitor to not cross over onto the platform or touch the object. The objects are placed in an open display indicates that the museum wanted the visitor to be able to appreciate the pieces in their full. It reminds one of the typical displays in fine art museums where a visual indication through either laser, tape on the floor or other methods protects the artwork from visitors coming to close and potentially damaging the pieces. But still one can appreciate the work to the maximum. The artistic quality is, therefore, more important – at least visually – than the categorization and protection of the object. This already indicates that the objects are more represented as artworks, hence they are to be appreciated as such.

Next to the disciplining of visitors (Rose, 2001) another indicator for a discourse of indigenous objects as art rather than an artifact is the hierarchies of display of objects in the Great Hall. Some of the objects are placed in terms of size the bigger and higher ones first towards the smaller ones (6.1/ 17,34,35). The objects on the last two platforms, three chests on one and three house poles on the other are arranged by size and mirror the slope of the halls floor (6.1/19). These platforms also show a limited number of objects each, which makes it easy for the visitor to concentrate separately on each object. They are part of the means of symbolic production (Alexander, 2004), the architecture. Not only are the objects emphasized by being put on different highs on the platforms, but they are highlighted through spotlights in a way that creates

a high light and dark contrast through shadows (6.1/ 10,15,34). The different pieces, especially in the entrance, are highlighted through spotlights, creating a dynamic and dramatic play of shadows and light (Appendix 6.1/1,2,10,14,15,17,19,20), and the careful selection and prioritization of the objects underline this discourse. This mise-en-scène of the objects on the platforms create a dynamic, open display. Contemporary art pieces such as the sculpture of a Raven (6.1/19) are placed next to old traditional bentwood boxes. Modern First Nations art pieces are placed next to historical artifacts and are highlighted in the same way. In some cases described through labels for their manufacturing process by contemporary artists (6.1/ 47.1,47.2) or the techniques used to create the designs (6.1/ 42,42.1,42.2).

Another indication for this aestheticization of objects is the open display of all artifacts in the Great Hall. No glass cases protect the poles, boxes, canoes and other cultural belongings. One of the curators indeed indicated that the idea behind the Great Hall was to create an aesthetic and formal display to counter preconception about indigenous nations as primitive. This statement and classification supports the recent developments in the museum sector (Turgeon & Dubuc, 2002) and contests the views of the culturally other and primitive (Perloff-Giles,2010) by making the indigenous person and artist and the indigenous object an artwork – no matter the age. This approach is also used to make visitors question their belief systems about primitive indigenous art as the Marketing and Communications manager points out with the following statement: "There is still a general sentiment in the public about what First Nation art is … some people still come here and are surprised by how sophisticated that art is." The discourse of the artist then actually supports counter discriminative views and to avoid differentiation of indigenous people from the rest of society. This suggests that the museum is taking its distance from former anthropological traditions that aim at distinguishing ethnographic objects to as art but artifacts (Turgeon & Debuc, 2002). The difference is therefore not emphasized through exclusion and distinction of indigenous cultures from the West (Perloff-Giles, 2010), but emphasizes the indigenous people's long-lasting aesthetic traditions, that still are part of their culture today. The difference is therefore constructed not by emphasizing a myth model of opposition, negative and positive (Bal & Jansen, 1996), but by constructing a narrative of a different aesthetic tradition than solely based on craftsmanship. The traditional distinction of difference between the culturally other as a matter that is to be studied and the western, aesthetic, beautiful and comprehensible is challenged. It also goes along with the developments that other Museums make to break the barriers by using a discourse of aesthetic quality (Perloff-Giles, 2010).

In the Masterwork Gallery the emphasis on First Nations heritage objects as art is emphazised through the multiple quotes of contemporary First Nation artists that commented on pieces about their aesthetic and also cultural quality (6.4/7.1,9,11). With quotes and cultural scripts that

emphasizes the aesthetic quality of the work, one quickly feels as if being in an art gallery. The museum seems to be aware of this way of portrayal as on certain panels we find quotes as well as information about the spiritual meaning of these object. While these examples are rare here the museum does therefore challenge its own constructed discourse of the indigenous person as an artist. One dominant aspect that related to indigeneity today and indigenous artists in the rhetorical approaches of different panels is the referral to traditional craftsmanship. On multiple panels one can find explanations about traditional techniques and the excellence of those skills (f. ex. 6.1/47.1). What is also noticeable here is that certain statement is made in the present tense and others in the past tense connecting the pre-colonial knowledge as still being a valuable skill of indigenous First Nations today. On one panel for example (6.1/57) all these aspects are very noticeable:

"The First Nations people of the Northwest Coast are renowned for their elegant engineered canoes. Ranging in length from three to twenty meters canoes were essential for travel, transport, hunting and trade. Different coastal communities developed distinctive styles to suit their particular needs. Each canoe is made from a single cedar log, carved and steamed into space."

In this example, the mixture of past and present tense indicate that this skill is preserved throughout the time periods. It refers to craftsmanship, traditional knowledge and use in the pre-contact period as well as the aesthetic qualities by referring to the distinctive styles. It also here distinguishes clearly that indigenous First Nation communities were and are not the same nor in terms of culture nor in terms of aesthetic traditions.

While we find numerous examples of contemporary indigenous people as artist in all exhibitions this factor is most dominantly highlighted in the Great Hall. In the Multiversity Gallery the discourse of First Nations as craftsmen and artist is reinforced by putting past and present-day objects, paintings, carving and prints together without references to time or context of the piece. Especially the drawers of the Multiversity Gallery show this. The Multiversity Gallery can be accessed directly from the Great Hall and is introduced as an accumulation of objects that normally would be packed away in storage. It showcases more than 10.000 objects which is rather overwhelming when entering the Gallery. Most of these objects are stored in glass case displays and drawers that the visitor has to open to discover its content. All drawer sections (3-4 drawers under each other) do not seem to follow any apparent logical, historical or aesthetic classification or order except being related to the First Nations community in the section. Going back to the Great Hall the totem-poles are also highlighted for their aesthetic qualities through the major absence of the spiritual and societal meaning of the individual totem poles. It is also noticeable

that through the mixture of these different artifacts without many classifications, First Nations are perceived to not have changed much in the past decades. Their art and crafts skills and tradition seem almost unchanged through time, as the visitor cannot distinguish between old and new, pre- and post-contact belongings at first sight. The Multiversity Gallery showcases a lot of contemporary artists, that are explicitly named (6.3/8.1-8.2,29.154,57) next to anthropological artifacts, but it also employs a specific method of categorization. It categorizes objects geographically by Nation as director Shelton also confirmed. Furthermore, it shows the different objects belonging to one category in terms of use – as for example masks (6.3/ 37,38,41), Basketry (6.3/14,26), jewelry and others. Interesting here is the fact that the objects that are grouped together in glass case displays are so many at once that the notion of the exclusive and special artwork is completely lost. In terms of the mise-en-scène the visitor is overwhelmed with the abundance of objects and they are protected behind glass cases and drawers. This is quite a radical difference to how objects are displayed in the Great Hall. As Lidchi indicated this method of categorization refers to a western classification system typical to the anthropological, scientific and western tradition (Lidchi, 2013). The glass case display, the abundance but also the immaculate tags that accompany every object all give a sense of a truthful, accurate, objective and analytical system that seems trustworthy – since a lot of effort and thought went into (Rose, 2001).   The different interviewees indicated that the Multiversity Gallery was intended as a research are – an impression that is reinforced by the tags, a research area with tables provided (6.3/ 67) and digital archives that are saved on tablets that the visitor can access to gain more knowledge about specific pieces (6.3/ 16,17). One of the clearest rhetorical indicators   that support MoAs scientific, traditionally anthropological background is a sign that states that "These artworks from the past resonate today: Inspiring, challenging, asking to be witnessed" before entering the Masterworks Gallery. The pieces art explicitly called works of art while in fact the Masterworks Gallery enhances a different discourse much more than the one of the indigenous objects as art.

What is interesting here is that these different spaces include discourses that do not necessarily fit together. The indigenous object is, on the one hand, a cultural artifact and an object of art. The museum serves as a natural history museum and an art museum at the same time. The intensity of these two discourses vary depending on the space, which makes it seem as if MoA is using spatiality to divide different perspectives, or rather intensify specific aspects. However, the discourse of indigenous objects as artworks is present in every space.

4.2 Indigenous culture in transition – or not?

As one can already perceive here that different discourse can be present simultaneously, I will draw on another example that indicates yet another discourse, while first referring to the discourse of art. The most dominant and explicit example of indigenous people as artist consist of the sculpture "the Raven and the first men" by Haida artist Bill Reid (6.2/1-2) in the hallway that connects the Great Hall, the Multiversity-, and Masterworks Gallery. This object and its representation are extensively discussed here as it is quite dominant and visible in the museum due to the amount of space that has been attributed to it and the fact that this piece points at how different discourses coexist at the same time. While in the previous part the discourses were not equally presented in their intensity – the artistic discourse or the traditional scientific discourse - discourses can also be present in the same intensity without contradicting each other.

The sculpture by Bill Reid is a big wooden sculpture of a raven sitting on a shell from which human figures that appear to try to escape. A rotunda pedestal and room structure allow the visitor to walk around the piece on different levels as it is organized similarly to a Roman theatre. The visitor can appreciate the objects on different levels, in a different position (sitting, standing or walking, from the distant and up close). This arrangement, this mise-en-scène highlights the

RAVEN AND THE FIRST MEN, BILL REID 1980 – COPYRIGHTS GOH IROMOTO/ MOA

sculpture and literally asks from the visitor to appreciate it from all sides. A panel on the side wall also explains the process in which the architecture was specially conceived for this artwork to enhance and fit the sculpture, that was commissioned by the museum (6.2/ 4).

While it is represented predominantly as an artwork it also has other significations that accompany this discourse. The piece is a sculpture of wood, that is made with certain skills and methods. On the layer of the sign (Mitchell, 1995) the piece is an artistic piece. But what is signified (Lidchi, 2013) is something beyond artistic quality. The spatial display, the accentuation and prioritization of the sculpture in this big space, show how important this piece is, just by how it is presented in the mise-en-scène. One a side panel Bill Reid explains the origin myth of the Haida Nation, which this sculpture represents. The Raven and the first Men by Bill Reid is a representation of the Haida Nations creation story of the birth of humans (6.2/ 4). Right on top of the rotunda platform on which the sculpture sits on a bed of sand, a round formed window is put in the ceiling to shine daylight on the piece. This makes the whole sculpture look holistic to a certain extent, as the light illuminates the sculpture in the way the sun would have illumined the raven and mankind if this myth would have happened. The whole scene therefore serves as a signifier for the origin of Haida culture, of a belief system.

Not only is Bill Reid a Haida artist, but he carved the creation story of his nation specifically for the museum. "The Raven and the First men" combines cultural value through its theme and traditional style but also the artistic value by emphasizing through the above-mentioned methods the aesthetic qualities of First Nations Pacific Northwest Coast art. Bill Reid's piece is first presented as art, then as symbol of indigenous culture through its symbolic meaning. He is then not only a carver and artist, but also a keeper of traditional indigenous knowledge. Because the museum commissioned the piece and because Bill Reid is a modern-day artist AND a modern-day member of an indigenous community it also underlines the discourse of indigenous culture being present, alive and prospering: A discourse of indigenous people being abundant with culture in terms of knowledge, spirituality, ceremonies, art and actual belongings. This can also be observed elsewhere throughout the museum. In the Great Hall the sheer amount of poles and boxes, of masks and basketry in the multiversity and even the richness of rattles and other objects at the smaller Masterworks Gallery is impressive and overwhelming, as it is impossible to really see all of the First Nation communities belongings on display in a regular visit of one to five hours. If this is the actual social reality of ingenious Pacific Northwest Coast communities is not addressed.

The combination of ancient, traditional knowledge and craftsmanship gives a sense of historical authenticity while combining it with a modern-day take on representation. The typical western mise-en-scene that is almost dramatic refers to the blurring of the distinction between

indigenous and western and manages successfully to erase the notion of indigeneity as something exotic and historical. The piece is now understandable for everyone – every audience member can appreciate the piece as an art piece, or an artifact or symbol or all these things at once. With this method, MoA successfully manages to overcome traditional anthropological discourses of difference that fetishize indigenous people (Lidchi, 2013) or that create the western and ingenious as opposites (Bal & Janssen, 1996). It uses both discourses to its advantage by combining. Indigenous culture today is here represented as something that has both traditional knowledge and pre-contact mythologies and beliefs, but as something valuable and implementable into modern-day Canadian society. That is part of modern society. We also find other indicators that support this discourse.

It appears MoA attempts to eradicate the vision of indigenous cultures as exotic, primitive and especially extinct by showcasing contemporary art pieces together with historical pieces and by giving contemporary pieces equally as much importance as historical artifacts. The lines between pre-contact period, post-contact period and the period of recovery (Oliver, 2010) are blurred by mixing all these objects together and showing a discourse of culture as ever-changing progress As Choay (2001) explained, the historical objects now become objects of the present and the art objects become related to the past. Indigenous culture is then portrayed as a culture in constant development. As the director points out "When you are talking about indigeneity... indigeneity is not a static process. To distinguish the indigenous creole, mestizo (…). Because those definitions are changing all the time!" In the Great Hall for example it is noticeable that the first two platforms upon entering, showcase three objects each. Three objects of which one is highlighted as a historical object with cultural value, one as a historical object with aesthetic and artistic value and one contemporary, First Nation art piece. On the right-hand side, the visitor can distinguish a woven blanket hanging from the ceiling almost against the wall, (Appendix 6.1/ 1.2) which was woven by Susan Point, a famous contemporary Musqueam artist. On its right hangs a wooden carved panel with a human figure facing an animal and in-front of these two, on the pedestal stands a chest with 3-dimensional carvings. The material aspect of the objects, such as the old age of the wooden chest as a centerpiece standing on the first platform to the right (6.1/ 4) indicates the historical value (Lowenthal, 1985) while the obviously recent pieces :obviously because of their material quality and the fact that it is indicated in some of the labels that the pieces were commissioned by MoA (6.1/ 59). This trend of mixing contemporary with ethnographic objects continues throughout the display of the Great Hall but also through the Multiversity Gallery. Another indicator for this is even more visible in the Multiversity Gallery that consists of a completely random mix of indigenous contemporary artworks, from prints with traditional motives (6.3/ 10,12) to modern interpretation of for example a no smoking sign (6.3/ 31), to

carvings, to clothing (6.3/ 6) mixed with historical artifacts. One cannot observe a dominant distinction between the time-periods. Sometimes it is even not distinguishable whether the objects displayed together are old or new, art pieces or cultural artifacts, as for example in a drawer that displays mat creasers with a birdlike design and right next to it a print with the same design by contemporary Musqueam artists Susan Point (6.3/ 10). Another case shows a variety of woven pattern baskets, commissioned by the museum from indigenous arts Annie Clappies (6.3/ 54) put together with traditional weavings (6.3/ 53). All these aspects enhance the discourse of indigenous culture being as present and abundant as it was before European contact – if not more. They also indicate that European crafts and tradition such as printing are fully incorporated into indigenous culture nowadays and are part of it.

While it seems as if the display is organized in a manner that supports a discourse of ingenious culture transcending different periods seemingly easily, other elements indicate a paradox. In some case historical periods are visible. These visual and rhetorical distinctions of period vary in how explicit and visible they are. The Multiversity Gallery highlights contemporary pieces by putting labels in place with contemporary artists names and introductions for specific pieces and quotes where they explain their vision (6.3/ 8.1,8,2,29.1). On the other hand, there are no dates given on the small labels (6.3/ 9,10,25,30, 59) and therefore one cannot be sure which objects are contemporary or commissioned pieces, and which one are artifacts gathered in the colonial period. While some information regarding provenance and context are given on the tablets that provide more information, one can by no means look at each description. In the Great Hall, the distinction between the periods can also be observed in the labels. The labels use photographs and illustrations to showcase the objects in their original setting) but also in use in the present. The images that place the objects, such as a totem pole, in the context of pre-European and post-European contact are black and white (for example 6.1/58) as well as all the reconstructive illustrations (6.1/ 22, 45.2), except for few exceptions (6.1/ 45) while the images used to portray either the aesthetic qualities or the recovery period post 70s (Oliver, 2010) are in color (6.1/ 52.2,59). As Tonkiss (1988) suggested, we can see here how two discourses are somewhat contradictory. The two discourses of differentiation between the periods and the discourse of blurring them together to create an idea of indigenous culture as ongoing process. It seems here that MoA wants indeed to find a balance between creating a new memory of history (Brockmeir, 2002; Fehr, 2002) but cannot completely disregard the fact that Anthropology museums are based on classification systems (Ames, 1992).

4.3 Adaptation and Implementation of Western influences

The discourse of cultural heritage from a past period as valuable and authentic as a cultural heritage from the present immediately contradicts typical anthropological models of what real indigeneity means, as being something that came before European contact (Doxtator, 1988). What is contradictory here is the fact that the colonialist discourse of real Indianness or indigeneity is challenged through a discourse of indigenous heritage being influenced by colonialism. This challenges the traditional anthropological view of the primitivity. As indicated by Turgeon & Dubuc (2002) real Indianness and authenticity based on the distinction of periods does not necessarily work for First Nation communities since the once dominating culture is already integrated into indigenous culture (Clifford 1997; Turgeon & Dubuc, 2010). While the museum does not explicitly point at how colonization influenced First Nation communities, some pieces do stand out. I will here elaborate on two pieces specifically. Both are button blankets (6.4/ 28; 6.3/ 43), one in the multiversity and one in the Masterworks Gallery. It is described that these blankets, were originally made from materials bought or acquired by the Hudson's Bay Company and are nowadays one of the most important and valued items of Northwest Coast traditional clothing (6.3/ 43, 44; 6.4/ 28,29). It is accompanied by a quote of Doreen Jensen, a Gitxsan artist and First Nations advocate, to legitimize this information and underline the importance of this cultural object, born out of colonialism (6.3/44). This shows how First Nation cultures implemented elements from western culture and that for these communities it is fully part of its cultural heritage. While the craftsmanship plays an important role of how indigenous people are defined as an artist and their traditional techniques and motive as "real" indigenous pieces, one must note that the lines are very blurry as to what is traditional craftsmanship as defined in a pre/colonial way. In the Masterworks Gallery, this process of cultural appropriation is also voiced about colonialism. First Nations used new material and techniques as their traditions were forbidden. With those traditional motive expressed through western materials and skills their aesthetic traditions "…survived colonial efforts to press indigenous cultural practices and governance" (6.4/ 30).

While showcasing objects that are inevitably influenced by colonialism, the critique by Frank (2000), that putting household utensils in glass boxes, and worshipping them as special artifacts, is also a concern, since MoA does showcase these blankets, as well as the majority of objects in the Multiversity Gallery and almost all objects in the Masterworks Gallery in glass cases. The concern here for authenticity is the fact that objects are being taken out of their original context and ascribed the meaning that the museum wants to portray (Waterton, 2010). One thing that stands out is that First Nation communities here are portrayed as people having integrated western

influences, while the difficulties of colonialism, the integration of new materials and techniques, is barely addressed. Now, of course, one cannot say that acknowledging positive or at least culturally valuable influences of colonizers on the indigenous communities immediately paints a positive picture of colonialism. But the absence of reflection of these influences makes one wonder about the connotations that are being transported through this way of representation. Then again, these implementations of hybrid objects as equally as important as traditional and ancient objects directly contradicts anthropological prioritization of indigenous objects free from colonial influence (Choay, 2001; Doxtator, 1988). Another aspect that enhances this notion is the fact that MoA provides information on temporarily removed objects that for example are displayed in a different museum (see 6.1/51; 6.3/13). Franks (2000) criticized that temporarily removed object without any explanation enhance a feeling of mystery, which MoA here again tries to avoid. Which supports the argument of a discourse that tries to convey that indigenous culture is complex but approachable and not mystical or extinct.

4.4 Avoidance of open positioning towards colonialism

The question arises as to why the aestheticization of indigenous heritage objects is chosen as an approach in the Rotunda as well as the Great Hall and why hybrid objects are somewhat portrayed solely under the positive light regarding the implementation of colonizers influences. One possible explanation is that MoA manages to avoid addressing the political and moral implications of the debate around anthropological objects as artifacts and symbols of colonialism. By portraying First Nation cultural objects as art, MoA manages to somewhat surround the political sensitivity of the historical conflicts and traumas of First Nation communities through colonization. It potentially distances itself through this approach from the colonial past of Anthropology. What is highly noticeable, especially in the Great Hall is the predominant absence of issues around colonization, extermination and assimilation. When addressed, the information on labels is very subtle and almost overlooked, because of its objective rhetoric's. On one label, for example, we can read (6.1/ 37.1):

"Towards the late 1800s the impacts of colonization and population decline meant that while some villages remained on the sites, others amalgamated or were left empty as people moved to take part in a changing economy".

The passive language and past tense create a feeling of distance and the impacts of colonization are not named at all. Why did the population decline? Was this a correlation or an effect of

colonization? What were those impacts? The unemotional descriptions seem to brush over the impacts of colonization and try to avoid picking sides so to speak. Indigenous people are also portrayed to have left their villages willingly to contribute to Canadian society in the last part of the sentence. One of the curators named one of the reasons that MoA does not directly address the effects, hardships and inhuman conditions that indigenous people endured, being that audiences do not want to go into a museum and feel attacked and blamed but also that indigenous communities do not always want to be victimized. Avoiding the direct positioning and calling out of colonialist practices according to her is a different way to reconcile with the colonialist, Canadian past. The goal should be "to balance it with healing and hope with a future orientation. They (First Nation communities) don't always wanna be victims, they don't always wanna think about the past" and that the "…settlers of colonial society are absorbing the fact that it's their job to heal and reconcile and learn that history as well but without feeling the guilt."

While some rare pieces do take an open political stand towards anthropological tradition and political issues openly, the fact that ownership and provenance of objects and belongings are not explicitly presented, and neither is the social context of the provenance. In the Great, Hall dates are given as well as the period of acquisition, in the Multiversity Gallery most objects do not have any dates or provenance. The question here arises whether this intentional, as the curators indicated, the Multiversity Gallery to be a research area. For the average visitor this overload on objects, with little to no information provided gives the impression of hoarding of objects for the sole purpose of displaying abundance.

The museum does try to tackle this issue by implementing certain artworks that comment on political issues such as a mask carved as a protest of the Heiltsuk Nation against the construction of a pipeline through their territory in 2012 (6.3/ 55-56). Here Marilyn Slett, the chief counsellor of the Heiltsuk Nation explains on the label in her own words, addressing the visitor as individual and making her carving, why this political issue is severely affecting her nations heritage. Another rhetorical example that the museum is indeed aware of this discourse is the description of the impacts of Colonialism on pole raisings (6.1/60-62) and other implicit descriptions of colonialization. These sorts of attempts underline the museum awareness of the challenges that historical trauma and political issues pose. What is noticeable however is that these are most often written in a way that rhetorically does not explicitly name the effects, or these critiques or impacts are voiced by indigenous people directly through quotes. A long panel that is titled 'Was the salvage project a good idea?' explain how totem poles were

"(…) collected in the 1950s (and) continues to represent histories of living Haida people. Yet they were salvaged as "mute relics" when the old cultures were thought to have disappeared. (…)

Totem poles no preserved in museums – and the ones allowed to remain on their original sites have become central to debates about cultural heritage and the roles of museums and First Nations in its ownership, care and display" (6.1/60). The museum here distances itself through passive language from the happening that surrounds the totem poles that stand directly behind this sign (6.1/59). That gives the impression that the museum is aware of issues and professionally tackles them but does not give the visitor any substantial information to reflect upon the mentioned debate, the provenance and history of these poles and the effects of colonialism. One is not concerned with the issue described through its seemingly unemotional and objective way. The sign then shows a totem pole raising on a colour photograph in Haida Gwai accompanied by an italic quote of Jim Hart 7idansuu, 2009, Haida artist hereditary chief and then a much smaller description that reinforces this discourse (6.1/62). Next to the typography choices to make a distinction between quote and 'fact' that will be discussed in subsection 4.6. This description refers to laws that were used to oppress indigenous communities in colonialist times: "With the impact of Christianization, anti-potlatch laws, and changing economies few poles were raised in Frist nations communities between 19000 and 1960. In 1969 the Haida community at Old Massed gathered to celebrate (…) the first pole carved and raised there in the 20th century." Not only does this quote completely disregard and distance the visitors from the impacts of above-mentioned happenings through language and design choice, but it also creates an impression as if the museum is brushing over colonializations effects, because it has to sort of address it, but prefers to focus on the present and the pleasant things. Decolonization seems here to become a more superficial approach as MoA does not really engage in the decolonization process of confronting historical trauma explicitly (Lonetree, 2012) and rather avoids that conversation. These aspects inevitably question MoAs claims collaborative approaches as decolonization is a part of critical museology.

4.5 The museum as a post-colonial institution

What can be seen throughout the exhibition is that the museum does implement specific approaches connected to critical museology through the mise-en-scène, the means of symbolic production and cultural script such as contemporary artworks and ancient artifacts and First Nations artists and cultural leaders' quotes. One of the major codes that came back during the interviews as well as the discourse analysis was the acknowledgment of distinct indigenous culture and respect for indigenous cultural heritage. As the Head of Marketing says: "Our holdings are important because they are attached to people. So anytime we can honor the people that these objects belong to or the culture they come from…that needs to be our guiding line."

At the Museum of Anthropology Vancouver, we can find a multitude of indicators that acknowledgments of indigenous voices and rights are being – at least on the surface - implemented in the visual parts of the exhibition. The museum is situated on the Campus of the University of British Columbia, which is the traditional territory of the Musqueam Nation. Upon arrival one is greeted by a stone welcoming the visitor in the language of the Musqueam people, on whose traditional territory the museum resides. Secondly, a translation is provided in English (Appendix 6.5/ 3). The architecture of the entrance resembles a structure like the post-and-beam structure of First Nation housing and leads towards a glass door and an entry that lies in the dark, due to the vegetation. Under the arch-like structure, a mosaic, by First Nation artist Susan Point is displayed, that shall symbolize - as indicated on a side panel - the connection and mixture of all the different people that walk this ground (6.5/ 4). The rhetoric again here is a rhetoric of welcoming, peace and inclusion. The museum, therefore, sets a tone of inclusivity and acknowledgement of indigenous people's rights to their ancestral land from the beginning as suggested by the UNDRIP (2008). This notion continues throughout the display. In the museum for example, upon entering the Great Hall through the Hallway a map is displayed on the right-hand side that indicates all the traditional ancestral territories of Pacific-Northwest coast communities (6.1/41). While the initial poster is rather small, hidden behind house posts and difficult to read from the distance, the map was one of the first things that were referred to during a free guided visit I participated in. Furthermore, we can find chairs for visitors positioned underneath in case they wish to sit anywhere in the exhibition, which was also immediately pointed out. These chairs have a bright red color making them visible from afar and drawing attention to the map (6.1/ 41, 41). That means that initially each visitor is visually drawn to this map if it is not pointed out to them directly during one of the free tours.

Another indicator for the acknowledgement of indigenous people and collaboration are signs that favor indigenous languages over English names all over the exhibitions. Upon entering the Multiversity Gallery, the visitor is immediately confronted with an indigenous wall-scripture that is not translated (6.3/1-4). In the Gallery most big panels that are explaining an indigenous story, explanation or original names of objects are in the respective indigenous languages followed only secondly by ad English translation (6.3/ 36.1-36.2,39,45,55,56). In some instances, indigenous names of indigenous people providing information or quotes are favored upon their English name by typography choices, and position (6.3/ 49.1,57; 6.4/ 27). The curators also pointed at this aspect being a matter of out of respect for indigenous people and their culture. Especially the Masterworks Gallery positions the museum in favor of critical museology museum

practices, as it prioritized indigenous present-day voices through audio material, quotes on objects, video material, but also creates an equal display of all opinions. Overall it seems as though MoA continues to further extensity its approaches such as inclusion if indigenous curation, education and reevaluation of exhibitions by native communities and experts (Ames, 1999; Clapperton, 2010).

Collaboration

One major indicator for a discourse of acknowledgment of First Nations as described in the UNDRIP (UN General Assembly, 2007) is seen through a multi-perspective approach in the labels. In the Great Hall, in the Multiversity Gallery as well as in the Masterworks Gallery, types of differently designed labels can be found with different rhetorical patterns. Italic typography is used on labels to visually indicate quotes from a majority of First Nation speakers with a a legitimate position to claim to be able to make comments about the artworks such as Haida artist Jim Hart 7idansuu (6.1/62), Kwakwaka'wakw hereditary chief Robert Joseph (6.1/ 16.1), Haida artist Robert Davidson (6.1/ 32.2), the president of the council of the Haida nation and others. What is not clear is the choice of labels used in terms of design, as quotes from First Nation representatives are also to be found on the labels at the entrance that have a different size, color and typography. One of the first panels that is standing on the ground of the first pedestal welcomes the visitor with the language of the Musqueam First Nation community - hən̓q̓əmin̓əm̓ - and a small English translation. The text next to it reads "we the people of Musqueam welcome you to our traditional territory." followed by an explanation of the origin of these people (6.1/6). It then goes on to explain the origin of the people and explain that they are of the Fraser River Delta "has been home to the Musqueam people for millennia". Not only do indigenous people represent themselves through a greeting on ancestral land and expressing their origin from their traditional perspective (6.1/ 3.1,3,2, 5,6), but they also represent themselves in the labels that present the different nations in the Multiversity Gallery. Other explicit examples include the panels in the Multiversity Gallery in which some of the nations speak directly to the visitor and introduce their history and culture, poems, songs and stories and other knowledge. As one of the curators explained the Multiversity Gallery was done in collaboration with indigenous people from the originating communities. The ones that they got a reply from got the opportunity to represent and present themselves, while the others such as Tsilhquot'in Nation (6.3/ 28) is presented in a much more objective rhetorical approach. The curators explained this to be out of respect for the nations since they did not want to take away their voice. Those rhetorical choices give a feeling of direct contact as if the museum exhibition was curated by the

indigenous people. In the Masterworks Gallery, quotes and stories of indigenous people are seen all over the display case, in audio format, as well as in video format. One panel at the entrance/ exit of the Masterworks Gallery acknowledges and thank the First Nation community member that lend their voice to the exhibition (f. ex. 6.3/4).

MoA goes even further by portraying indigenous views as equally important as the ones held by the institution. When one enters the Great Hall through the house post, the visitor can decide to go to the into a smaller hallway. This mini-Exhibition has a modern-looking, vibrant design. It is a wall of information, with a blue and red design, sans serif typography and lots of quotes, timelines and audiovisual material of First Nation artists. This Mini-exhibition (6.1/41.1-42.3) so to speak explains the seismic activities in the area, because of which the museum must undergo major construction and the totem poles will be removed from the Great Hall. While the blue typography and boxes in the exhibition have a way of describing that is more objective and scientific, the red marked text stands for indigenous, local voices through a timeline that indicated indigenous view on events on the top through quotes from indigenous artists and knowledge holders (6.1/42.3). Not only are Indigenous voices presented in a multi-perspective approach, but they are also presented as equally important. MoA here follows a discourse of acknowledgment and respect of indigenous nations and implements the notion of acknowledging indigenous cultures views and belief systems as set by the UNDRIP (UN General Assembly, 2007).

One aspect that is very dominant in the Masterworks Gallery is the fact that it creates a stark contrast with its very subjective, emotional and personal approach to the rest of the museum spaces. Through audio material of indigenous people sharing experiences and feelings to the audience, the audience may feel much more touched personally. This is a very powerful tool and goes completely against the anthropological tradition of scientific objectivity and categorization (Lidchi, 2013). Overall, we can see the MoA looks at different audiences and try to implement multi-perspective approaches to show the different kinds of knowledge that are accessible and the different views that indigenous people may have. The rhetoric indicators are peaceful, harmonious and invite the visitor to engage with the knowledge. One must question why this rhetorical approach was chosen. It gives an impression of full and harmonious collaboration between the museum staff and Pacific Northwest Coast First Nations.

Relationships

A dominant theme that came back during the interviews was the source of these collaborative approaches. Most of the collaboration is based on personal networks and relationships with First

Nations as indicated by all three curators. In the Taskforce Agreement between Museums and first people from 1994, the goal stated to create new relationships between indigenous communities and museums to ensure that indigenous nations take part in the representation and their culture. Within the display, many indicators for collaboration and consultation can be observed. While the Great Hall predominantly focuses on a discourse of indigenous heritage as art and the Multiversity represents a research area, the Masterworks Gallery is on first sight the obvious product of intensive collaboration and consultation, which is visible and explicit.

Above the entry of the Masterworks Gallery, the visitor can see two screens that constantly keep changing keywords such as indigenizing, feasting, listening, transcending and many more (6.4; 1.1), that do come back later as titles of panels within the exhibition. The exhibition is made in such a way that each object, each belonging is commented by different representatives of indigenous culture. One aspect that indicated strong personal relationships, that is more subtle is the fact that many of the artists that are exhibited are reoccurring. In the Great Hall and the Multiversity Gallery, for example, a great number of modern pieces are made by Musqueam artists Susan Point. Bill Reid among others is also represented through many works in the Museum. Curators also explained that a lot of the commissioned and contemporary work is acquired because exactly of those relationships with the artists and with the different communities. One of the curators, for example, spend her doctoral studies in Bella Coola with the Nuxalk Nation, another is from the First Nation community of the Heiltsuk. One of the main challenges that one of the curators sees is how to translate these personal relationships into the display, but also how to transcend them to new curators once their time is done. They referred to this as the inheritance of relationships. While the actors of the museum seem to think that the relationships do not come through in the display, they are very much present and visible – more or less explicitly depending on the space. Especially in the content of the Masterworks Gallery, all the photographs and quotes that are present and especially the subjective and emotion-laden statements, give an idea of the relationships that must be present as well as the trust to curate such an exhibition. Another indicator of those relationships is the video material is in the Masterwork Gallery, that shows traditional dances of First Nation people, interviews in an intimate setting and conversations. Now here the question arises if these specific artists and contacts that seem to have a lot of space are good representatives for all indigenous communities. One must question how broad the amount of knowledge and information that is given by those specific people is. Is it then really a collaborative museum practice if only a few artists and cultural leaders are represented? How does this give an accurate image of present-day indigenous lifestyle and communities? Where are some nations heavily represented and others, not at all? This here becomes a discussion of how far collaboration must go as the view of these selected individuals

surely also represents a specific way of living and thinking in some indigenous communities. This is by no means a critique on collaborative approaches and the collaborative discourse MoA presents that is based on personal relationships, but it for sure poses a challenge in terms of an authentic representation of indigenous, First Nation communities.

Repatriation

One thing that stands in contact with a critical museological approach at MoA and collaboration is the theme of repatriation and loaning objects back to originating communities. All interviewees have spoken about the fact that specific objects have been repatriated, loaned for research or ceremonial purpose back to the communities. While repatriation is a dominant theme in the interviews, it is however not very visible in the display. The director of the museum explained that the museum supports repatriation processes and the repatriation is not just giving back to the community, but loaning and giving access to the heritage: "If you repatriate object you often get intangible cultural benefit's coming back to the museum. it's a two-way float.". The critique of Curtis (2205) about repatriation being a risk for a less educative display does not seem to be shared by the museum actors. The director mentions one case in which a mask was given back to a community and accidentally adjusted, and one curator describes a case where a traditional dress was loaned and danced, and that is coming back a little torn. The relaxed way all respondents speak about these processes and the effect it has on the material objects leads one to believe that the idea of the artifact that needs to be protected at all cost is not applicable at the museum. While the interviewees also explain that sometimes claims over different objects – especially when coming from multiple supposed owners – make repatriation long, bureaucratic and difficult processes, all respondents explained that the conversation is one that is welcome at the museum.

One installation in the Multiversity Gallery indicates the issues around repatriation and the awareness of the museum concerning these issues (6.3/ 34). It showcases an object wrapped in cloth. The panel that describes this installation explains from the perspective of First Nation communities, what repatriation and open display of culturally sacred material means. The panel describes in a personal perspective that specific objects are not shown to the public as they have a ceremonial and cultural meaning. The debate that happens in the communities: whether this mask should be shown or not, is very present. Mickael Willie, the artist of this installation, wanted to demonstrate with this wrapped mask, that these conversations around repatriation and public display are still present in communities (6.3/36.2) and that some of the displayed objects should not be on display at the museum due to their ceremonial and spiritual importance. The

Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples 1996) in Canada expressed that indigenous views need to be implemented to understand contemporary issues related to the shared history between indigenous communities and non-indigenous Canadians. With this installation, that recommendation seems to have been implemented at MoA. This example shows not only the implementation of indigenous views but also the present-day social, cultural and political issues connected with indigenous communities. It here enhances once more the discourse of an active living community in the present but also touches upon what role the Anthropology Museum plays and should play in the representation in First Nations heritage, which I will elaborate on in section 4.6. Overall one can recognize that multiple discourses do indeed touch on critical museology frameworks and indicate that MoA is moving away from traditional models based on colonialist ideas in many aspects.

4.6. The museum as an institution of expertise at the service of society

While the discourses that I have explained above, are mainly discussed in relation to indigeneity and the representation of indigenous people I will focus here on the museum as an institution since the question of authority is directly linked to how indigenous people are represented.

Through multiple aspects, one can observe how MoA creates a discourse of the Museum as an institution that serves everyone and lends its academic expertise and space to indigenous voices, artists, researchers, tourists and visitors. Museum actors are indeed aware of their academic privilege and they do see themselves as a keeper of knowledge, as the Senior Marketing and Communications director indicated in the interview: "…the positioning is really about the museum as a place of knowledge. What knowledge is held here; what stories are held here!". The awareness that MoA is, as Ames (1992) put it, a self-appointed keeper of the heritage of other people as well as their knowledge is very much recognized by all interviewees. When asked about the development at the museum in regards to the Anthropological traditional background of the science and therefore the purpose of the Museum the director states: "We've moved from a disciplinary-based Anthropology although some people say we've not... cause they disagree with this… to an anthropological imagination, which is interdisciplinary." The interdisciplinary approach can be observed as explained in the above-mentioned aspects, but the question remains what discourse regarding academic privilege and authority is held.

One of the things that is clear is that the museum does claim authority over academic and scientific matters. The choice of typography that presents First nation community members

quotes are clearly distinct from regular type fonts that display historical facts. As previously indicated in the example of a panel explaining pole raising in the Great Hall (6.1/62) other examples show the same pattern. Indigenous quotes, stories and others are often represented in italics when combined with other scientific facts (f. ex. 6.4/ 7-7.1). On top of that they are often written in a passive, objective and distant way that resembles Bals findings of a rhetorical of realism (Bal M. , 1992) which leads to a display of facts displayed by the museum as objective, untouchable truth (Lidchi, 2013): An aspect often related with the scientific paradigm. Also, the museum keeps its authority over scientific knowledge and grants indigenous actors the role of a cultural expert about art, craft and belief system. I could however not find many indicators where indigenous truths were implemented in the same way as academic systems. By using words such as "the …Nation" or "The people of…" (6.1/16,27) the Museum creates a rhetorical pattern pointing the finger at "Them – the different- the other". While it seems that his happens in a rather unconscious way MoAs discourse does to a certain extent claim to have the authority over academic and representative knowledge as set by western cultures especially because its language highly differs from the personal, emotional statements given by indigenous people in the display that are visible through the words like 'we/us/our' (6.1/ 3.1,3.2,6,32.1…). By staying rather in the background and giving a lot of room and space to individual indigenous voice the museum manages however that this discourse of academic authority stays somewhat hidden. Then again it also shows that MoA as a museum must somewhere preserve its status of cultural authority as it would otherwise not be able to show indigenous voices as being a truthful representation, backed up by the museums' knowledge and position. Some few examples, however, show indigenous belief-systems and truths as equal to scientific knowledge. One panel in the Great Hall, for example, states: "In myth time, the first ancestors brought their houses from the supernatural world (…)". This quote is written in the same font as scientific facts and employs an objective and distant rhetorical approach. This sort of examples makes it hard to understand what structure the design choices follow, but also point at the Museum being aware of these issues and trying to change their discourse. It is however quite visible that these challenges are tackled in some examples and rather superficially in the display.

At MoA we see that the roles and attribution of authority are still present as under traditional colonial frameworks, but we find further indicators for a changing tradition. At the museum visitors are restrained to a bare minimum by being able to walk in the different spaces in whatever way they want. As Rose (2001) indicated the disciplining of visitors often serves to underline a discourse of power, knowledge and authority. MoA goes one step further and breaks with the unwritten rule of not touching certain objects in the museum. While there are very few objects that can be touched by visitors it does indicate an awareness and willingness to engage with their

anthropological tradition and to question it. In the Great Hall, for example, one can observe a wooden bear sculpture, on which kids could potentially climb (6.1/54-55), even if the visitors are asked not to. Another object is a canoe that can be touched (6.1/56) which is explicitly referred to by panels but also in the tour that is given at the Museum.

MoA still holds its role as a safe keeper of culture and cultural authority (Walby & Piché, 2015) but tries to use it in a different way (see point 4.5) than previously used by traditional Anthropological Museums and aim at participating in the creation of a collective identity (Brockmeir, 2002; Fehr, 2000) by a multi-perspective approach. One can clearly see how complex these ideas and discourse are, that they conflict with each other, but still, coexist.

5. Conclusion

One of the major things that go throughout all the galleries is the fact that First Nation people are presented and represented as artists with an abundant culture, that is still present. The discourse of indigenous culture as art, of the indigenous person as an artist is very much present through the mise-en-scène of certain objects but also highlighting the aesthetic qualities such as color, skill and precision. However, in different spaces, this discourse is overshadowed by a discourse of political engagement into First Nations perspective and indigenous culture as something to be researched and studied.

The one thing however that does appear to be complicated is the avoidance of engaging into the discourse of decolonization by addressing historical trauma more expressively. Decolonization is one of the practices recommended by the UNDRIP (UN General Assembly, 2008) and confrontation with historical trauma leads to a confrontation with the colonial tradition. However, MoA makes efforts in making the museum experience a successful performance for everyone, whether it is First Nations, tourists or people that want to do research.

In all the above-mentioned subsections one can distinguish specific aspects that belong to a new form of museology: the approach of critical museology. Critical museology challenges museums to reflect on their position and their tradition (Shelton, 2013) and MoA incorporates several recommendations in order to use this framework to their advantage and to position themselves outside the anthropological tradition. While the museum does not choose a confronting display method, it is clear through multiple indicators related to acknowledgement, collaboration and repatriation that MoAs actors are aware of the debates and problems that the traditional anthropological model poses. With an extensive representation of collaborative approaches and the relationships that museum actors have formed with indigenous communities, the museum presents a strong discourse of care for indigenous views. It also explores its own position an institution that can serve as a voice for multiple views through rhetorical methods and design choices as well as through highlighting museum objects in different ways. What is particularly dominant is the fact that several discourses appear in different intensities throughout the museum but are all present in each space. With this method, MoA manages to convey a critical approach and "acknowledges the nonobjective status of knowledge and the political inflections to which it is subject" (Shelton, 1995, p. 11). Especially in the Masterworks Gallery, the display underlines a discourse that stands against objective and apolitical representation (Hasian & Wood, 2010) and shows that multiple versions of truth and knowledge do exist (Hasian & Wood, 2010). What is noticeable however is that the museum lends itself extensively to indigenous voices, which become very visible, while the academic or museums views tend to

quietly stand in the background. As one of the critiques on critical museological practices consist in the worries that museums become subjective institution that creates and support new cultural ideologies, one must admit that MoA does indeed showcase ideologies as proclaimed by Critical museology, the UNESCO Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) and The Royal Commission on Aboriginal peoples. However, one of the main ideas of critical museology is precisely to acknowledge the political standing of cultural institution that participate in the identity creation of societies (Durrans,1992). They cannot under any circumstance be apolitical as they themselves as an institution are already a political apparatus (Slemon, 1995; Lidchi, 2013; Smith, 2006; Waterton & Watson, Heritage and community engagement, 2010). The director also expressed that he does not believe "any museums are politically neutral so you should really decide what side you are on.". With its different approaches to indigenous heritage and culture in the different spaces, the Museum manages to not blindly represent ideologies of political engagements, collaboration and multi-perspectives.

While the dominant discourse does support contemporary ideologies it also preserves the academic value of Anthropology as a science, the traditional idea of what art and aesthetics are and how they are appreciated. One of the main reasons for this is its non-confrontative approach. It creates a setting for visitors to engage in a conversation, to focus on the abundance of knowledge and skills that can be learned and, on the fact, that indigenous communities are part of Canadian society, which itself is a multi-cultural and multi-ethnic society. Whether this is a positive or negative development for the institution of the museum is a different question that needs to and will be addressed in debates about what museum should be in Post-Colonialist times. The Museum of Anthropology, however, continues its discourse towards a museum as a place of knowledge, art, of collaboration and of learning. The results of this research show how MoA finds its own way to deal with decolonization and creates an approach that neither contradicts neither fully supports the traditional model of the anthropology museum. It manages to successfully represent itself as an institution at the service of multiple audiences. One could say that it goes beyond traditional museum models that are rooted in colonialist ideologies and creates a space for itself as a functioning and relevant institution in Post-Colonial times. As a case study it indicates that Anthropology museums are aware – at least in this case – of the challenges and responsibilities institution face in the Post-Colonial time. The display shows an awareness for different problematic areas that are criticized in the anthropological tradition and it tries to counter these in its own way. For sure this period in which we now live in is a period of transition for Anthropological museums, that need to redefine their place, their positioning and their purpose in present-day society. What is visible however is that the Anthropology Museum as an

institution is not outdated and can transcend and claim a new role in society than the one previously held.

An interesting point for further research would be audience research, to determine whom Moa serves as well as how exhibition designers translate specific discourse consciously and unconsciously through design traditions into exhibitions. As all the components of MoA as a social performance have been looked at, except the audiences and the designers as fundamentally important actors. In this research I have addressed the positions of some museum actors, which are often not considered in these sorts of analysis', but I could not research audiences, intended audiences and how their background affects their interpretation of the display and exhibition. To research the entire circle with cause and effect of social performance in the Anthropology museums as an institution would give a much more truthful and clearer account of how indigenous people are not only represented but how they are perceived and what role the Anthropology museum plays.

I also have to address here the fact that I too am as a Master student part of the institutional, western scientific apparatus and as Slemon put it (1995, p.18); "My referring persona here must necessarily be ambivalent, compromised by a double articulation in meta-regulation and in wager." This research can therefore by no means be an objective and truthful account of what happens at MoA, as my view and the chosen method of discourse analysis are highly interpretative. The research does, however, give a frame through social performance theory to look at museum displays and discover the influences of all these different aspects on representation and interpretation.

This research is also not meant as feedback for MoA, but rather a case to demonstrate how one specific case transcends into Post-Colonial times and how different challenges are tackled by MoA. It serves as a piece to see how deep certain discourses run, how important each detail in exhibitions is and how unconscious and underlying certain messages are passed onto visitors. Decolonization and critical museological approaches can certainly be interpreted and implemented into museum practices in a different way, but this case shows one possible approach – along with its complications and reflections. There is no right or wrong way for Anthropological Museums to create a new institutional tradition so long that it is done with care, self-critical reflection and awareness of the institutions' power as a social performance.

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Appendix

1. Map of the Museum
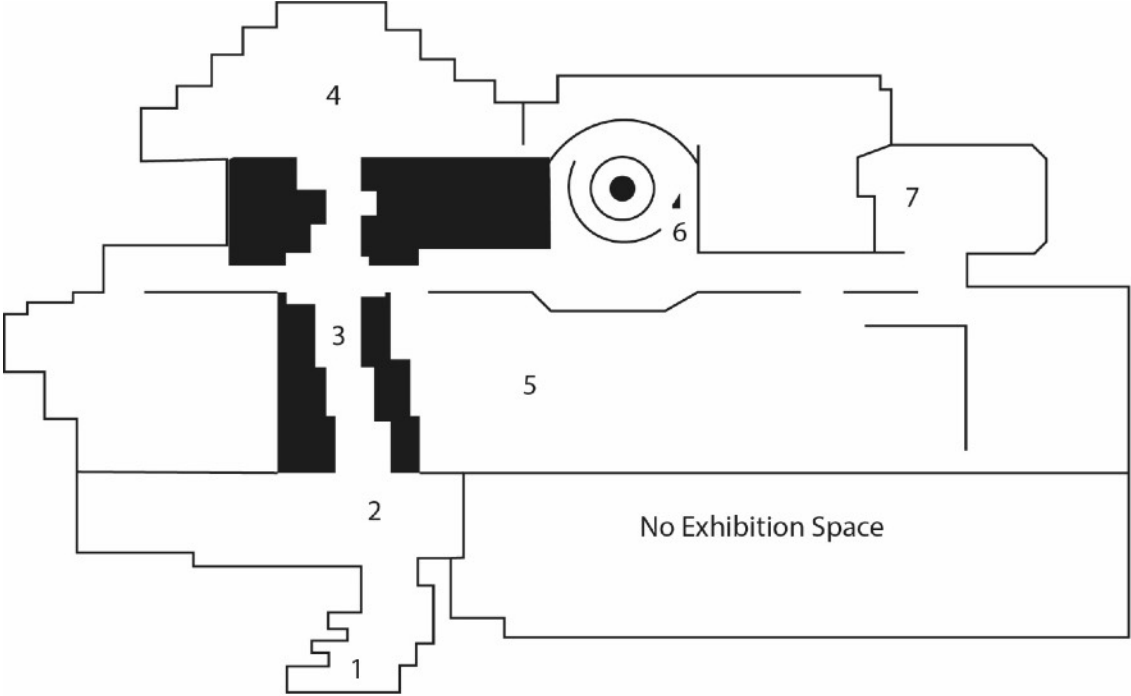
1. Entrance
2. MoA Shop and Ticket Sales
3. Hallway with exhibition platforms
4. Great Hall
5. Multiversity Gallery
6. Rotunda with Bill Reids 'Raven and the first men'
7. Masterworks Gallery

Questions for Curation

MoA supports the principles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, including originating communities' right to "maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expression.

Actors and Process

- What are the main duties that you deal with as a curator at the MoA?

- Why did you choose this job?

- Could you explain the process of how an exhibition about for example north west coast art goes?

- What would you say is your role as a curator of indigenous Pacific-North-West-Coast heritage at MoA?

- How do you work together

- What role do First Nation communities play in putting together these exhibitions?

- How do you get in touch with them and when?

- Where does the importance of First Nations being involved in any way lie for MoA and for you?

Audiences

- Who is your target audience?

- Why do you want people to come here?

- What motivates people to come here?

- What impact do you believe can MoA have, by exhibiting Pacific Northwest Coast First Nations cultures?

Means of symbolic production

- On what basis do you decide what objects are put on display?

- On what basis do you decide how to put them on display?

- On what basis do you decide what information is given to the public/what it being kept private?

- What are the different media you use to convey the material?

- Why do you use those?

Mise en Scène

- What is your strategy of display and what do you want to achieve with it?

- How do you try to accentuate objects or materials?

- What strategies do you use in collaboration with the exhibition designer?

- How do the practical aspects such as space, light, humidity ect influence your possibilities as a curator?

- What feedback do you get regarding content of First Nation heritage, people or culture?

- Do First Nation members get in touch with you about how they are represented or perceived?

- What feedback do you get from these particular nations?

- What are the particular concerns that indigenous people voiced to you in relation the to way MoA exhibits their cultural objects ?

- How do you deal with them?

Script

- What message do you want to bring across in the way you curate exhibitions?

- How do you try to represent the First Nation cultures at the MoA?

- What type of information is shared?

- How are texts written?

- What is the geographical structure of the exhibition?

(What do you consider authentic/truthful ect representation?)

Social Context

- What changes occurred over the past years in the approaches to represent First Nation culture, heritage and people?

- What changes occurred in the past years in relation to the debates surrounding indigenous rights and heritage in the marketing part of the museum?

- How do you make sure that native and indigenous views and people are represented authentically?

- How do the policies of government and province play into your job as a curator for this particular material?

Collective Representations

- What role do concepts such as repatriation, decolonization and collaboration with indigenous people take at MoA?

- What role do ethnographic and anthropological traditions play at the Museum?

- How does the current political situation play into the way you would like to show First Nations heritage?

- Where do you see the future of the MoA going in relation to indigenous representations?

- How do you think could the exhibitions and other activities be improved in favor of bringing Canadian and indigenous people together and to raise awareness?

- What do you believe to be the greatest strength of MoA in relation to the representation and exhibition of indigenous culture?

- Is there anything you would like to add?

Questions for Marketing and Communication at the MoA

MoA supports the principles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, including originating communities' right to "maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expression.

Actors

- What are the main duties the marketing and communications department deals with at the MoA?

- Where do you see the importance of marketing and communication for anthropological museums and the MoA specifically?

Means of symbolic production

- What different tools do you use to market the MoA exhibitions, competitions and events?

- What is the message you want to bring across through your design, CI and visuals?

Mise en Scène

- How and for what do you make use of all these different tools?

Audiences

- Who is your target audience?

- What motivates people to come here?

- Why do you want people to come here?

- How do you motivate people to come here?

- Do First Nation members get in touch with you about how they are represented or perceived?

- If so how?

- What different ways of communication do you use to reach your target audiences?

- What audiences do you try to reach through these?

- How do you take part in creating audience engagement in the Museum?

-

Script

- What sort of information do you want to share, what sort of information do you share?

- For what purpose do you use the different social media channels e.g Facebook, Instagram, Twitter?

- How does communication differ in the different channels?

- What is the goal?

- What sort of 'Market Research' do you do and how do you implement the results?

- How do you deal with debates and feedback that you get on social media?

Social Context

- What changes occurred over the past years in the marketing and communication approaches about First Nation culture, heritage and people?

- What changes occurred in the past years in relation to the debates surrounding indigenous rights and heritage in the marketing part of the museum?

- What sort of work or contribution do the First Nations have in the marketing and communication of the MoA?

- How do you make sure that native and indigenous views and people are represented authentically in your marketing and communication material?

Collective Representations

- What role do concepts such as repatriation, decolonization and collaboration with indigenous people take in MoAs marketing strategy and communication?

- What feedback do you get concerning your communications and marketing tools regarding content of First Nation heritage, people or culture?

- What are the successes that you can see in the sector in relation to First Nations and marketing and communication of indigenous heritage?

- How do you think could the marketing and communications be improved in favor of bringing Canadian and indigenous people together and to raise awareness?

- Is there anything you would like to add?

Questions for Direction

MoA supports the principles of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, including originating communities' right to "maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expression.

Actors and Process

- What are the main duties that you deal with as a director at the MoA?

- How does MoA support the Principles of the UNDRIP concretely?

- What is the mission and purpose of MoA in your view?

- As a director, what are the main goals that you are trying to achieve ?

- Why did you choose this job?

- What role do First Nation communities play in putting together exhibitions?

- How do you get in touch with them and when?

- Where does the importance of First Nations being involved in any way lie for MoA and for you?

Audiences

- Who is your target audience?

- Why do you want people to come here?

- What motivates people to come here?

- How do people respond to the exhibitions?

- What feedback do you get regarding content of First Nation heritage, people or culture?

- How do fellow museums and researchers respond?

- What feedback to indigenous communities give?

Means of symbolic production

- Could you explain the process of how an exhibition about for example north west coast art goes?

- How do you work together with other museums?

- On what basis do you decide what objects are put on display?

- On what basis do you decide how to put them on display?

- On what basis do you decide what information is given to the public/what it being kept private?

- Why do you use those?

Mise en Scène

- What is your strategy of display and what do you want to achieve with it?

- How do you try to accentuate objects or materials?

- What strategies do you use in collaboration with the exhibition designer?

- How do the practical aspects such as space, light, humidity ect influence your possibilities?

- Do First Nation members get in touch with you about how they are represented or perceived?

- What feedback do you get from these nations?

- What are the particular concerns that indigenous people voiced to you in relation to the way MoA exhibits their cultural objects?

- How do you deal with them?

Script

- What message do you want to bring across in the way MoA creates exhibitions?

- How do you try to represent the First Nation cultures at the MoA?

- What do you consider authentic/truthful ect representation?

Social Context

- What changes occurred over the past years in the approaches to represent First Nation culture, heritage and people?

- How does the anthropological tradition of ethnographic museums play a role here and how?

- What changes occurred in the past years in relation to the debates surrounding indigenous rights and heritage in the marketing part of the museum?

- How do you make sure that native and indigenous views and people are represented authentically?

Collective Representations

- What role do concepts such as repatriation, decolonization and collaboration with indigenous people take at MoA?

- How does MoA work around reconciliation?

- What role do ethnographic and anthropological traditions play at the Museum?

- How do the policies of government and province play into your job as a curator for this material?

- How does the current political situation play into the way you would like to show First Nations heritage?

- Where do you see the future of the MoA going in relation to indigenous representations?

- What impact do you believe can MoA have, by exhibiting Pacific Northwest Coast First Nations cultures?

- How do you think could the exhibitions and other activities be improved in favor of bringing Canadian and indigenous people together and to raise awareness?

- What do you believe to be the greatest strength of MoA in relation to the representation and exhibition of indigenous culture?

- Is there anything you would like to add?

3. Sub-questions leading the Visual Discourse Analysis by Concepts

All questions also consider the opposite possibility and the absence of the mentioned ideas, practices and choices.

1.1 Historical Context

- How is Historical context shown?

- What are the distinctions between pre-colonial period, colonial-period and post-colonial period?

- How are they shown visually ad rhetorically?

- Are other methods such as audio, video, haptic used to underline these distinctions? If so, where and how?

- What language is used to refer to different periods?

- How is photography and design affected by the different periods? - What design choices are made?

- What references do we find to specific laws and policies in the colonialist era?

- How are effects of colonialism described? How are they referred to in post-colonial times?

- Where are these distinctions blurry? Why? – How is that achieved?

- How explicit are the distinction/blur between these periods?

- How is the colonialist narrative of superiority/inferiority addressed?

- What signals can we see in hierarchies of object display?

- What objects and information are prioritized? How is it prioritized?

- Does the museum refer in any way to the effect colonialism had on indigenous cultures?

- Does it refer to colonial ideas explicitly?

2.2 Anthropological tradition

Art vs. Artifact

- How are the objects categorized? What does it indicate?
- What classification systems are used?
- What hierarchies are made visually, aesthetically, rhetorically?
- How are these reinforced/diminished by the surrounding elements?

- What characteristics of the object are pointed out in labels or descriptions?
- What characteristics are pointed out by exhibition design methods?
- Why were certain objects chosen over others?

- Are objects shown as art? If so how?
- What methods are used to enhance aesthetic characteristics?
- What methods are used in language to point out aesthetic quality?

- Are objects shown as artifacts? How? Where?
- What methods are used to enhance historical value/material characteristics/social and cultural importance?
- What methods are used in language to point these out? How?

Difference

- How are geographical distinctions drawn in the display? Where?
- Where are oppositions between western and indigenous culture drawn if at all?
- Where can we see stereotypical portrayal of indigeneity? What does it look like? Is it implicit r explicit?
- Where are choices made to exclude western culture and indigenous cultures?
- What methods are used to underline/enhance these choices or to contradict them?
- How is western influence on indigenous culture mentioned? Where? With what means?
- Do we find the absence of western culture and its effect on indigenous culture?
- How and where are benefits of cultural diversity mentioned?
- How is the cultural diversity of First Nations displayed?
- How is cultural conflict in the past and present addressed? In what context?

Authenticity

- Do we find a lot of old 'historical objects'? Are they prioritized over modern pieces?

- Does MoA pay attention to how historical sources from different time periods and are they reflected upon?

- And if so, how do they here reflect and question the validity and reliability of their own sources and materials implicitly and explicitly?

- Do we find modern pieces? If so where?

- Are objects shown in glass case displays/ open displays? How> Why?

- How are objects classified? Do we see 'objects temporarily removed' signs? Is any explanation provided?

- How is historical value enhanced and underlined/ diminished? What too are used to enhance objects atmosphere?

- Do we find hybrid objects? In which context do they stand? In what relation are they put with the other material? How are they presented? What materials and means are used? What descriptions are offered and how do they relate to the hybridity of the objects?

- In what ways are contemporary indigenous people acknowledged and shown?

- Is traditional craftsmanship one factor? What importance is given to craftsmanship and traditional techniques? How is it visualized? With what means?

- How is indigeneity defined explicitly and implicitly by the Anthropology museum of Vancouver?

- How do these periods play a role in what is defined as authentic at MoA?

- Where do the exhibition techniques transcend historical periods and blur the definition of what a 'real, Indian artifact' is and where do they reinforce traditional connotations?

- How does the museum acknowledge its diverse audiences – what is considered indigenous by indigenous people, by scholars, by the society?

- How is the authenticity of cultural objects at MoA is then affected, by academic categorization and therefore by decontextualization?

- What classification systems are dominant?

- What context does Moa create in its exhibitions? Is a different context chosen for different objects and exhibitions? If so, why were those choices made? Is there any explanation?

- How does MA address the original social life and context of exhibited material? If at all? What factors are highlighted?

- Does the museum commission work? How is commissioned work distinguished from other artifacts?

- How is the Space organized?

- What tools are used to create what sort of atmosphere/

- Do we find any sensory technologies? Haptic, video, smell, audio?

- In what context are they used?

Authority & Academic Privilege

- How are historical facts displayed?

- Where are they displayed? E.g. numbers, photographs, sources, rhetoric's

- Which language is used for scientific knowledge, indigenous view and other? How do they compare?

- How does it deal with subjectivity or objectivity?

- How is objectivity underlined rhetorically? What notions reinforce an objective standpoint?

- How does the information try to stay neutral? Where are explanations emotionally laden? Where are they particularly neutral?

- In what context are subjective and objective rhetoric employed?

- What influence does this have on the status of the museum as academic institution?

- How is truth portrayed? Is it implicit or explicit?

- How does MoA position itself to its own academic privilege?

- How does it position itself to alternative views and knowledge?

- What idea of authority does the museum enhance? Cultural, educational, social, political authority? If so how?

Provenance and Ownership

- When was something acquired?

- Where was it acquired?

- By whom was it acquired?

- Is there an alternative story/view?

- Who is the rightful owner?

- Who is the maker?

- What is the story of the object?

- Which rhetoric are used?

- How are specific components highlighted?

- What does the overall design tell us?

- How is the provenance displayed in relation to the object?

- How provenance and ownership are addressed in labels or other methods?

- What rhetorical tools are used?

- How much does the museum go into depth about the provenance and the ownership rights of each object?

- Is provenance used to enhance scientific validity and reliability? How does this affect the notion of truth?

- How is provenance used in order to legitimize the acquisition or possession of the object? Or is it not at all?

- Does the museum refer to ownership issues, disputes? If so how?

- What ownership models can we see at the museum?

1.3 Critical Museology

- How does the museum acknowledge its political position?

- Does it engage in political and social debates? If so how?

- How does the museum deal with cultural diversity?

- Are multivocal and multicultural approaches implemented in the display – if so how?

- How subjective doe facts become? What rhetoric are used, what language, what design tools to enhance objectivity/subjectivity?

- Does the Museum implement ideas from critical musicological frameworks?

- What frameworks are those? How explicitly are they shown at the museum?

- What do multicultural perspectives, voices look like? What tools are used to differentiate between views?

- How sensitive is the content on display? How does the museum approach sensitive topics?

- Are objects displayed with regards into the original context and cultural background? If so how?

- How are new technologies used to enhance various aspects?

- How are approaches and practices such as collaboration, participatory community research, inclusion in curation or indigenous curation, education, reevaluation of exhibitions by native communities and experts, repatriation of artifacts as well as constant dialogue with native communities visualized in the exhibitions?

Acknowledgement

- How does Moa acknowledge indigenous rights? In what ways? In what context?

- If Moa acknowledges indigenous voices and rights openly and explicitly, what is the reason behind that?

- In what context and in what way is the acknowledgment used? What is the motivation?

- What tools are used? Architecture, labels, rhetoric? Others?

Collaboration

- What authority is attributed to whom? Academic vs traditional authority? Is this interchangeable? How is expertise of both sides acknowledged, if at all?

- How is this visible in the display?

- How are collaborative approaches used? For what content? What context?

- How are multi-perspectives used regarding history, social context, meaning and the attribution of value?

- What is authentic knowledge?

- Do indigenous people gain authority beyond traditional storytelling, craftsmanship ect?

- How visible are these approaches?

- How is equality of authority and perspective conveyed visually and rhetorically? What design choices are used?

- How are personal relationships visible in the exhibition?

- How are indigenous voices presented throw-out the display? As groups or individuals?

- What individuals are represented and why them in particular?

Repatriation

- Where are repatriation efforts visually accessible? How? In what context?

- How is repatriation defined? Loans, gifts or other?

- Why is repatriation shown/represented? In what context?

- How it rhetorically presented to the viewers?

- What specific stories/efforts/policies are highlighted?

- Where are conflicting ideas put in context with each other?

4. Interviewee Information

	Gender	Background	Interview date + duration	Position
Interviewee 1	Female	Event marketing and performative arts	07.05.2019 01:34:38	Senior Marketing and Communications Manager
Interviewee 2	Female	PhD research with indigenous people in Bella Coola	30.04.2019 01:17:00	Curator Pacific Northwest Coast
Interviewee 3	Female	Works with Nuu-chah-nulth, Kwakwaka'wakw and Haida collections and community relationships	29.04.2019 01:18:00 Interview not recorded	Curator, Contemporary Visual Arts & Pacific Northwest
Interviewee 4	Female	Heiltsuk Nation Masters in Anthological field	1.05.2019 01:18:52	Curator Pacific Northwest Coast
Interviewee 5	Male	British PhD Leading publication in critical museology studies	17.05.2019 01:06:38	Director

5. Codebook Interviews

ATLAS.ti Report: Codes

● academic relationship

○ aestheticizing and formal

○ alternative technologies

○ anthropological tradition

 Comment:

Audience as researcher,

audience as participant,

students and First Nations – 50 percent of tourists

○ background representations

○ background with First Nations

● bias

● challenge

○ classification

● co-working

● collaboration

● collaboration process

○ collections

○ collective representations

○ Colonialism

○ commissioned work

● community work

● conflict

● consultation

● contemporary

● contemporary artwork

○ counter discriminative views

○ critical museology

- ○ critique on information provided
- ○ cultureural fluidity
- ● curation
- ○ decolonization
- ○ design
- ○ difference
- ● diversity
- ○ education
- ● events
- ● exchange of knowledge and culture
- ● exhibition
- ○ feedback
- ● First Nation
- ● First Nation language
- ○ flat, democratic approach
- ○ funding
- ○ Great Hall
- ○ hereditary owner
- ● hierarchy
- ● history
- ○ identity creation
- ○ identity creation canada
- ○ inclusion
- ● indigenous acknowledgment
- ● indigenous protocols
- ● indigenous artwork
- ● Indigenous people as artist
- ● indigenous representation
- ○ interdisciplinary approach

- internationalization

- labels

- land rights

- loan

- marketing

- means of symbolic production

- mise en scene

- multi perspective

- Multiversity Gallery

- museum authority

- museum ideology

- museum position

- museum structure

- network

- objects function and social context

- ownership issue

- personal relationship

- political issues

- presence

- professional relationships

- promotion of liberal values

- provenance issues

- racism

- reflection

- RELATIONSHIPS

- repatriation

- repatriation process

- representation

- research

- respect
- responsibility
- revitalization of heritage
- self-representation
- sensitivity
- social media
- subjective
- succession planning of relationships
- tourism
- traditional territory
- translation into exhibition
- truth and reconciliation
- values
- visibility of First Nation

5.1 Codetree
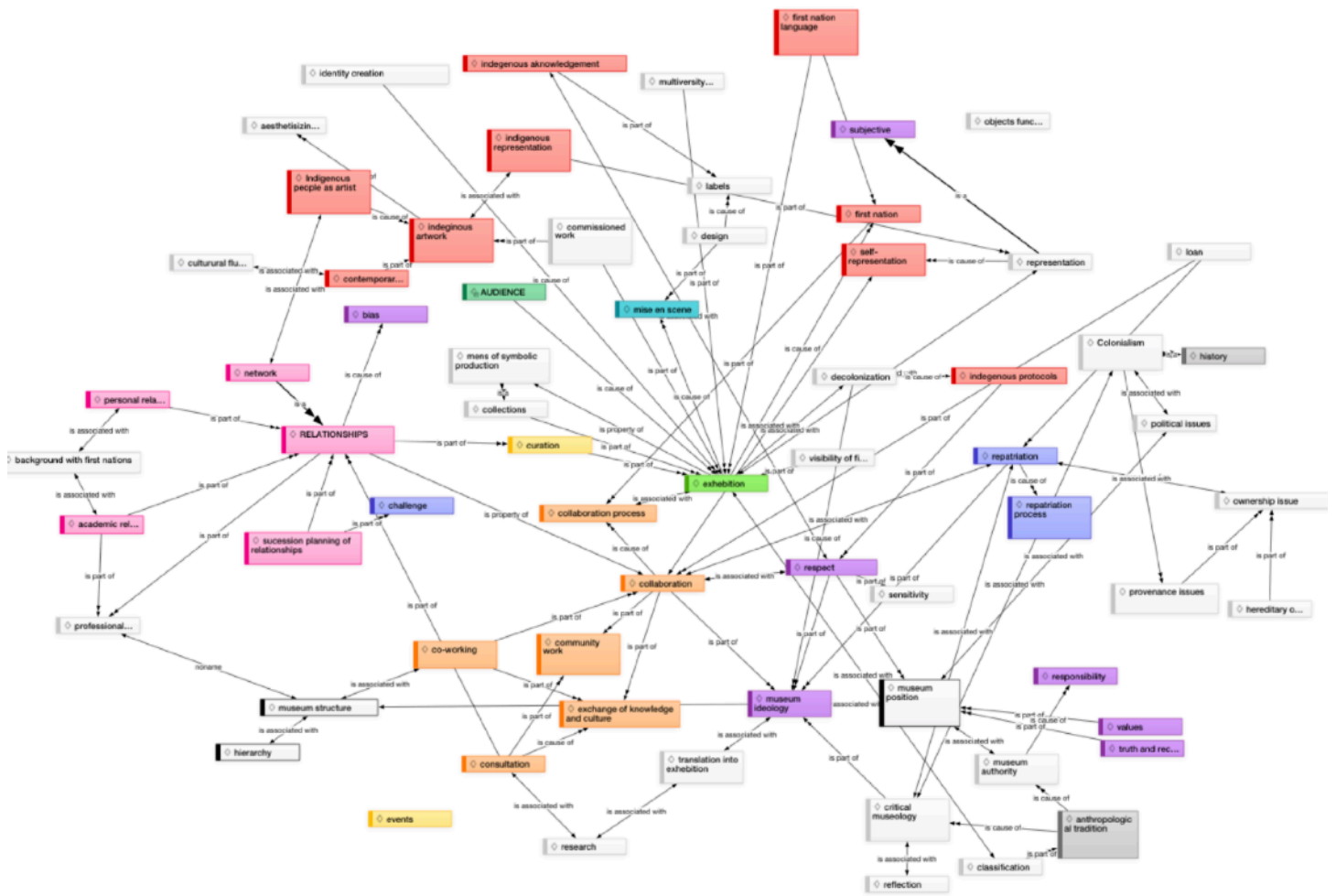
6. Image Selection Exhibition

6.1. Great Hall

1

1.1

1.2

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1.4

2
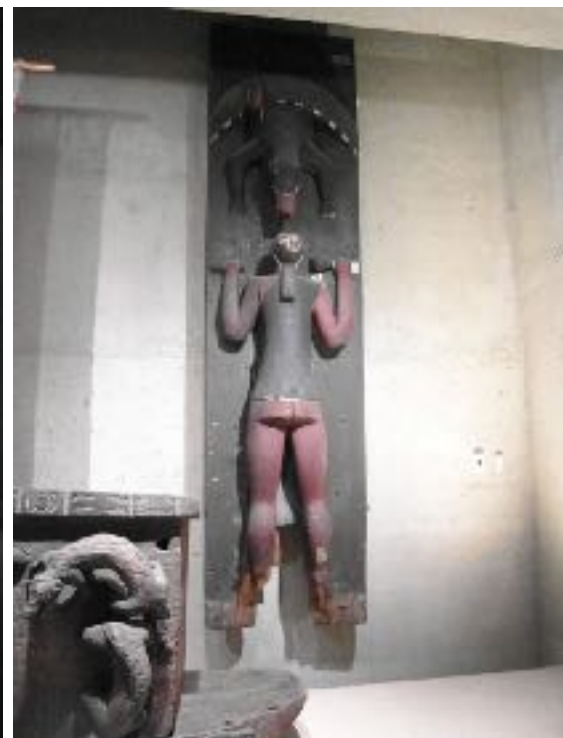
2.1, 2.2

We Were Rich People By Having All That
"On this house post there is a man and a bear. The man you see standing there... has a knife and a rattler. That's what my Dad, Jack Stogan, was saying. When they'd reach an animal...with the rattler... they would sing a song... to hypnotise the animal. It indicates how our people used to live a long time ago. They had all kinds of salmon, all kinds of wildlife... we were rich people by having all that."

That's Why It's Here
"There is supposed to be a male and a female house post, but I'm sorry to say that the [female house post] was destroyed. We had them stored underneath the church. So my late brother, Walker Stogan, said: "Let's take [this one] down to the University for safe-keeping"... that's why it's here. And I hope everyone will understand now that we brought it here so that people can see... that a long time ago... the only poles we had were house posts."

mi ce:p kʷətxʷiləm

Welcome

5

People of the Grass

"We the People of Musqueam, welcome you to our traditional territory.
The word Musqueam or xʷməθkʷəÿəm means 'people of the grass' in our
language – Henqəminəm. This name is taken from the sea grass that used
to grow in front of Musqueam villages all over the Fraser Delta. This area
has been home to the Musqueam people for millennia."

6

Family Memorial: Musqueam

This box is an outstanding example of the high relief sculptural style used by Central
Coast Salish artists to decorate grave boxes and mortuary houses in honour of
respected members of important families.

The engraving on the pedestal represents silhqey, a two-headed snake that is
associated with spiritual power. On the front panel, in high relief, are four animals
identified as spuomatsen, beavers. Effigies of these animals are featured in a recipe of
spiritual cleansing, a prodigious hereditary family privilege. Their representation here
proclaims the family's high status.

In earlier times Central Coast Salish people wrapped their dead in blankets, and placed
them in boxes or laid them to rest in family mortuary houses. In 1905 the owners of this
box dismantled their family mortuary house and grave boxes and interred the remains of
their members. The family sold the box to Harlan I. Smith for the National Museum of
Man (now the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec). Proceeds from the
sale were used by the family to purchase a stone monument for a new gravesite in the
Musqueam cemetery. The box is currently on loan to the Museum of Anthropology.

This memorial is exhibited with approval of the Musqueam Indian Band.

Canadian Museum of Civilization, VII-G-854 (a-g); artist unknown

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Kwakwaka'wakw

The Kwakwaka'wakw,* or Kwakwala-speaking people,
are today represented by eighteen tribes or nations.

Their traditional territories extend over the north-eastern
side of Vancouver Island to the adjacent coastal mainland
of British Columbia, encompassing many islands,
mountain ranges, and river systems.

* Pronounced k'a 'k'a 'k'a 'wak

16

In the beginning, the Kwakwaka'wakw people emerged from
mystical and supernatural origins of transformation at special
places. These places became the territorial landmarks that
defined Kwakwaka'wakw ownership and domain.

The first ancestors multiplied and are the current membership
of the Kwakwala-speaking people. From the beginning they
were bound by the common language of Kwakwala. They
were bound by a common geography. There emerged a
common belief system, and a network of First Nations societies.

Robert Joseph, 1994
Kwakwaka'wakw hereditary chief
Gwawa'enuxw First Nation

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Haida totem poles

Reverred as Haida totem poles

When Europeans first visited Haida and Tlingit villages in the late 1700s, thousands and possibly ten of thousands were already well established.

[text partially illegible]

22

23

Haida artist Bill Reid (left) and anthropologist Wilson Duff examine the house post in 1957, when it was over 100 years old.

Naaxwa Gya...
Haida
SGaang Gwa...
Red cedar, 185...
BC Totem Pole...
A50016

[text partially illegible]

24

Naaxwa GyaaGang (Interior house post)
Haida
SGaang Gwaay Llnagaay (Ninstints, Haida Gwaii, BC)

Red cedar, 1850 or earlier
BC Totem Pole Preservation Committee purchase, 1957
A50016

This house post once stood against the back wall of a lineage house named Xuuya Naay, or Raven House. As well as supporting one end of the main roof beam, it displayed the inherited privileges belonging to Tanjun 'Laanas, Wind Place Family.

When it was photographed in 1901, at least 50 years after it was carved, Raven House had already been abandoned for several decades. A series of epidemic diseases, including smallpox, had devastated the Haida population.

Carved figures, base to top:
Bear with human between forelegs, cub between ears, and frogs in ears. Human with unknown creature beneath hands.

25

Keepers of Wealth

Large steam-bent chests were used to store the regalia, blankets, and other treasured property of high-ranking Northwest Coast families. At the time of a chief's death, some chests (though not the ones displayed here) were also used as coffins.

The idea of the container as a living being is embodied by these chests and their painted compositions: images of a transforming, double-eyed creature that controls and protects wealth.

egalia,
king
death,
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nat

ts'uu ging.uula Guudang
(Cedar bentwood chest)
Haida
Haida Gwaii, BC
Yellow and red cedar: c. 1850
MOA purchase, 1971 (Walter C. Koerner Funds)
A9416 a-b

The bentwood box as a holder of ideas, as well as of material
goods, is dramatically expressed by storage chests such as this
one. The carved and painted compositions are at once highly
stylized and infinitely varied. They belong to a visual tradition
that has persisted for centuries, yet they also reveal the hand of
individual painters who helped to shape this complex art.

ts'uu ging.uula Guudang
(Cedar bentwood chest)
Haida
Old Massett, Haida Gwaii, BC
Yellow and red cedar c. 1870
MOA purchase, 1960 (H.R. MacMillan Funds)
A7103 a-b

of material
s such as this
once highly
al tradition
al the hand of
lex art.

Great bentwood chests were considered heirlooms, treasured
within families and often passed down through the generations.
This unique chest, with its projecting bear snout and paws, was
collected in the 1870s by the Reverend W.H. Collison while he was a
missionary at Old Massett. A photograph taken in the village in 1884
shows this same chest inside a Haida family's lineage house.

Image Recovery Project

It was a bentwood box containing the sun that, according to Haida tradition, the trickster Raven threw open to release light upon the world.

Light, and the techniques of infrared photography, have helped Museum of Anthropology researchers and First Nations artists uncover paintings on old bentwood boxes and chests. Often these paintings are obscured by a dark patina: a coating of dried oils and soot that forms on objects through generations of use.

Chest as seen with the naked eye

Qpíálás šáwáci (Chest with lid)
Heiltsuk
Bella Bella, BC
Red cedar, paint, metal tacks; c. 1800
MOA purchase, 1962 (H.R. MacMillan Funds)
A8211 a-b

yaahl kinanganggang
(Raven Calling)
Robert Davidson (b. 1946)
Haida
Epoxy-powder-coated aluminum 2004
Gift of the artist 2007
2690/1 a-e

If we look back over the past two hundred years of definite progression in the art form. Who knows w The limitation is really up to the artist in the prese

Robert Davidson, 2004

**yaahl kiingnganggang
(Raven Calling)**
Robert Davidson (b. 1946)
Haida
Epoxy-powder-coated aluminum; 2004
Gift of the artist, 2007
2690/1 a–e

If we look back over the past two hundred years of Haida history, we can see a definite progression in the art form. Who knows where the art will go from here? The limitation is really up to the artist in the present moment.

Robert Davidson, 2004

intrared photograph

The image painted on paper

Gal...
Kwa...
'Mi...
Red...
MOA...
A63...

This chest displayed here (A6335), and shown in these painted on all four sides. Even though the composition to see under their dark patina.

Experimental research at the Museum of Anthropology can be used to reveal the hidden paintings. It records different kinds of pigments absorb or reflect when illu... is a black-and-white photograph of the original painti...

Galdas (Storage chest)
Kwakwaka'wakw
'Mim'kwamlis (Village Island, BC)

Red cedar, paint; early to mid 1800s
MOA purchase, 1953 (H.F. MacMillan Funds)
A6335

Opial...
Heiltsu...
Bella B...

Red ced...
MOA p...
A8211 ...

The image painted on paper

The sheet displayed here (A6335), and shown in these images (left and above), is painted on all four sides. Even though the compositions are still intact, they are difficult to see under their dark patina.

Experimental research at the Museum of Anthropology found that infrared photography can be used to reveal the hidden paintings. It records the heat that the wood and different kinds of pigments absorb or reflect when illuminated with floodlights. The result is a black-and-white photograph of the original painting.

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37.1

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41.1
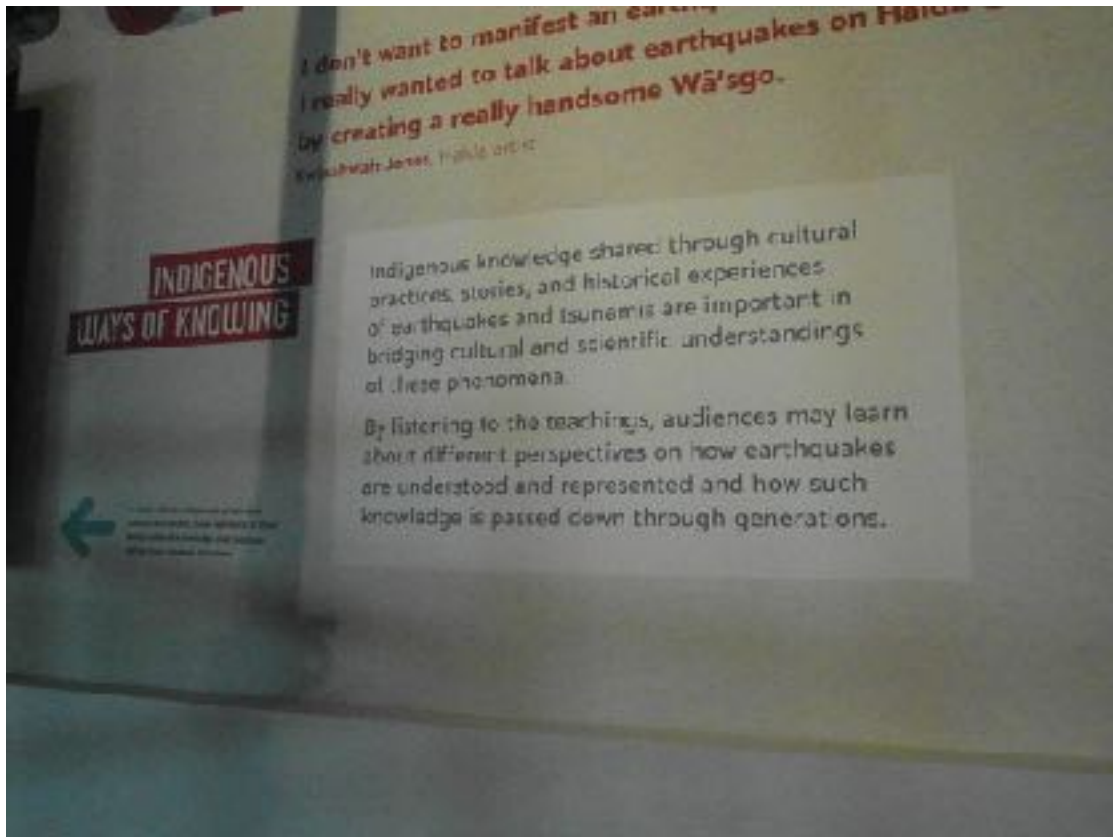
I don't want to manifest an ear...
I really wanted to talk about earthquakes on Haida...
by creating a really handsome Wā'sgo.

Kwiaahwah Jones, Haida artist

INDIGENOUS WAYS OF KNOWING

Indigenous knowledge shared through cultural practices, stories, and historical experiences of earthquakes and tsunamis are important in bridging cultural and scientific understandings of these phenomena.

By listening to the teachings, audiences may learn about different perspectives on how earthquakes are understood and represented and how such knowledge is passed down through generations.
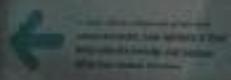
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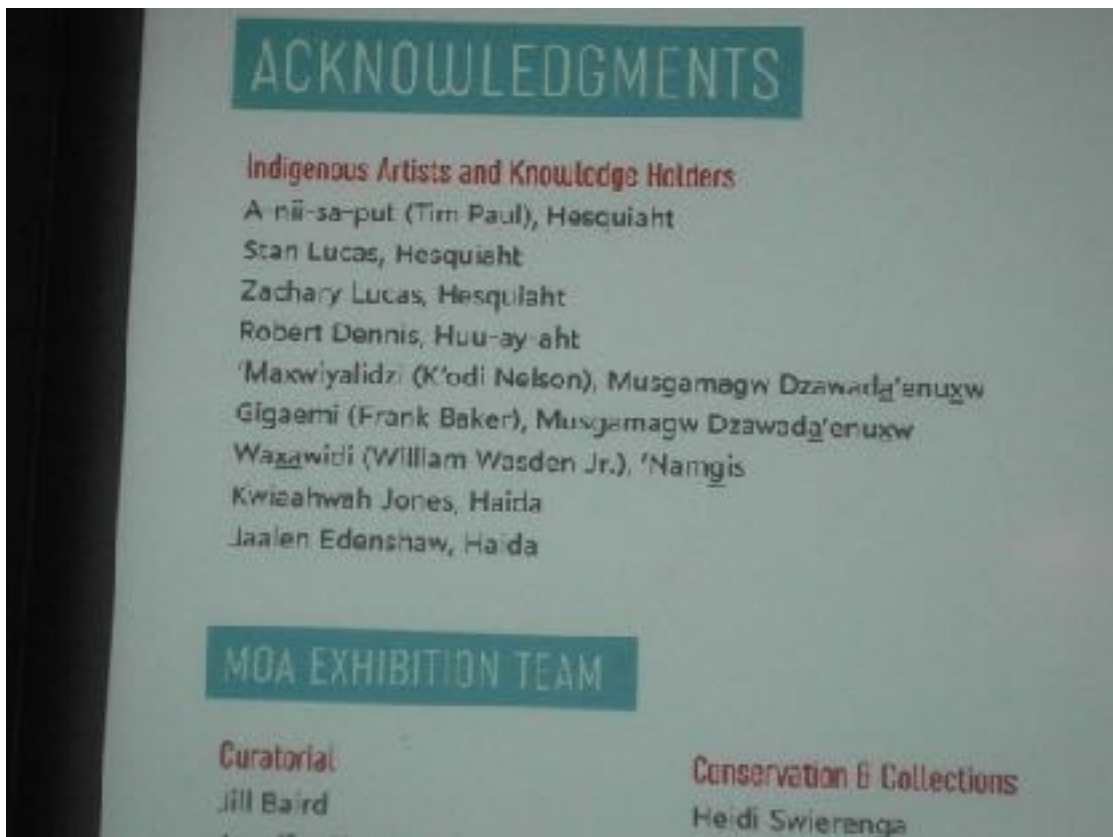
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Indigenous Artists and Knowledge Holders
A·nii-sa-put (Tim Paul), Hesquiaht
Stan Lucas, Hesquiaht
Zachary Lucas, Hesquiaht
Robert Dennis, Huu-ay-aht
'Maxwiyalidzi (K'odi Nelson), Musgamagw Dzawada'enuxw
Gigaemi (Frank Baker), Musgamagw Dzawada'enuxw
Waxawidi (William Wasden Jr.), 'Namgis
Kwiaahwah Jones, Haida
Jaalen Edenshaw, Haida

MOA EXHIBITION TEAM

Curatorial
Jill Baird

Conservation & Collections
Heidi Swierenga

42.1

42.2

42.3

43

44

45

In 1981, UNESCO declared Nan Sdins a World Heritage Site, of importance to the History of Mankind." Today, protection of this and other ancient Haida village sites is jointly managed by the Council of the Haida Nation and Parks Canada.
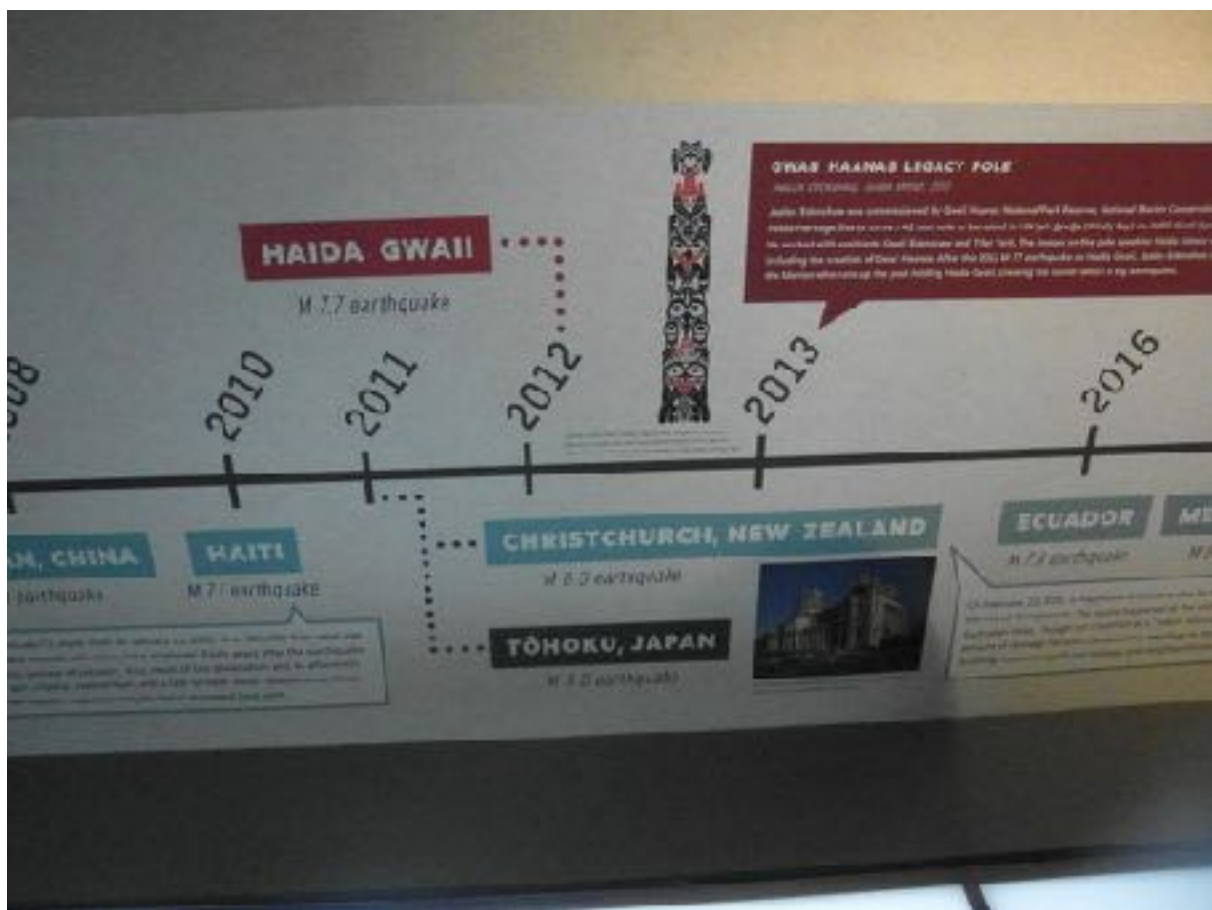
45.1

GyaaGang (House-front pole)
Haida
SGang Gwaay Llnagaay [Ninstints, Haida Gwaii, BC]
Red cedar, paint; c. 1850 or earlier
BC Totem Pole Preservation Committee purchase, 1964
420/1/2

This beaver figure can be identified by its large incisor teeth, crosshatched tail, and human face at the tail joint.

It is the base of a pole that once stood in the village of SGang Gwaay. It formed a house named "People Think of This House even When They Sleep Because the Master Feeds Everyone Who C..."

45.2
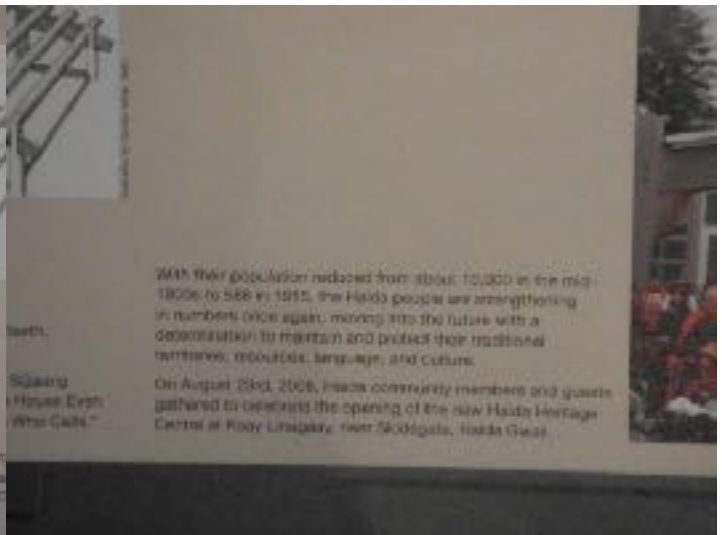
With their population reduced from about 10,000 in the mid-1800s to 588 in 1915, the Haida people are strengthening in numbers once again, moving into the future with a determination to maintain and protect their traditional territories, resources, language, and culture.

On August 23rd, 2008, Haida community members and guests gathered to celebrate the opening of the new Haida Heritage Centre at Kaay Llnagaay, near Skidegate, Haida Gwaii.

45.3

45.4
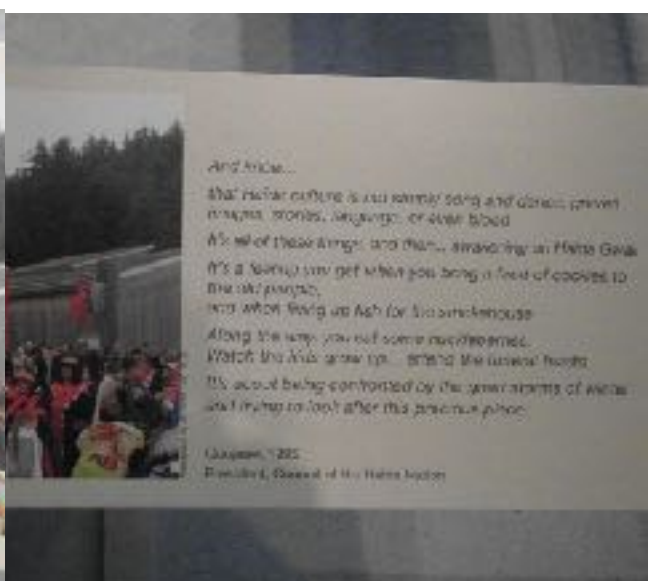
And finally...
that Haida culture is not simply song and dance, printed images, stories, languages, or even blood.

It's all of these things, and then... meandering in Haida Gwaii.

It's a feeling you get when you bring a load of cookies to the old people,
and when firing up fish for the smokehouse.

Along the way, you cut some huckleberries.
Watch the kids grow up... attend the funeral feasts.

It's about being comforted by the great spirits of wind and trying to look after this precious place.

Guujaaw, 1995
President, Council of the Haida Nation

45.5

46

Bentwood Boxes

You don't see the technology of bentwood boxes used anywhere other than here, on the Northwest Coast. The people needed something that could be waterproof, that they could cook in, that they could store things in. They came up with this idea of steam-bending boxes, using cedar.

As a carver today I like to check out the old boxes, their construction, their craftsmanship, whether the plank is hand-hewn or not, what they used to fasten the corner. You've got to admire what the old carvers could do.

Richard Sumner, Kwakwaka'wakw artist

Richard Sumner studies the steam corner of an old box.

47

Manufacture

Bentwood boxes are constructed by an ingenious process unique to Northwest Coast cultures. Three grooves, or kerfs, are carved into a single plank of red or yellow cedar. The plank is then softened with steam and bent to form three corners. The fourth corner is pegged or sewn closed, a base attached, and a lid carved to fit.
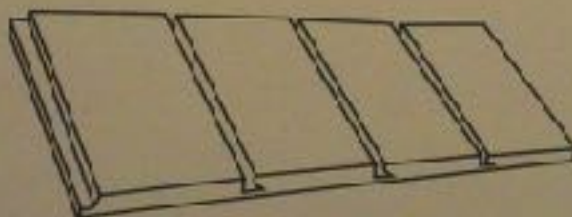
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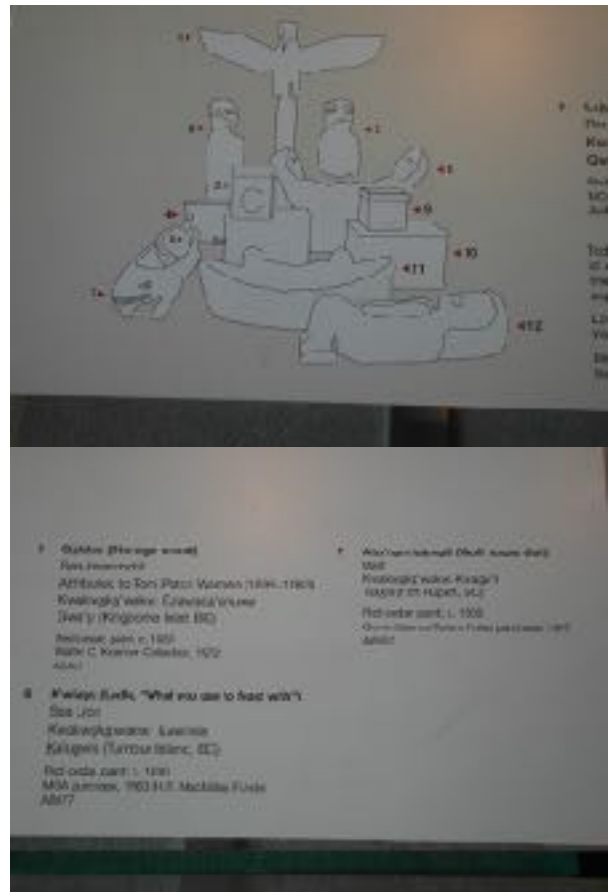
49.1   49.2

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51

Nuu-chah-nulth canoes

The ḥaḥuuḷi, or chiefly territories, of the Nuu-chah-nulth people stretch along the Pacific coast of Vancouver Island and into inland regions. Indeed, the name Nuu-chah-nulth translates as "all along the mountains and sea."

Canoe-making, like other cultural practices, is inseparable from the Nuu-chah-nulth belief system and ongoing relationship to traditional territories and resources.

Because of their stability and seaworthy design, Nuu-chah-nulth canoes have long been valued by other First Nations, and were traded as far south as the Oregon coast.

Renewned as canoe makers a[...] a range of canoe styles: hunting whaling canoes built to travers[...] offshore. Some canoes were [...]

The canoes pictured here are among the 25 or more that Joe Martin and his brothers Carl and Bill—members of the Tla-o-qui-aht Nation of the Nuu-chah-nulth—have created since 1982. The Martins and other carvers are carrying forward a practice learned from fathers, elders, and through trial and error. The new canoes are made as gifts and for personal use, sale, and cultural tourism.

53

54

55

Crafting a canoe

The First Nations people of the Northwest Coast are renowned for their elegantly engineered canoes.

Ranging in length from three to twenty metres, canoes were essential for travel, transport, hunting, and trade. Different coastal communities developed distinctive styles to suit their particular needs.

Each canoe is made from a single cedar log, carved and steamed into shape.

Haida carvers Captain Andrew Brown (far left), Charles Gladstone Tom Price (far right), and others stand beside a canoe that is ready and spreading.

Skidegate, Haida Gwaii, 189*

All along the Pacific northwest coast, canoe making is enjoying a resurgence. Tribal canoe journeys have become an annual event.

New generations of carvers are building on ancient traditions, learning from elders, researchers, historical documents, old canoes, and one another.

Tluu (Canoe)
Bill Reid (1920 – 1998), with Guujaaw, Simon Dick, and other assistants
Haida
Red cedar, paint; 1985
Commissioned by MOA with the financial assistance of Expo 86
Nb1.237

Richard Baker, Jim Hart, Glen Wood, Joe David, and Simon Dick paddle this canoe in Howe Sound, 1985

Was the salvage project a good idea?

The totem poles collected in the 1950s continue to represent the histories of living Haida people. Yet they were salvaged as "mute relics" when the old cultures were thought to have disappeared.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, totem poles were raised ceremonially as markers of important events. They were allowed to age and eventually fall to the earth. New poles would be raised as community life continued.

Totem poles now preserved in museums—and the ones allowed to remain on their original sites—have become central to debates about cultural heritage and the roles of museums and First Nations in its ownership, care, and display.

Some 19th-centu
where visitors a

We relate to these collections as our family heirlooms. Families are now researching their old poles in photographs and museums. They say, "That's my family pole," and they're proud about it. Hopefully my children's children's children can come and check them out and say, "This is our ancestral work." Pretty important.

Jim Hart /Idansuu, 2009
Haida artist and hereditary chief, saangga.ahl sdast'aas Eagle clan

With the impacts of Christianization, anti-potlatch laws, and changing economics, few poles were raised in First Nations communities between 1900 and 1960. In 1969, the Haida community at Old Massett gathered to celebrate Robert Davidson's *Bear Mother* pole, the first pole carved and raised there in the 20th century.

1

2

The Bill Reid Rotunda

"During the early planning stages of the Museum of Anthropology, Walter Koerner, the major benefactor of the Northwest Coast collection, mentioned to me that he had secured a very large block of yellow cedar that he was saving for a commissioned work by Bill Reid. From our preliminary studies of the site, it became apparent that the gun turrets, left over from Vancouver's dubious defense effort of World War II, were going to intrude into the planning of the Museum.

"Of the three turrets buried in concrete 15 feet thick that bisected the site latterly, one would form the edge of the west wall of the Great Hall, and the other the east wall intruding into the centre of the building in a way that the displays would surround the original gun emplacement. An enclosed rotunda shape sitting on the outer walls of the turret would define a special area with outside access to a view over the whole site.

The Raven and the First Men

"The great flood, which had covered the earth for so long, had at last receded and the sand of Rose Spit, Haida Gwaii, lay dry. Raven walked along the sand, eyes and ears alert for any unusual sight or sound to break the monotony. A flash of white caught his eye and there, right at his feet, half buried in the sand, was a gigantic clamshell. He looked more closely and saw that the shell was full of little creatures cowering in terror in his enormous shadow. He leaned his great head close and, with his smooth trickster's tongue, coaxed and cajoled and coerced them to come out and play in his wonderful new shiny world. These little dwellers were the original Haidas, the first humans." Bill Reid

4.1

Bill Reid (1920 – 1998)
T'anuu Raven Wolf Clan, Haida Nation

Haida Names Received

juwas (Manly One, or Princey One), 1954

Ihguulins (Golden Voice, or The One Who Speaks Well), 1973

ash Sgwansung (The Only Raven), 1936

Selected Major Works

Haida Village, UBC Museum of Anthropology
(with Doug Cranmer), 1960 – 1962

old Box with Eagle, UBC Museum of Anthropology, 1967

edar Screen, Royal British Columbia Museum, 1968

rontal Pole, Skidegate Band Council Office, 1978

he Raven and the First Men, UBC Museum of Anthropology, 1980

hief of the Undersea World, Vancouver Aquarium, 1984

ythic Messengers, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1985

Phyllidula: The Shape of Frogs to Come
Vancouver Art Gallery, 1985

Loo Taa (Wave Eater), Skidegate, 1986

The Spirit of Haida Gwaii, The Black Canoe,
Canadian Chancery Building, Washington, D.

The Spirit of Haida Gwaii, The Jade Canoe,
Vancouver International Airport, 1994

Awards

Molson Prize, Canada Council for the Arts, 197

Diplôme d'Honneur for Service to the Arts, 197

Ryerson Polytechnic University Fellowship, 19

Saidye Bronfman Award for Excellence in Craft

City of Vancouver Lifetime Achievement Award

4.2

Welcome to the Multiversity Gallerie

Ways of Knowing

These galleries bring more than 10,000 objects from around the world to public view. In most museums, such objects are stored behind-the-scenes, but here at MOA, you can browse through the collections on your own, for as long as you like!

Our innovative, location-sensitive MOA CAT touch screen terminals allow you access to additional media about MOA's collections from wherever you are in the Galleries.

ʔə́mi ceːp kʷətxʷiləm

In the Museum of Anthropology ʔəmət ʔi ʔə tə ńa
xʷməθkʷəyəmaʔɬ təməxʷ, tə šxʷʔaməts tə shənq̓əminəmqən.
ni əxʷ ceʔ kʷənəxʷ kʷə cweʔsəɬ tə xʷməθkʷəyəm syaːys
niʔɬeʔ kʷə syaːyss kʷə nəćawməxʷ xʷəlməxʷ.

4

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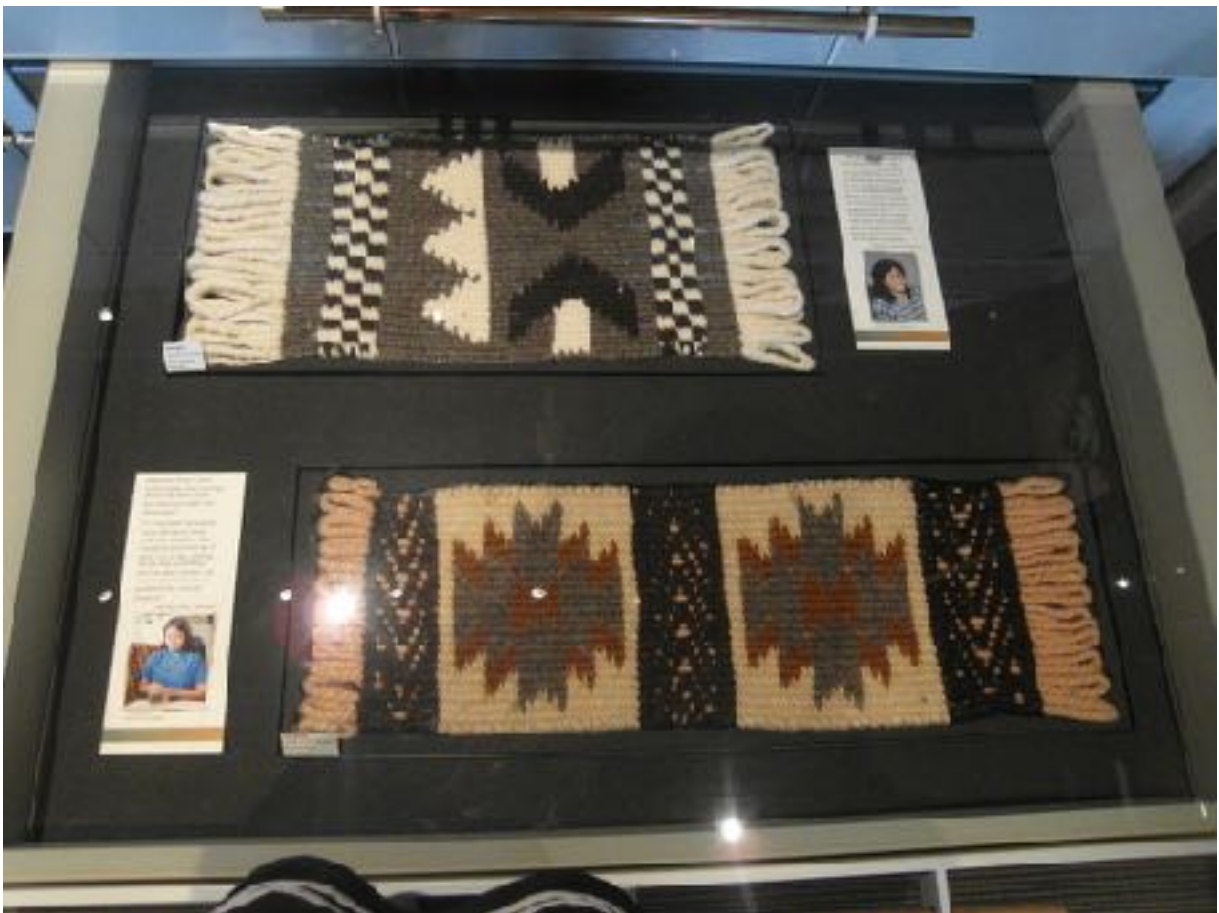
... we were allowed to keep one weaving each, ... My Auntie Wanda was teasing me and thanking me for it. At Christmas time I gave it to her, because it was my first twill weaving I made. When you make something for the first time, you're not supposed to keep it, you're supposed to give it away. I felt there was no better person to give it to that my auntie because she was almost like my mother.

Cynthia Louie, Musqueam

Cynthia Louie, Musqueam

8.1

Many Northwest Coast artists make silver carvings and carve totem poles, but weaving comes from Musqueam.

It's important that people know that we do have an artistic tradition. Well, actually, a long time ago it wasn't art, it was clothing. We do have something that has been revived, and we are able to keep it. It's something for us to be proud of.

Leila Vivian Stogan, Musqueam

Leila Vivian Stogan
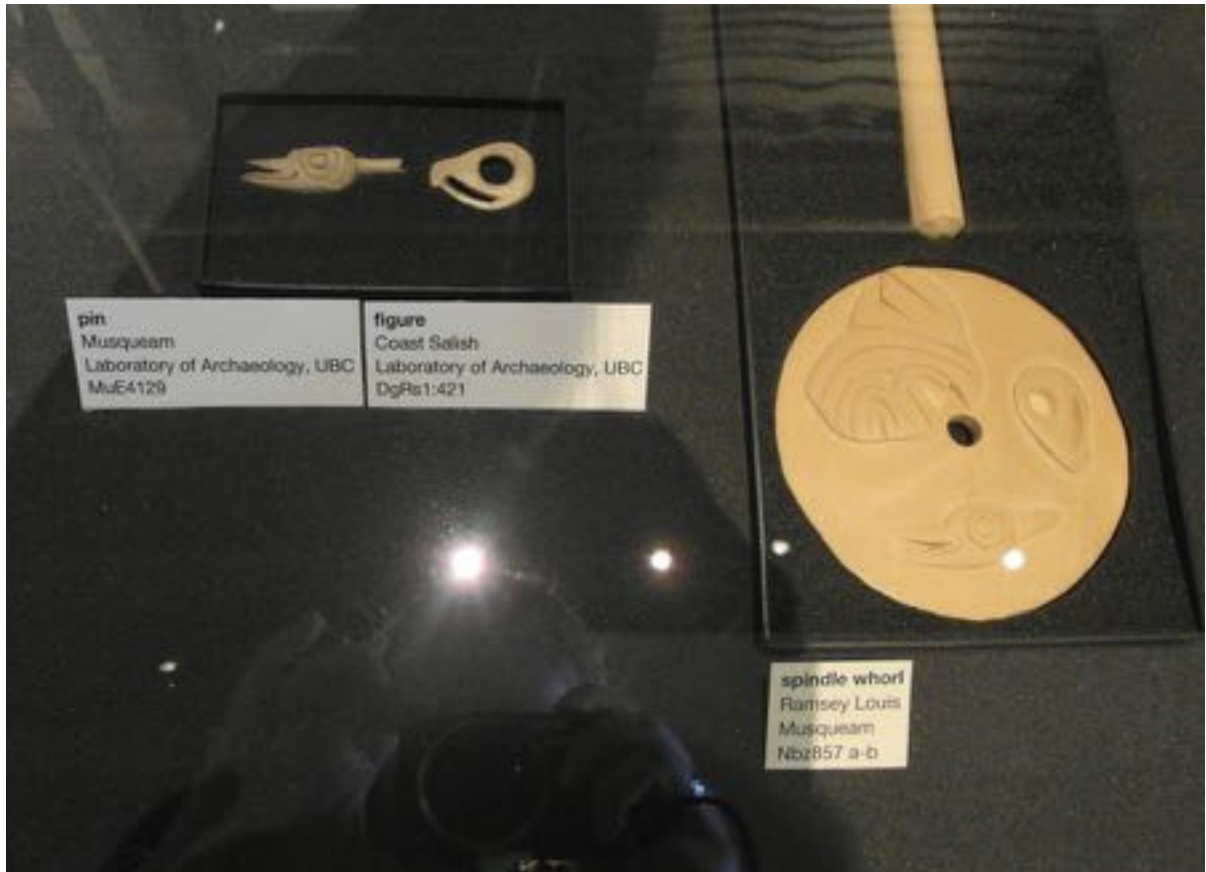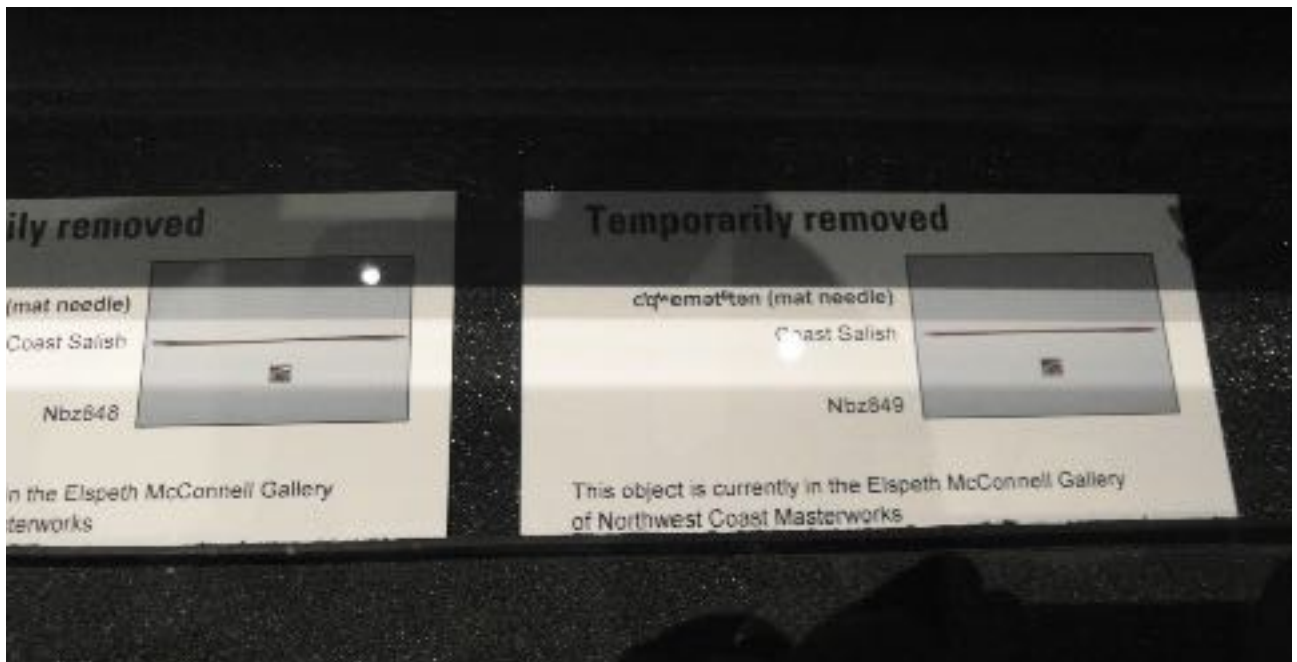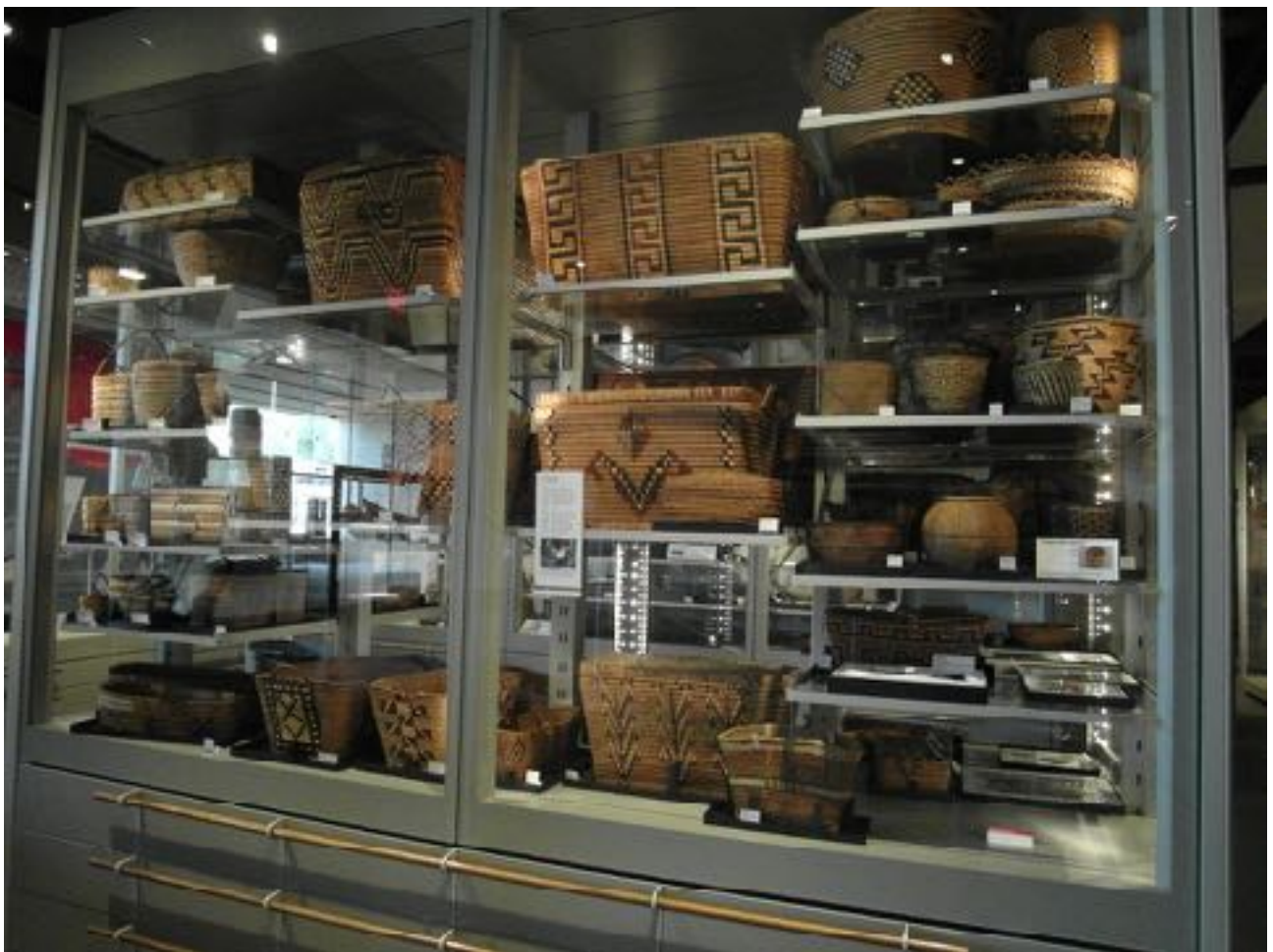
8.2

pin
Musqueam
Laboratory of Archaeology, UBC
MuE4129

figure
Coast Salish
Laboratory of Archaeology, UBC
DgRs1:421

spindle whorl
Ramsey Louis
Musqueam
Nbz857 a-b

sitels (Basketry Vase)

Object type
Vase

Artist/maker/manufacturer
Hadle, Christine

Culture
Interior Salish · Secwepemc

Place made
Canada: British Columbia

Location
Gallery of Northwest Coast Masterworks

Object Number
1/435/28

More...

Home Back Search List all Previous Next 6 of 10 objects
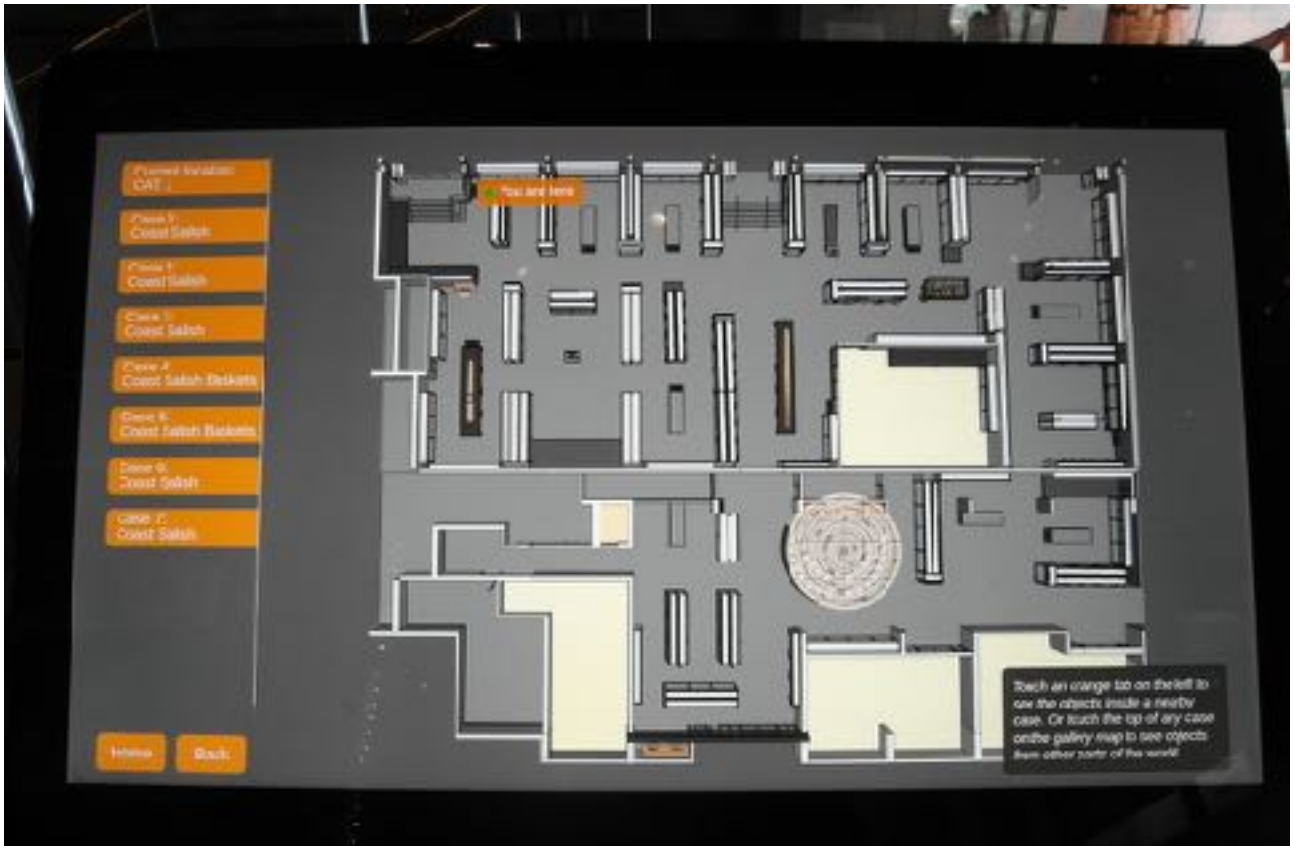
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18
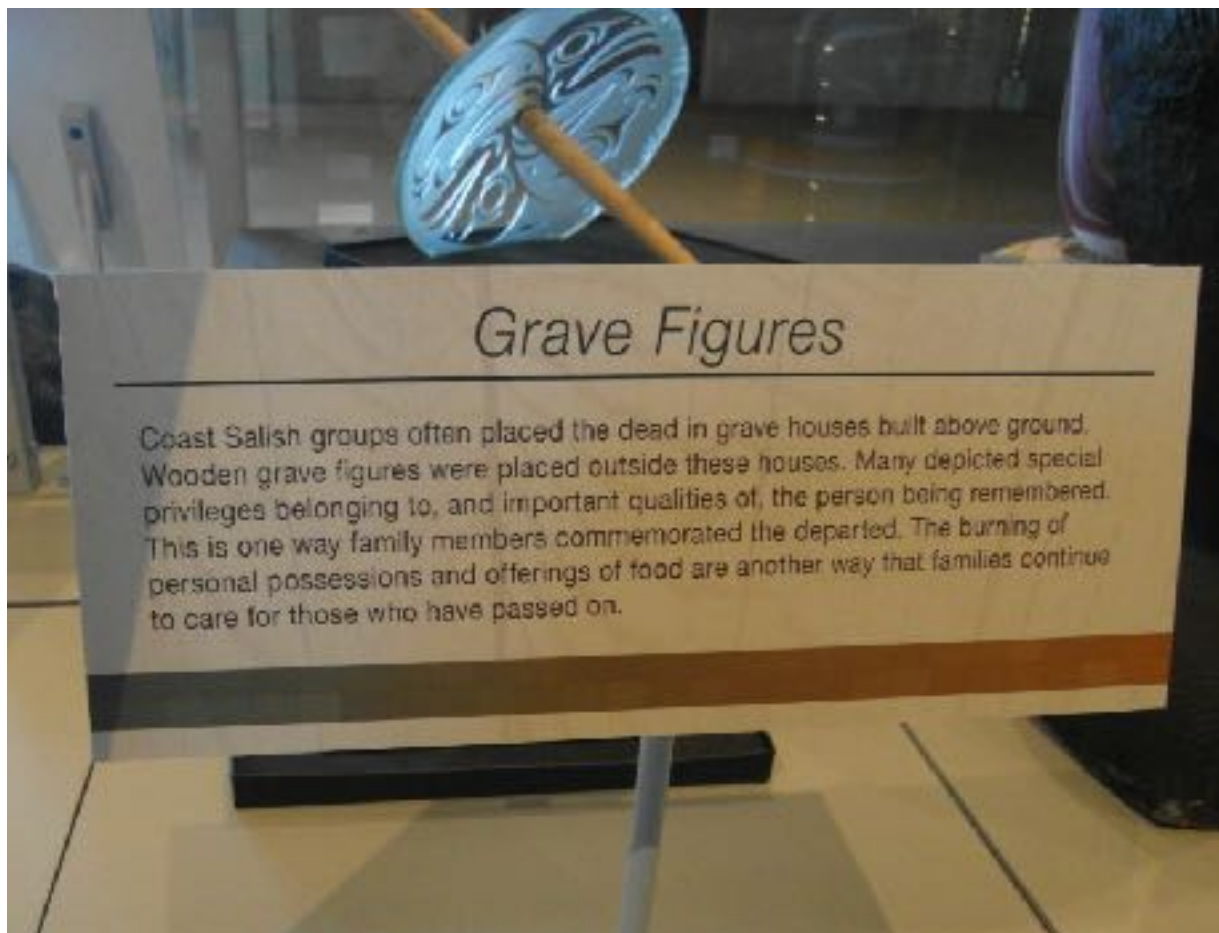
Grave Figures

Coast Salish groups often placed the dead in grave houses built above ground. Wooden grave figures were placed outside these houses. Many depicted special privileges belonging to, and important qualities of, the person being remembered. This is one way family members commemorated the departed. The burning of personal possessions and offerings of food are another way that families continue to care for those who have passed on.

Healing

The beliefs are that the Shaker Church is to help people with healing, spiritually...a lot of it is to do with shaking off the bad spirits...

McGary Point, Musqueam

McGary Point, Photo: Jordan Wilson, Musqueam

21

22

25

26

27

28

Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun

ARTIST'S STATEMENT

"It's been my life's goal to portray the negative and
positive realities of this world. I'm interested in
recording history: residential schools; global warming,
deforestation, and pollution; worldwide concerns
such as the hole in the ozone layer; environmentalism,
humanities, humour, and existentialism.

"My artwork is a vision from a Native perspective. The
symbolic forms are interchangeable, based on my
needs when I make a painting. This has allowed me
to make a style that is new; it breaks with tradition.
There's this whole world of clashes of culture and
time, and it's not something you see on a totem pole."

Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun *is known for his*
drawings and monumental paintings, in which
he fuses art and political agency as a means to
effect change. A graduate of Vancouver's Emily
Carr University of Art and Design, he also names
the "University of Knowledge of the Cedar Tree" for
his education in Indigenous ways of knowing and
learning from the land. Yuxweluptun is of Cowichan
(Coast Salish) and Okanagan ancestry, and lives
and works in Vancouver. A major solo exhibition
of his work, Unceded Territories: Lawrence Paul
Yuxweluptun, was featured at MOA in 2016.

Standing Tree
2016
Lawrence Paul Yuxweluptun
ink on mat board
3235/1

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33

Waxemedlagin xusbandayu'
(Even though I am the last one, I still count)

In the early 1960s my grandfather, Charles Eaton Willie, sold these eight bumblebee masks. They became the property of the Museum of Anthropology.

In 1998, my Uncle Ernest Peter Willie hosted a potlatch in Kingcome Inlet. As part of the ceremonies, replicas of these eight masks were created by my Uncle Don Willie and danced by the young children of our families. The central photograph depicts my aunts and uncles as children.

I created this piece to recognize that the rights and privileges the masks embodied are still active and integral to the Musgamagw Dzawada'enuxw people. My grandfather sold the masks at a time when the future of our traditional culture was in doubt. It is with great pride that I am able to look back and know that each generation of my family has participated in this dance, and feel assured that the continuance of its practice is now without doubt.

36.1

Kwiḵwaladłakw
(Things that are hidden)

In our Kwakwala language there is a word—kwiḵwaladłakw—which means "things that are hidden." Traditionally, our wolf headdresses, whistles, and other objects with 'nawalakw, or supernatural power, were put away when not being shown in ceremony.

For some of our people, to have these things on display for the public is very disturbing. That's why we were invited here to the Museum to discuss this issue. Our elders had mixed feelings: some said that we should educate the people of the world by showing the masks; others said that we need to put them away properly and respectfully. I thought that one thing we might be able to do is wrap some of the masks on display. This is so that the public can understand that not everyone is meant to see these things. Gilakas'la (thank you!)

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Button Blanket

*As the masterpiece of human life is created by man and woman
so are button blankets made.
As thread links materials to create beautiful and useful objects
so do button blankets link
past and present to create living records.
As the cycle of life is maintained by co-operation,
nurturing, order, and respect
so do button blankets maintain
our way.*

Doreen Jensen, Háh! Yee
(Gitxsan artist, curator, and First Nations advocate (1933 – 2009)

Faces Bones of Power: Totem Poles on Cloth,
by Doreen Jensen and Polly Sargent, 1986

Button blankets have become one of the most respected and
essential elements of First Nations ceremonial regalia on the
Northwest Coast.

Originally made from foreign materials acquired through the
Hudson's Bay Company, button blankets became a new version
of ancient woven and fur robes. They continue to be made today
with great creativity and pride, and are worn at community
gatherings as well as for public celebrations, political protest,
and to show chiefly authority at legal challenges.

To wear a button blanket is to literally wrap yourself in your
family crest: a symbol of your shared history and identity.

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Kwakwaka'wakw

HAMAT'SA REGALIA

Shown above is a ceremonial head ring (A6377) with six carved birds representing miniature versions of large *hamat'sa* masks. It was carved in 1919 by Jim Howard of Gwa'yi (Kingcome, BC) for his daughter, Alice, shown wearing it in the 1936 photograph.

Gwa'yi Village chapter in Gwa'yi (Kingcome, BC), 1936.
Left to right: Fred Howard, Maggie Howard, Sam Jackson, Tom Dawson, Alice Howard wearing A6377 (head ring age 17).
Photo courtesy of the Archives of the Anglican Diocese of British Columbia (Mrs Hatchett, Kingcome Inlet about 1910-1936.

Elders and teachers from Gwa'yi have worked with the Museum of Anthropology for many years to add cultural and genealogical information to the collection from their area. In 1966 Billy Sandy Willie stated that the privilege represented by this head ring was obtained from the Gilford Island people, who had in turn brought it from Blunden Harbour as dowry. More recently, community members suggested that it might have been worn by a *niigaxste'* (female attendant) to calm a *hamat'sa* initiate during the *tseka* (red-cedar-bark ceremony).

Also in this drawer are a robe and cedar-bark head ring and neck rings. The black velvet robe with plaited cedar-bark border and wooden skulls is worn by a tamed *hamat'sa* initiate; earlier versions were made of bearskin.

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Nuxalk

The Nuxalk Nation, formerly known as the Bella Coola, is an amalgam of distinct peoples: the Kwalhname from Kwalhna; the Istaimc from Taliu; the Taliyuumc from Ats'aaxlh (South Bentinck); the Suts'lhmc from Suts'lhm (Kimsquit); and the Nuxalkmc from the Bella Coola Valley. They shared the same language, but resided in different territories until they came together to live in the town of Bella Coola by the early 1920s.

The items in this drawer most likely come from Talyu, the main village of the Taliyuumc (people from Ats'aaxlh or South Bentinck Arm. When Nuxalk language and cultural teacher, Sroakila (Clyde Tallio) worked with the Museum to identify objects, he was pleased to find this walking stick from his own ancestral territory. A Sisawk dancer probably wore this grizzly bear paw as part of a bear costume representing the Tallio family crest.

49.1

Nuxalk

49.2

Pattern Basket

Known for her fine basketry, the late Annie Clappis wove this pattern basket in 1990 as a commission for the Museum. On it she recorded the designs her mother, May Williams, had liked to use.

My mother was always weaving. She didn't have the time to teach me, but I watched. I learned from watching when I was 8 or 9. It's how my daughter learned, too.

Annie Clappis, Hua-ay-aht First Nation (Nuu-chah-nulth), 2001
Pattern Basket 1422/1

Photo: Kevin Dutka

'Mṇúkvs wúwáx̌di – One Mind, One Heart

Yáu! As Heiltsuk people, we are of one mind and one heart in opposing Enbridge's Northern Gateway proposed pipeline and oil tanker traffic in our territories. If built, the pipeline will bring crude oil from Alberta to Kitimat, British Columbia, across 1,170 kilometres of rugged mountainous terrain, streams and rivers. It would cross through the territories of more than 50 First Nations communities, many of whom do not support the pipeline route.

More than 200 supertankers a year would carry this oil to Asia through the pristine waters within our territories on the central coast of British Columbia. An oil spill would have widespread and devastating impacts on the environment, culture and economy of our community as well as many other communities on the coast.

We are looking at new, sustainable economic opportunities and feel strongly that the risks of Enbridge's proposed pipeline project far outweigh any benefits it has to offer. *'Wálas 'Gíáxsíx̌a.*

Marilyn Slett, Chief Councillor
Heiltsuk Nation, 2012

'Yágis, 2012
'Nusí, Ian Reid
Heiltsuk
red cedar, acrylic paint, horse hair, and metal
Collection of the artist
Photo: Bea Fox

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Raven Creation Story

As Told By Rosie Dennis

Tahltan people have passed on their culture, history and Creation stories orally from generation to generation for thousands of years. This Creation story is about Raven and how he brought light to the people, as told by Rosie Dennis to Dr. John Alderete, December 1999, Dease Lake.

This is a Raven story. How silly he could be? He could make himself into anything. Raven saw that one guy, a wife and daughter had daylight, sun and the moon. Only their place, a brush house, had light. And this whole earth was just pitch dark, yet people lived on it, and Raven thinks to himself, "How could I get the lights away from those people – how could I make myself so that girl could swallow me? Then she'll bear me and I'll cry for daylight first, then I'll cry for the sun, and then I'll cry for the moon." So he made himself a little dust – that's how crow does that, he made himself dust and this young girl eats it. He puts himself on that girl's food so she could swallow him and have a baby. The girl spots it, and tells her mother to look at the dust on her food. They claimed that's the story. Those people were so neat and clean that nothing would come near them because they were the only ones that had light. And the crow thinks, "Oh I don't know what to do now – what could I make myself so that girl wouldn't see me so she'll swallow me? She has a wood cup." And the crow thinks, "Oh, if I put myself around the rim of that cup, make myself a small little dust, I bet that way she'll swallow me." So he did! Sure enough the girl didn't see it and she swallowed that little dust.

In a few months, it's showing that she's pregnant – and her mother and Dad ask how did she get pregnant, how could we find out? They couldn't find out, nobody came around, it was just them. Finally she's in labour; here it was the boy that was that crow! The way grandma and the old timers tell us, they say it's a true story. So the mother of the girl tells her husband, put up your camp outside my daughter's, she's in labour. So her Dad put up a little brush house. He moved out of there, that's our Indian way when a woman is going to have a baby. When a woman is in labour, the man has to move out till the woman has the baby – so that's what they did.

Here it was that boy! That baby grew up fast, they figure he started creeping around in about a week. The grandfather and the grandmother loved that kid so much it isn't funny! And when he figured that he was big enough to carry me daylight, sun and the moon, he cried for daylight. But first he cried to his grandpa. He points to that daylight, he can't talk but he points to that daylight

65

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"Don't give it up!"
The Lives and Stories of the Mabel Stanley Collection

Summary, the Indian Agent said that if you turn in all your regalia… you will not be put in jail. And I say, "Don't give it up!" I say, "What have you got to lose? If you give it up," I say, "you've got nothing more."

Mabel Stanley
(1901–1979)

"Don't give it up!"

Suddenly the Indian Agent said that if you turn in
all your regalia... you will not be put in jail. And I said,
"Don't give it up!" I say, "What have you got to lose?"
If you give it up," I say, "you've got nothing more."

Mabel Stanley
(1901-1989)

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These artworks from the past resonate today: inspiring, challenging, asking to be witnessed

IN A DIFFERENT LIGHT

REFLECTING ON NORTHWEST COAST ART

1.1

2

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5

A Kwakwaka'wakw woman opens cockles collected in open-weave baskets, 1922.

6

guud san glans,
Robert Davidson
Haida artist

It's a different challenge to paint a basket than to weave it, because the weaver could have spent a month on this piece. If I 'slobber' on it, that takes away from that one or two months' worth of work.

Jisgang, Nika Collison
Curator, Haida Gwaii Museum
at Kay Llnagaay

Looking at John Cross's work, it's not the quality of Charles Edenshaw's. But John Cross played a very important role in our history, keeping intact some pretty important information for today. He was also a tattoo artist, and the formline you see here speaks to that; you can see the influence. It's still masterful. It's still so damn important.

Kweliqwiya,
Rena Point Bolton
Stó:lō matriarch and artist

Whenever I'd go into the woods, I'd ask permission. You don't have to yell it out loud. You don't even have to talk it out loud, as long as you feel it inside. You're humbling yourself, and asking to come in and take whatever it is you want.

7.1

All of our art serves a function, whether it's social or utilitarian. But I think when you look at the pieces that draw anyone to them, the aesthetic quality is as important. People say there's no word for art in a lot of Indigenous nations, and that's true to the best of my knowledge, but it doesn't mean that aesthetics don't play a huge role.
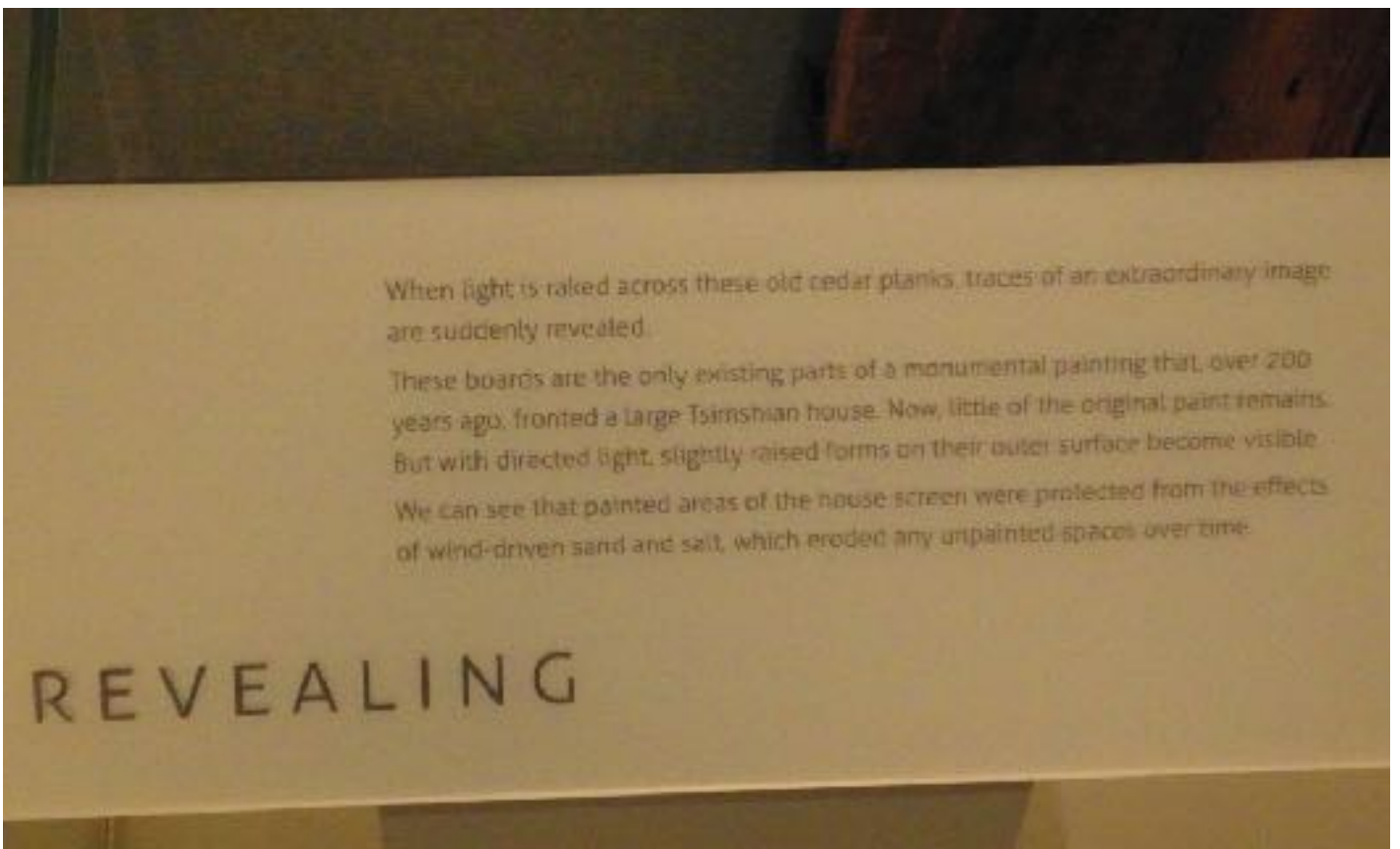
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When light is raked across these old cedar planks, traces of an extraordinary image are suddenly revealed.

These boards are the only existing parts of a monumental painting that, over 200 years ago, fronted a large Tsimshian house. Now, little of the original paint remains. But with directed light, slightly raised forms on their outer surface become visible.

We can see that painted areas of the house screen were protected from the effects of wind-driven sand and salt, which eroded any unpainted spaces over time.

REVEALING

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Chief Legaic's house at Lax Kw'alaams, 1879. The painted façade features the supernatural ???, ????, with a long projecting beak.

MONUMENTAL PAINTINGS

The largest paintings created by Northwest Coast artists of the 18th and 19th centuries were house-front and interior screens. Made of wide, hand-split cedar planks, such screens were painted with the family crests of their high-ranking owners. The paintings usually depicted animal or spirit beings, and symbolized pivotal events in the lives of the ancestors.

Few of these monumental paintings still existed by 1900, as Indigenous families replaced their traditional extended-family houses with Victorian-style, single-family dwellings.

The planks displayed here are the surviving evidence of a painted façade that would have measured 5.5 metres (18 feet) high and 15 metres (50 feet) across. They were collected in Lax Kw'alaams, a village on the northern coast of British Columbia. There, in the mid-1800s, Tsimshian chiefs displayed their relative rank and wealth through the elaborate painted screens fronting their houses.
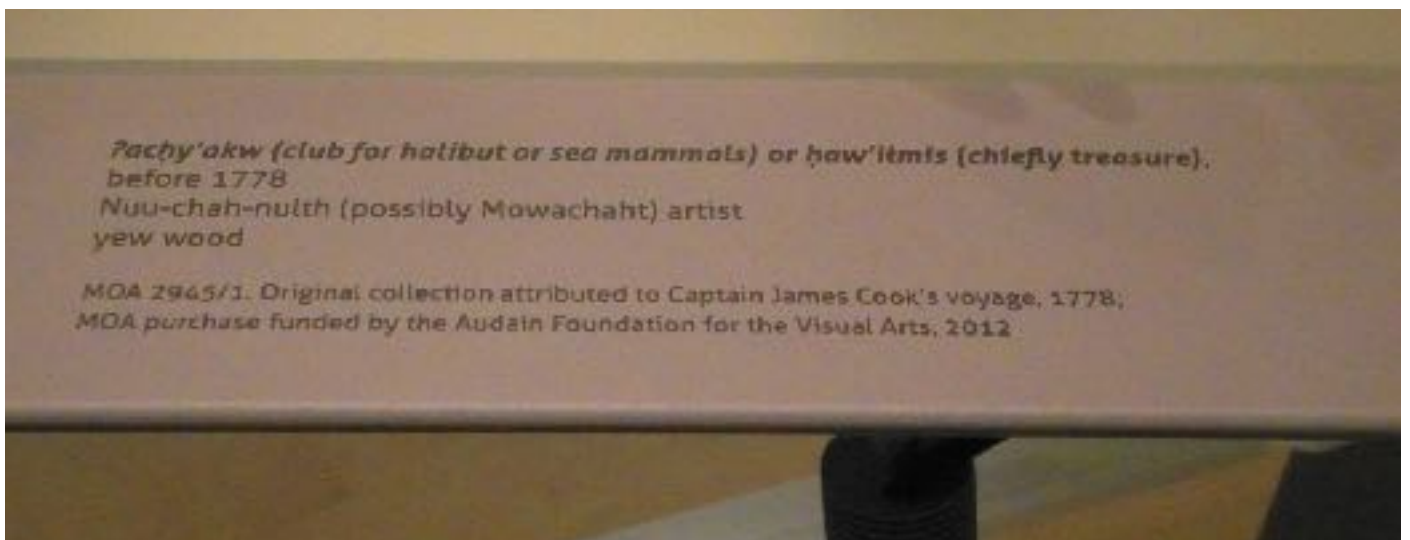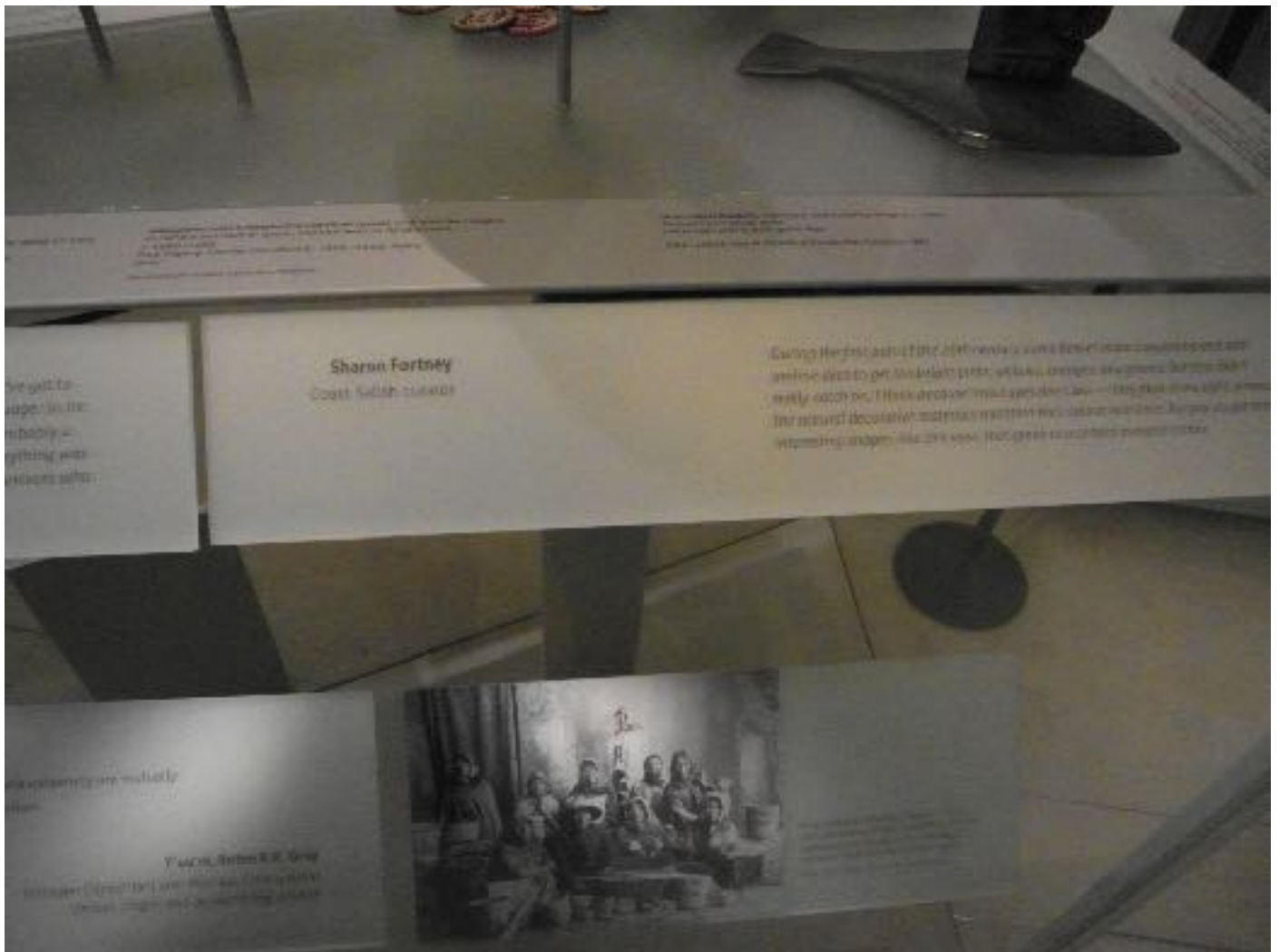
14

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Sharon Fortney
Coast Salish curator

Pachy'akw (club for halibut or sea mammals) or *ḥaw'iłmis (chiefly treasure),*
before 1778
Nuu-chah-nulth (possibly Mowachaht) artist
yew wood

MOA 2945/1. Original collection attributed to Captain James Cook's voyage, 1778;
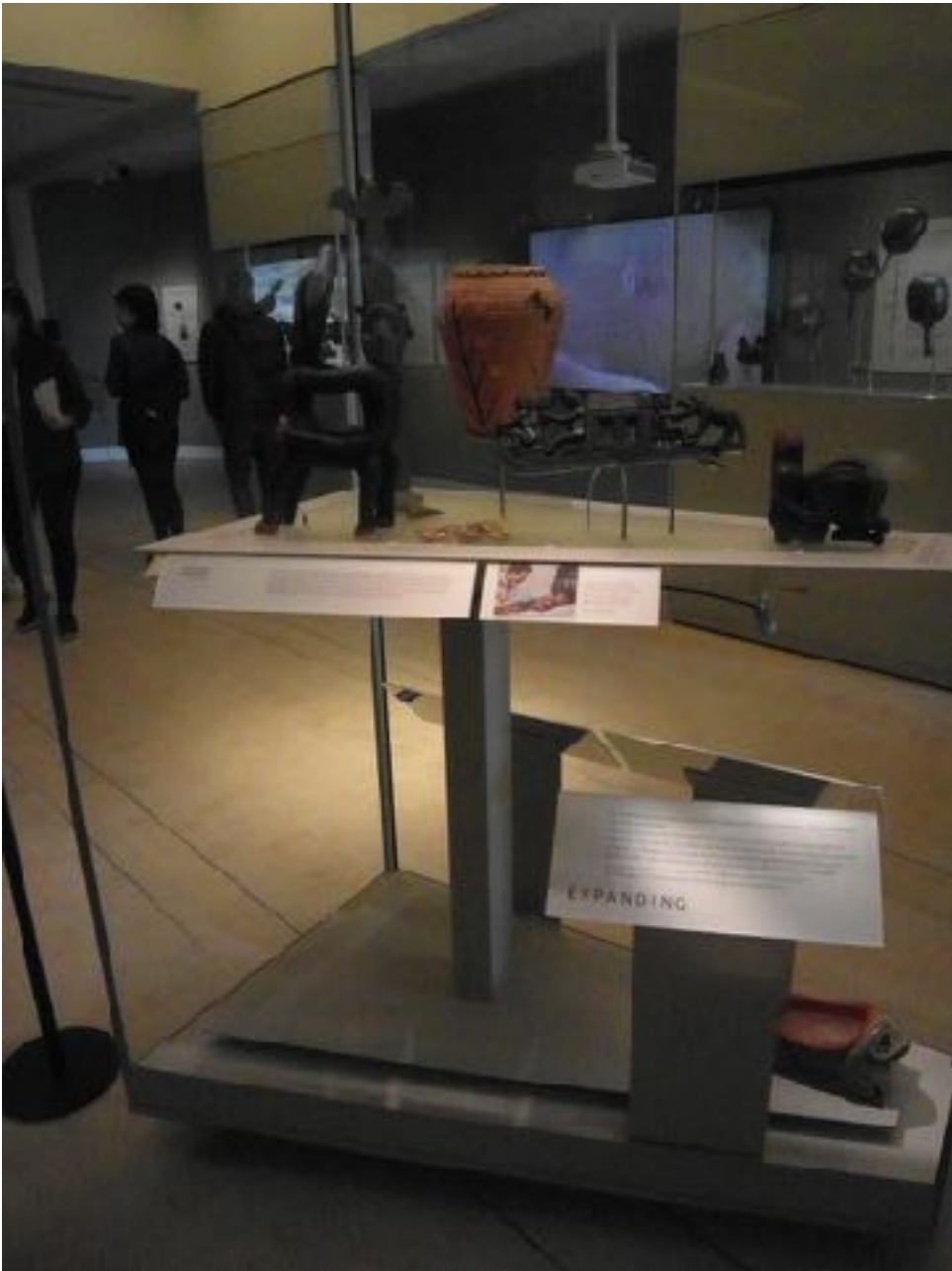MOA purchase funded by the Audain Foundation for the Visual Arts, 2012

When you see collected objects that were specifically made for certain kinds of resource harvesting, I think they have strong relevance to the land-use agreements that existed between First Nations, and that recognized jurisdiction and traditional law. When objects have gone through a process where they're no longer linked to their original owners, they become objectified. They lose that evidence that is directly connected to places and people.

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EXPANDING

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Haida artist Corey Bulpitt shows his son one of Charles Edenshaw's frog bowls in MOA's collection, 2012

Photo: W. McLennan

FEASTING

Dinner is served to guests in the Alert Bay bighouse for Ḵesḵelagelis, an event that marked the start of the demolition of St. Michael's Indian Residential School, February 18, 2015.

Photo: W. McLennan with community permission.

THANKING

INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS, WHOSE VOICES ARE HEARD IN AUDIO AND TEXT

PARTICIPANTS APPEARING IN FILM

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INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS, WHOSE VO

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Haida community members celebrate
new button gola carvings at the Haida
Heritage Centre, Haida Gwaii, 2001.

Photo: Al Roberton

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Bright red and dark blue woollen cloth. Mother-of-pearl buttons. Silver dollars. When first introduced to the Northwest Coast, trade objects and materials were often readily absorbed into a constantly evolving tradition.
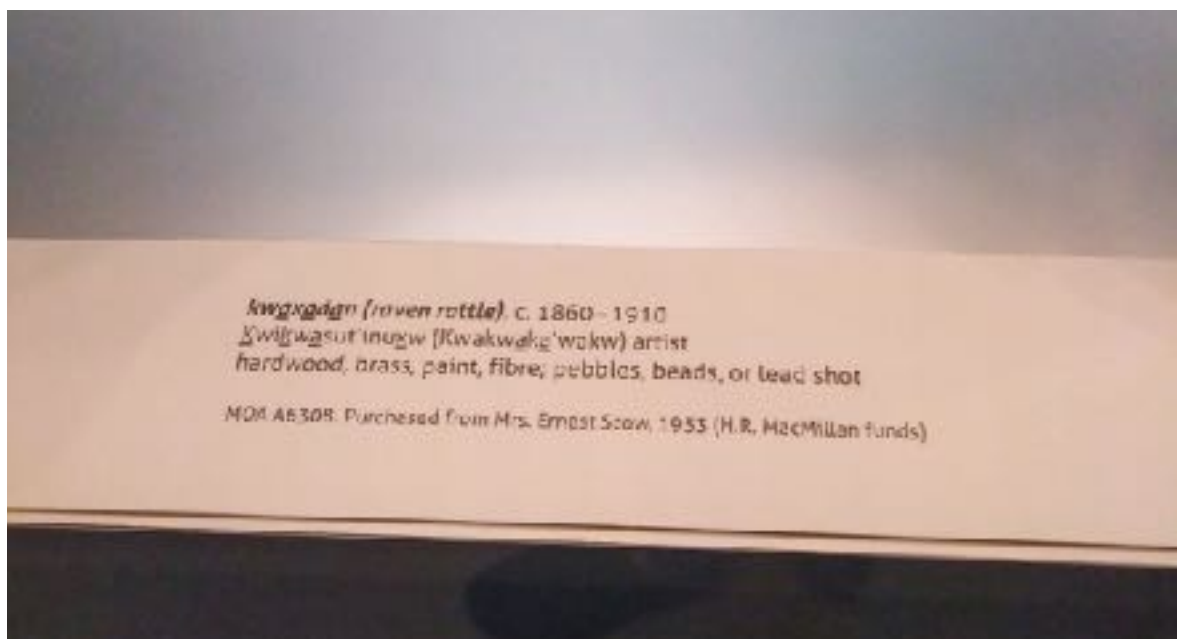
In both new and ancient visual forms, crest images—like those depicted on this blanket and the two bracelets—survived colonial efforts to oppress Indigenous cultural practices and governance. They are worn proudly as markers of identity, connecting the wearer to clan origins, ancestral territories, and inherited rights.

NGING

gwaiisdang gyaa'aat (button blanket)
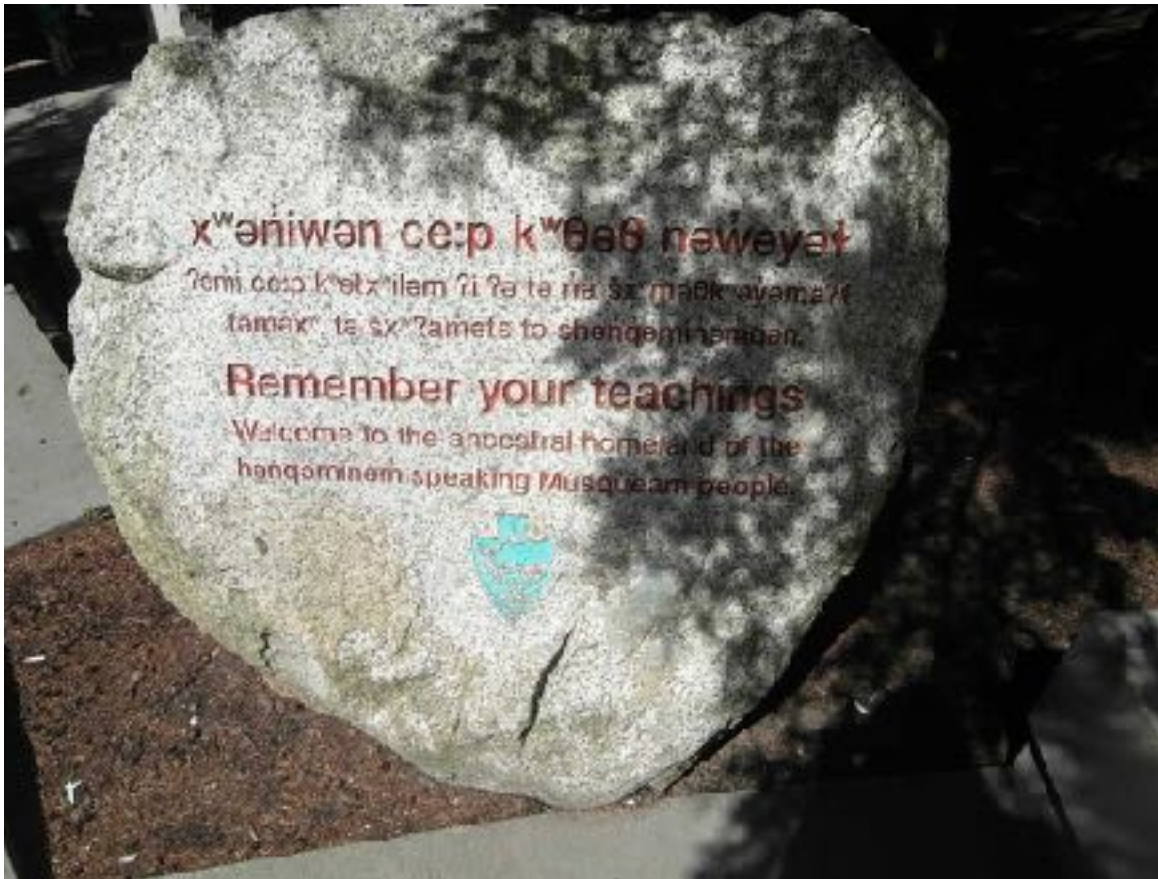with beaver crest imagery, c. 1850 - 1880
Haida artist
dentalium shells, shell buttons, glass beads,
felt cloth, cotton

Promised Gift, Private Collection, Montreal

sïïgaa xahl ts'iidayaa (carved silver bracelet)
with k'aad xaw (shark mother) imagery,
c. 1890
Da.a xiigang,
Charles Edenshaw (c. 1839 - 1920), Haida
silver

Promised Gift, Private Collection, Montreal

sïïgaa xahl ts'iidayaa (carved silver bracelet)
with raven-with-a-broken-beak imagery,
c. 1890
Da.a xiigang,
Charles Edenshaw (c. 1839 - 1920), Haida
silver

Promised Gift, Private Collection, Montreal

kwgxadan (raven rattle), c. 1860 - 1910
Kwik̲was'ut'inuxw (Kwakwaka'wakw) artist
hardwood, brass, paint, fibre, pebbles, beads, or lead shot

MOA A6308. Purchased from Mrs. Ernest Scow, 1953 (H.R. MacMillan funds)

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