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Te Ropu Hanga Kaupapa Taonga

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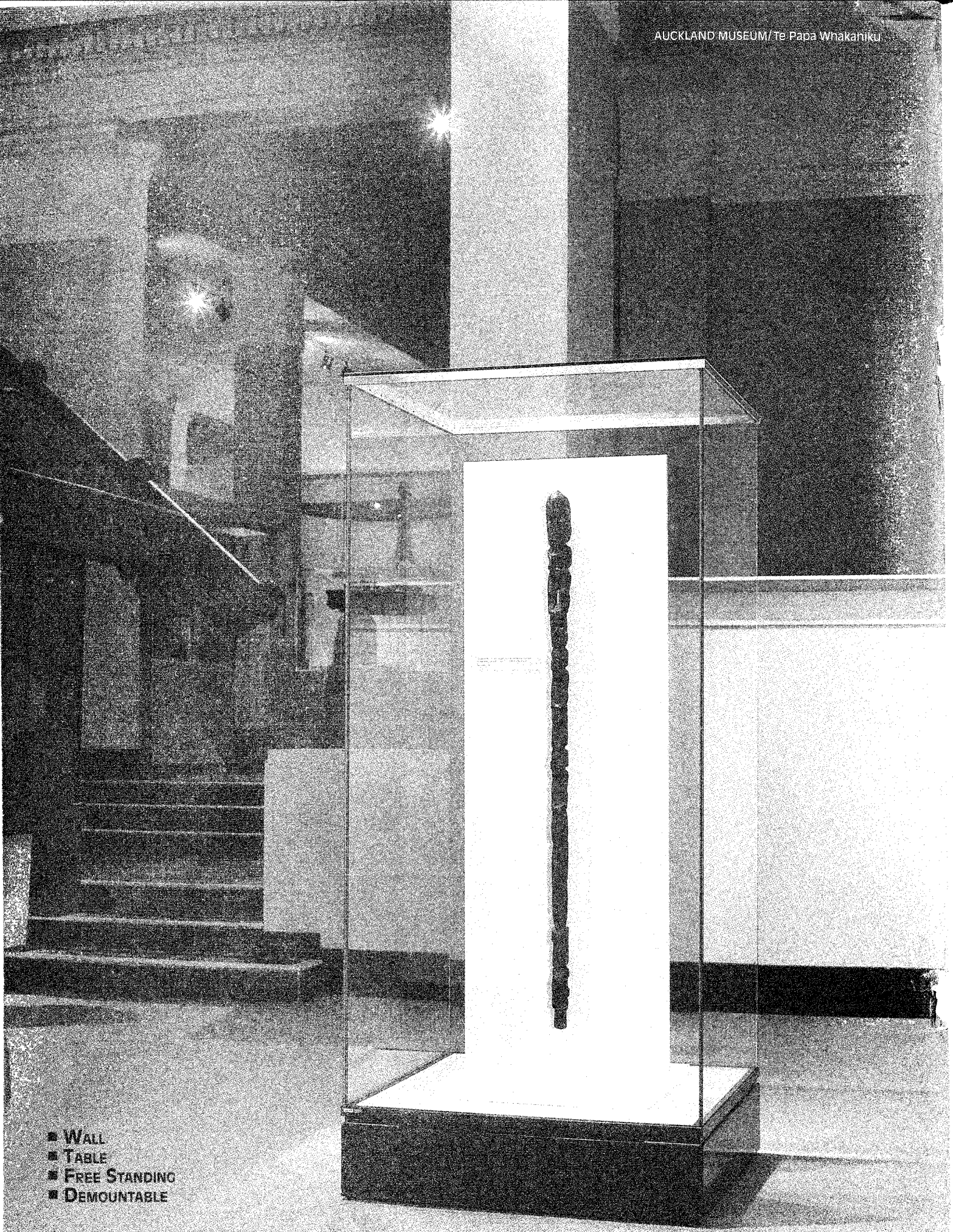

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NEW ZEALAND MUSEUMS JOURNAL
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CONTENTS

EDITORIAL

This issue of the Journal includes a selection of papers from the first three MAANZ TRHKT Conferences in Invercargill, Christchurch and Palmerston North. The papers are not intended to reflect the range of subjects or presenters who contributed to these conferences. The papers presented here are simply those which have substantial content and could be published with a minimum of editorial work . This collection of papers is in no sense to be seen as a 'proceedings' of the conferences at which they were delivered.

The final paper in this volume is written by Lynda Wallace proposing A Standards Scheme for Museums, has been included at the request of MAANZ Council so that members can consider this issue before the annual meeting.

The Editors wish to acknowledge the contribution made to museology in New Zealand by those whose papers have been published in the Journal.

As Joint Editors we wish to acknowledge the significant contribution made to New Zealand museology by those whose papers have been published in this Journal during the last five years. Writing about museum practice is theraputic, challenging and enlightening both for the writer and those facing the same challenges.

David Butts
Keith Thomson

IMAG(IN)ING OUR HERITAGE: MUSEUMS AND PEOPLE IN AOTEAROA

(Keynote Address, 1992 AGMANZ Conference)

Jonathan Mane-Wheoki, Ngapuhi, School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury

He Whakatauki: Ko te aha te mea nui?
He tangata, he tangata, he tangata.
A proverb: What is the most important thing?
It is people, it is people, it is people.

In August 1992, during the course of a subject information seminar held at the University of Canterbury, I addressed eighty or so prospective art history students. As I was speaking it occurred to me to check whether they actually recognised the slide images I had projected on the screens behind me. Two-thirds of the students were able to identify the Sistine Chapel wall and ceiling frescoes depicted in one of the slides, and name the artist responsible for executing them [Michelangelo]. The other slide showed the interior of what has been described by Sir Apirana Ngata as 'the finest flowering of Maori art': Te Hau-ki-Turanga. This *whare whakairo*, the centrepiece of the Museum of New Zealand, is destined for display in 'a specially designed gallery' in the new Te Papa Tongarewa complex as 'one of the Museum's most treasured taonga'.[1] Professor Hirini Mead insists that it is 'our greatest national treasure'.[2] How odd, then, that none of my prospective Art History students was able to identify the building, or date it, or name the *tohunga whakairo* responsible for carving it, or venture a suggestion as to where the building is housed.

Although I let it go at the time, the episode troubles me. How is it that students from Canterbury's catchment area - not only art history and practical art students, not just the Pakeha majority but the Maori minority - can complete their secondary schooling in ignorance of this 'national treasure'. How is it that they never hear the name Raharuhi Rukupo, arguably one of the four or five greatest artists[3] to have flourished in New Zealand during the past century-and-a-half - who was largely responsible for carving it? [I might add that it is possible to complete a university postgraduate degree in Art History and still be none the wiser!]

Let us remind ourselves of the building's significance. First, Te Hau-ki-Turanga is one of the supreme achievements of Maori art, a repository of the arts and crafts of the Maori builder, carver, *kowhaiwhai* painter and *tutukutuku* weaver - of Maori men and women.[4] It is also the oldest fully realised Maori house in existence, and it is the building from which all other great *whare whakairo* may be said to descend. Created between 1842 and 1843, the building sits on a cusp marking the end of the ancient Maori world *[Te Ao Tawhito]* and anticipating the second millennium *[Te Ao Hou]*, the new world. While it represents the culmination of an ancient culture, Te Hau-ki-Turanga is also the prototypical *whare runanga*, the first meeting house (as distinct from a chief's house). The development of the *whare* as a conference and accommodation facility had arisen from a need for hosts and visiting *rangatira* to debate strategies for dealing with their common experience of European invasion and occupation, and the threat of subjugation. On 6 February 1840 the formal compact between representatives of the British Crown and the *tangata whenua* began to be solemnised outside the Treaty House at Waitangi, the first architect-designed Pakeha building in these islands. Many New Zealanders are acquainted with this historic structure. Is not Te Hau-ki-Turanga, as a genuine Maori response to, and expression of, the new relationship also part of the same heritage?

Given the significance of this *whare*, then, both as a work of art and in terms of our nation's heritage, why is it more important for New Zealand students to learn about the Sistine Chapel whose magnificence they can only approach in this country through books and photographs *before* they know about our own physically-accessible, culturally-meaningful *national* treasures? Given that education is propaganda, that education is social engineering, what kind of affirmation is at work here, and what kind of denial? Who are the gatekeepers who have decreed it? And for what reasons? What is revealed about the ways in which we construct our cultural identity, and establish our cultural priorities and values? Such questions bring us to a larger issue: what knowledge, what range or selection of knowledge ought to be regarded as absolutely essential in defining us as a nation and as a bi- and multicultural entity? Which history, *whose* histories, might we embrace? Which cultural signposts and landmarks may we acknowledge as fundamental to our heritage? Through which selection of icons, signs and symbols might we conceive, construct, and image ourselves as a nation, as a people, and as a culture? So far, the koru, the kiwi, and the silver fern seem to be the only indigenous unifying emblems of national and cultural identity to have gained wide acceptance among *tangata whenua* and *tangata tiriti.*

The construction of New Zealand as an historic and geographic entity began a mere 350 years ago. In August 1642 two ships of the Dutch East India Company under the command of Abel Janszoon Tasman set out from Batavia [Jakarta, Indonesia] to search for the fabled 'unknown South-Land'. Around midday on 13 December 1642 a 'large land uplifted high' was sighted, and identified as 'Staten Landt', under the mistaken impression that it connected with that part of South America which had previously been mapped and named. The error was subsequently corrected and a latinised Dutch name bestowed: Nova Zeelandia. Isaac Gilsemans is credited with producing the surviving, meticulously delineated shipboard views of the coastal landscape - the first topographical drawings of Aotearoa-New Zealand.[5] As a result of Tasman's visit the geographic entity began to be drawn into the European conceptual framework, began to be imaged in Eurocentric, monocultural and paternalistic terms. *It is largely in those terms that our history and culture continue to be popularly understood by Pakeha New Zealanders.*

See, for example, the preface to the *New Zealand Travel Information Guide* distributed to overseas visitors:

> *New Zealand is nestled deep in the Pacific Ocean. A Dutch navigator, Abel Tasman, sighted and named New Zealand in 1642. However, it was not until 1769 that Captain James Cook explored the country and eventually claimed it as a British colony [sic] in 1840 when the Treaty of Waitangi was signed.*[6]

Note the absence of any suggestion that the land Tasman saw was inhabited. But it was, of course, as the Dutch mariners discovered in a fatal skirmish with the *tangata whenua* [Ngati Tumatakokiri[7]] at Taitapu [Murderers' Bay, Golden Bay]. Again, Gilsemans was the first European artist to capture likenesses of the indigenous people of Aotearoa - twice: first at Taitapu and later at Three Kings Islands. The imaging of Maori, also in Eurocentric terms, visual and verbal, had begun.[8]

As a political entity New Zealand had no existence before 1840 - although five years before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, thirty four chiefs representing the United Tribes of New Zealand had promulgated their Declaration of Independence.[9] The tradition of Maori tribes forging political alliances - the most recent example being the formation of the Maori Congress in 1990 - extends back into the ancient world. But from the time of its annexation as a British Crown colony until the recent past, New Zealand's capacity for responsible government has largely advanced within an imperial framework centred on Westminster. This has had a direct bearing on how we have defined ourselves as a people, and how each culture has defined the other. William Hobson might have proclaimed us one people: *'He iwi tahi tatau'*. But *tangata whenua* [used here in its general ethnic sense rather than its specific tribal and regional sense] and *tangata tiriti* have always entertained quite different views on the subject; we remain each other's 'other', our 'otherness' being defined in terms of difference.

In constructing Maori as the 'other', the first Europeans to write on the subject referred to them as aboriginals and savages. Nineteenth-century European writers 'invariably spoke of *natives* or *New Zealanders*'.[10] When, for example, the distinguished British historian Lord Macaulay, writing in 1840, imagined a time in the far distant future, 'when some traveller from New Zealand shall, in the midst of a vast solitude, take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St Paul's'[11] he could only have been referring to a Maori. The New Zealanders illustrated in George Frederick Angus's *The New Zealanders Illustrated* (1847) were Maori. In July 1863 Queen Victoria signified her interest in becoming 'Godmother' to the British born New Zealander, the child of Hare Pomare and his wife Hariata....'[12]

The word *Maori* originally meant natural, normal, usual, ordinary[13]; its use to denote aboriginal or indigenous New Zealanders is said to have begun about 1850 among Maori themselves[14], which was logical since they outnumbered the colonists at that time, and were the original and ancient people of the land - the *tangata whenua*.

The colonists and their descendants do not appear to have begun to conceive of themselves as New Zealanders - as belonging to a culture and a land apart, and to no other - until those Kiwis who served with the ANZACS in the First World War experienced homesickness for the land of their birth.[15] Even so, the process of distinguishing and separating Pakeha 'us' from European 'them' is far from complete.

In 1966 Colin McCahon recalled childhood visits to the Dunedin Public Art Gallery (in the days when museums were conceived as temples of art and culture):

> *It has a very special smell and a more sacred feeling than the Art Society could ever achieve. Was this because the Art Society was 'us' and this was 'them'? - from Overseas, or Old? or was it just a difference in disinfectants used by the respective caretakers? perhaps the Art Gallery cleaners used a brand also used in the city's Presbyterian churches.*[16]

Many New Zealanders of British descent, whether immigrants or fourth-generation New Zealanders, still referred to Britain as 'home' right up until the 1950s.

Meanwhile the definition of a New Zealander had undergone a transformation from its original meaning: the term had ceased to be applied exclusively to Maori.[17] In appropriating the term for themselves, Pakeha had redefined it as a category from which Maori now found themselves largely excluded. When exasperated Pakeha wail: 'Why can't we all be New Zealanders?' they do not mean 'Why can't we be brown-skinned, Maori-

speaking indigenes'. They mean: 'Why can't we all be pale-coloured, middle class monoculturalists. Why can't *they* be like *us*?' - in other words, Pakeha. Maori 'otherness' is thus defined in terms of an inability to fit the new definition. Whatever Maori are, or think they are, they are not, and can never be Pakeha. Some Maori feel themselves marginalised to such an extent that they regard themselves as foreigners, as 'refugees' in the land of their ancestors.

Whatever the origins of the word *Pakeha* - an ignoble original meaning has been posited[18] - its use spread rapidly among Maori for whom it described persons of European ethnicity.[19] Today it is an identity that New Zealanders such as the historian Michael King are proud to own.[20] Certainly the word only has significance in this country, and only in relation to Maori. But it is for that very reason that many New Zealanders continue to resist it for no better reason than that it might concede to the colonised 'other' the right to construct in their own terms *their* image of the colonisers. Thus many of the colonisers insist on remaining *Europeans* - which is ironic since there are now millions of Europeans who are of African and West Indian and East Indian and Asian and Semitic descent. [At the time of the Southall riots in England, an Indian woman carried a banner which boldly asserted her right to be in England: "We are here because you were there". To today's Europeans, Pakeha New Zealanders do not seem like Europeans, yet New Zealand police reports still refer to this country's caucasian or Pakeha offenders as 'Europeans'.

During the Depression years some of the colonists and their descendants saw prospects of a distinctive national culture emerging. Indeed, the generation that elected the nationalistic first Labour government in 1935 began to welcome it. Architects had already been challenged to image the idea of New Zealand in state buildings. The principal face of Cecil Wood's State Fire Insurance Office, Christchurch (1934) combines stripped and stretched classicism, streamlining, Art Deco, and decorative stone carving and metal cast panels featuring Maori patterns. How to conceive, shape and express architecturally the idea of New Zealand is a problem with which successive designers of New Zealand pavilions at international expos have had to wrestle. The Museum of New Zealand project is the latest and most comprehensive and ambitious attempt ever to image us as a nation and as a culture in a building.

On the subject of imaging ourselves abroad, Lindis Taylor writing in the *Listener* about the New Zealand presence at the 1992 Expo in Seville tellingly observes:

> *Alongside the vibrant witty Venezuelan art exhibition too many of the New Zealand works seem overanxious to be seen at the extreme edge of the contemporary avantgarde. It reveals a New Zealand full of disquiet and insecurity - perhaps an accurate picture, but no one else at Expo chooses to bare their psyche so self-consciously.*[21]

One of the greatest frustrations with which Maori have to contend in coexisting with the power culture is Pakeha self-consciousness and defensiveness about, and ignorance of, our own New Zealand culture. While it may be true that New Zealand's history and culture lack the density and complexity of far older, more populous countries, our heritage *is* nevertheless important, and it is *ours*. Maori regard Pakeha as possessing very little sense of, or taking little pride in, New Zealand's history and heritage. Certainly, our English (but not our Scottish, Irish or Welsh) 'kith and kin' still patronise us as 'colonists' - which we don't like, and are abashed by it. But you know the kind of studied insolence. 'So you're from *New Zealand*?' With bemused emphasis. 'And what do you do in *New Zealand*?' 'I teach art history.' Wide-eyed, mock astonishment: '*Is* there any?'

Pakeha colonial cringe and cultural cringe continue to be expressed in an apologetic deference to Europe and an inferiority complex about New Zealand culture. Sometimes we exacerbate the condition either by inflating the titles and content of art events that consist of half-a-dozen oddments cadged from institutions overseas, and adopting an attitude of smug posturing, or by deceiving ourselves that exhibitions on the European tradition culled from our own slender means result in art events comparable with the best that institutions in Europe or North America (with their extraordinary resources) have to offer. I fancy that I discerned something of the latter, 'pretty good for a small country' syndrome in an otherwise most elegant and engaging touring exhibition, curated to a very high standard, which I viewed a number of times in Christchurch and Wellington. It seemed to me, however, that the exhibition's title 'European Treasures: Great Paintings from Machiavelli to Monet'[22] (from the collections of the Dunedin Public Art Gallery), together with its 'packaging', invited a kind of reading that the selection of modest works by major artists and major works by minor artists, and the odd atypical work, could not possibly sustain. Few were 'treasures' in a European or international art museum sense. If the exhibition had been called something like 'Pakeha Treasures' or 'Treasured European Paintings', we might have been encouraged to reflect on the significance of those same works in the *imag(in)ing* of our post-colonial culture and heritage.

As New Zealanders we continue not only to construct ourselves in Eurocentric terms but to allow ourselves to be constructed from a Northern Hemisphere perspective. When we promote Christchurch as the 'the most English city outside England' - which it is not! - do we wonder if any English city is ever promoted as 'the most New Zealand city outside New Zealand'? The Australian situation is even worse. Fremantle, for example, is described as having a Mediterranean climate. Do the people who live in Turkey, Greece, Italy, etc ever think of their climate as being Western Australian? And now Perth, with its

gleaming skyscrapers, is being promoted as the 'Dallas on the Swan' [River]! In the absence of an indigenous term (such as our 'Pakeha'), caucasian Australians still classify themselves as Europeans.

With the Australians, we are the people who live 'down under' relative to Europe[23] - although the Christchurch Wizard touts an upside-down map of the world which shows New Zealand 'up over'. In a recent conversation with one of my colleagues, we were reflecting on our antipodean location when it suddenly struck me: *we're* not antipodeans. *They* are! Spain is, in fact, New Zealand's geographic antipodes; the Spanish are *our* antipodeans.

Our cultural dependence on Europe still shapes our lives. We structure our year in northern hemisphere terms. We spend months preparing to celebrate the pagan rites of a European mid-winter solstice and seasonal New Year in mid-summer, and the pagan rites of Spring in Autumn. The names of some of the days of the week and the months of the year are foreign to the experience of living in New Zealand. More serious is the fact that elements of a colonialist political allegiance to Britain remain. Our head of state is a foreign woman who lives in a distant country. The Privy Council in London is our ultimate court of appeal. We fly an imperial flag. Our country retains a colonial name. These anachronisms will go. We'll be weaned eventually.

Each momentous advance in status towards political and economic independence has been documented in the name changes of the principal repository of our cultural heritage - the Colonial Museum, the Dominion Museum, the National Museum. Each of these changes has been effected within an almost exclusively British imperial context, consolidating the values of the power culture installed in 1840. 'Who owns the past?' - well might Tipene O'Regan pose this question in the title of a published essay.[24] Who controls it? Who are the gatekeepers? The answer is, of course, the *tangata tiriti*. However, the advent of the Museum of New Zealand on 1 July, 1992, signalled a fundamental shift in the imaging of our national heritage towards bicultural and multicultural comprehensiveness.

Museums - generally, nationally, collectively - have a key role to play in reimaging our history and heritage. Our sesquicentenary provided us with an opportunity to reflect on a century and a half of history, culture and achievements. But the museum enterprise still enshrines the race/gender/class values and norms of the *tangata tiriti* as, for example, in the way *Te Ao Tawhito* is still constructed as pre-European, pre-contact, prehistoric, primitive, moa-hunter, Early and Classic Maori, and so on. But what if we were *all* to own the larger history and culture of the land? What if we were to balance out the alternative timeframes and conceptual frameworks of Maori and Pakeha in framing our history and culture, as Ann Salmond has done in her wonderful book, *Two Worlds: First Meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772*? What a prospect! What a vision! It would certainly take us far beyond the dates meaningful to Pakeha: 1840, 1769, 1642. It would take us back fifty to sixty Maori generations,[25] beyond historical time into archaeological and mythological time to the beginnings of human settlement when the east Polynesian ancestors of the Maori arrived in these islands. It can be argued that these first settlers were not Maori.[26] The distinctive culture of the Maori took many generations to evolve. In the same way, a distinctive Maori/Pakeha culture may coalesce but it will take some time. When that happens, the indecisiveness, the hesitancy, the equivocation, the propensity to persist with a phoney Eurocentric culture and to ape foreign cultures will cease. Pakeha New Zealanders are New Zealand's *indigenising* peoples: they have their Pakehatanga (as distinct from their European heritage) to define and affirm. [Pakehatanga is that portion of our heritage which is constructed both in terms of its descent from the European and in relation to the Maori.] Maori are *reindigenising* as they adjust to Pakehatanga.

The New History, the New Art History and the New Museology[27] encourage us to deconstruct our stories and reconstruct them in new contexts. For history is invention (and sometimes it is fiction), and it is always contemporary. History is an interpretation of the past from the vantage point of the present. It is never impartial or value-free. The past is always scrutinised in terms of the ideologies and ambitions of the generation that writes it. We look to the past not only for explanations as to who we are and how we got here, but for indications as to where we might be heading.

We have to contend, however, with terrific resistance to the prospect that our reconstruction of the past might require us to de-Europeanise our heritage. Some Pakeha will go to extraordinary lengths to avoid owning our merging histories and cultures for fear that the losses will far outweigh the gains. 'The danger N.Z. faces of losing its Western heritage' was the headline over an article by Simon Upton published in the Christchurch *Press* in 1990. Accordingly to Vivienne Gray, Professor of Classics, University of Auckland, in a *Dominion Sunday Times* report headed 'Latin trade-off raises fears':

> *My way of thinking about this is that 150 years of Pakeha history, the European New Zealand, just ain't enough. We've got a beach batch [sic.] and rat culture, but it's shallow...And I think that what culture can be is the 2500 years that goes back to what's admitted to be the origins.*[28]

I would argue that what culture in New Zealand can be is the 1100-odd years 'that goes back to what's admitted to be the origins' of human settlement in Aoteaora-New Zealand, and, beyond that the ancient world of Polynesia.

But here is Lindis Taylor again in the

Listener:

> *The antipode of Seville lies a few kilometres east of the Waikato Heads - so why should we concern ourselves with an Expo in a country as distant as Spain? Haven't we been urged to regard ourselves as a Pacific nation? The answer is, that if we are to foot it in a sophisticated world, New Zealand cannot afford to deny its European character.*[29]
>
> ....
>
> *[And yet] 'I watched the crowds grow even larger when the Waka Maori group performed.*

I thought that Jim Traue, the former Chief Librarian at the Turnbull, was disingenuous in lauding it over the Ngati Raukawa on their marae at Otaki in his recitation of European *Ancestors of the Mind*.[30] Quite apart from the fact that this behaviour might be thought inappropriate to the kawa of the marae, its *exclusion* of Maori from western cultural roots is astonishing. All Maori *whakapapa* into both cultures *to some degree*. Aside from the probability that most Maori today have dual ancestry, Maori are compulsorily bicultural. They have to be to survive in this country. By identifying with the Pakeha ancestry of Maori, it may well be legitimate for Pakeha to *whakapapa* into Maoritanga - at the very least into the comparatively recent history of Te Ao Hou, at the beginning of which Te Hau-ki-Turanga stands.

Various prophets of doom - Carol Du Chateau, Agnes-Mary Brooke, Karl Stead, Roger Kerr - bewail the social engineering that they see permeating the educational enterprise, and undermining their privileged heritage. I say, what utter, utter nonsense! We need lose nothing. We can have it all, including the Sistine Chapel. But let us locate it within a set of priorities ordered differently from the way they are at present so that we open windows out into the wider world of knowledge from a base securely established in New Zealand.

Of course education is social engineering; education is propaganda. It serves whatever the prevailing ideology and culture happen to be. Museums are deeply implicated in the contest for hearts and minds. Who could possibly doubt that they have a crucial, interventionist role to play in shaping, affirming and reflecting cultural values (which they nevertheless have to balance out against their accountability to the body politic)? Museums can lead us.

One of the sessions at the *Headlands* forum in the Museum of New Zealand in September 1992 addressed the question: 'Biculturalism - who needs it?' ['Does it help or hinder our understanding of New Zealand art?'] Biculturalism is not, of course, quantifiable. It would be an extraordinary New Zealander who was able to function with equal ease in both *tikanga*. Rather, biculturalism is an ideal. It expresses itself in a generosity of spirit, in an openness to the way in which other societies image and value the things that give them their distinctive corporate identities and structures, and in a readiness to allow those societies access to one's own culture on more or less the same terms. '*Nau te rourou, naku te rourou, ka ora te tangata.*' [With your basket and my basket - of knowledge - human needs are satisfied.]

In the face of continuing resistance, indifference, ignorance, prejudice and bigotry in the wider community, it is very pleasing to note steady progress on the bicultural front in our museums. The appointment of *kaitiaki Maori* signals the beginning of a new understanding of partnership. Certainly, it may ensure that the appropriate *kawa* are observed with respect to *taonga Maori*, so that the belief and value systems of the *tangata whenua* are no longer violated. It is gratifying to see museum institutions grappling with bilingualism. [I am told that the information panels for the Maori installation in the Otago Museum were cast first in Maori and then translated into English.] The adoption of Maori names for museums [e.g. *Niho o Te Taniwha*, the Southland Museum] seems friendly and positive.

By dint of the Maori Language Act, 1987, Maori was given recognition as an official language - New Zealand's only official language, in fact. You would hardly know this from our new banknotes, coins and postage stamps. The Maori Language Commission, charged under the Act with promoting the language's use, had provided the Reserve Bank with a Maori name which the Bank declined to use. It was then decided that no Maori language would appear on the new banknotes apart from the names of birds. The Maori dimension would also be acknowledged in the depiction of tukutuku patterns and Sir Apirana Ngata's portrait on the $100 bills.[31] But Maori perceive the 'soul' of Maoritanga to reside in *Te Reo*, not in Maori designs or portraits of people of mana. The official bilingualism of many other countries - South Africa, Canada and Belgium, for example - is apparent on all official signage and documents. The information pages in our passports are now bilingual: Maori and English. The 'vital statistics' page is also bilingual: English and French.

The ideals of bilingualism and multilingualism are well served by the educational systems of a number of countries - Sweden, Holland and Switzerland, for example. Like biculturalism and multiculturalism, the ability to speak other languages not only opens windows on to the wider world of knowledge, but provides other perspectives on one's own heritage, deepening and enriching one's experience of it.

Our culture is in a state of transition, a state of flux. What we may well be witnessing is a culture emerging from our merging cultures. A new history, a new reading of the past, is in the making. It will be the history of a country with a new name and a new flag. What will that name be? Are we becoming Aotearoans? Certainly, many New Zealanders, Maori and Pakeha, recognise Aotearoa as the

appropriate Maori term for New Zealand. It is employed in the Maori language version of the information published in our new passports. On the pages that matter, however, Aotearoa does not stand alongside New Zealand as our country's name.[32] Nor does it appear on our banknotes, coins or postage stamps.[33] The Maori title for the National Museum and Art Gallery, Te Whare Taonga o Aotearoa, has been supplanted by the richer, symbolic, poetic title: Te Papa Tongarewa. Strictly speaking, Aotearoa can only refer to the North Island.[34] When the term is applied to the whole of New Zealand, some Ngai Tahu take the view that this is yet another instance of North Island Maori colonialism - although Tipene O'Regan uses the term.[35] As a geographic, political and legal entity Aotearoa does not exist, has yet to be defined. The only official Maori term for New Zealand is the transliteration which appears on the Treaty of Waitangi: Niu Tireni. That term has lost favour, however, with Maori who are bent on purifying the language by purging it of borrowings.

In employing the word Aotearoa (in the organisation's new name, Museums Association of Aotearoa-New Zealand), then, we need to be very clear about what we are doing. We are signalling change. We are announcing a desire and a vision. In acknowledging a state of cultural transition we are responding to the political, social and economic dynamics of our times.

Maori and Pakeha share a unique cultural relationship, situated in disparate historical time frames and conceptual frameworks, and found nowhere else in the world. We also share a common destiny. Our descendants will move more easily than our own education has prepared us to do between constructs located in the second millennium of human history in these islands and those located in the third millennium of the western calendar. The role of Kaitiaki Maori and Kaitiaki Pakeha in our museums is to clarify the ancestral lines - their continuity and integrity - of our respective cultures, and reconcile them to each other. Whatever differences emerge are not to be decried or feared; they are to be celebrated.

NOTES

1. Promotional material, the Museum of New Zealand.
2. *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections* (Auckland, 1984), 35.
3. Rangimarie Hetet would be numbered among them.
4. See: T. Barrow, *A Guide to the Maori Meeting house Te Hau-ki-Turanga* (Wellington, 1976) and Frances Porter (ed.), *The Turanga Journals: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams, 1840-1850: Missionaries to Poverty Bay* (Wellington, 1974).
5. See: Anne Salmond, *Two Worlds: first meetings between Maori and Europeans, 1642-1772* (Auckland, 1991), especially chapter 3, 63 ff. and R.D.J. Collins, 'Abel Tasman in New Zealand Waters: The Pictorial Record', *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, 12, 1991, 4-28.
6. Published by Tourist Publications Ltd, Orakei, Auckland (undated), 6.
7. This tribe became extinct during the early nineteenth century.
8. See: Leonard Bell, *The Maori in European Art: A Survey of the Representation of the Maori by European Artists from the Time of Captain Cook to the Present Day* (Wellington, 1980) and *Colonial Constructs: European Images of the Maori* (Auckland, 1992), and my review of the latter in *Art New Zealand*, 66, Autumn 1993; and Gordon H. Brown, *Visions of New Zealand: Artists in a New Land* (Auckland, 1988).
9. See: Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, 1987), 19 ff.
10. See: H.W. Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7th ed., rev. and augmented (Wellington, 1985), 179. The word 'native' was dropped from official use in 1947 and replaced by the word 'Maori'. This point is noted in Charles C. Eldredge (with Jim and Mary Barr) *Pacific Parallels: Artists and Landscape in New Zealand* (Washington, D.C., 1991), 151.
11. Thomas Babington Macaulay, 'Von Ranke', in *Critical and Historical Essays, III* (London, 1843), 209.
12. See: Leonard Bell, *Colonial Constructs: European Images of Maori, 1840-1914* (Auckland, 1992), 88.
13. Williams, 179.
14. *ibid.* Atholl Anderson states, however, that 'As the proper noun, Maori, it first came into use in 1836 (by Robert Hempleman at Banks Peninsula).., See: 'The Last Archipelago: 1000 Years of Maori Settlement in New Zealand' in *Towards 1990: Seven leading Historians examine significant aspects of New Zealand history* (Wellington, 1989), 3.
15. See: Jock Phillips, *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male* (Auckland, 1987).
16. 'Beginnings', *Landfall*, XX, 362.
17. See: n. 10.
18. For contributions to the debate see: Bruce Biggs, 'The word "pakeha": where it comes from, what it means', *Press*, 19 September 1988, 20; Ranginui Walker, 'Spurious interpretations', *Listener and TV Times*, 14 May 1990, 100-101; Maurice Shadbolt, 'Politically correct Pakehas?', *Dominion Sunday Times*, 6 October 1991, 9.
19. Most colonists were not only European but British in origin. However, all New Zealand nationals were British subjects until Britain entered the European Common Market in 1973.
20. See: Michael King, *Being Pakeha: an encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance* (Auckland, 1985) and Michael King (ed.), *Pakeha: the quest for identity in New Zealand* (Auckland, 1991).
21. *Listener*, 19 Sept 1992, 45.

22. Even the chronology and cultural geography indicated by the exhibition's subheading was slightly misleading. The exhibition's checklist of thirty-four, mainly oil paintings, begins and ends, equally euphoniously, with a triptych by Landini and an industrial townscape by L.S. Lowry.
23. This term seems to apply, however, only to Australians and New Zealanders of British descent, and not to the indigenous peoples of the Southern Hemisphere or South Americans.
24. In *From the Beginning: The Archaeology of the Maori* (Auckland, 1987), ed. John Wilson, 141-145.
25. See: Atholl Anderson, *ibid.*, 1.
26. Although Anderson sets out the opposite point of view, *ibid.*, 3.
27. See: A.L. Rees and Frances Borzello, *The New Art History* (London, 1986); Peter Vergo, *The New Museology* (London, 1986) and Ivan Karp and Steven D. Levine (eds.), *Exhibiting Cultures: the poetics and politics of museum display* (Washington, 1991).
28. 6 Sept 1992, 12.
29. 19 Sept 1992, 44.
30. *The Ancestors of the Mind: A Pakeha Whakapapa* (Wellington, 1990).
31. Letter from Don Brash, Governor of the Reserve Bank of New Zealand, 11 September, 1992.
32. 'There are no provisions for Aotearoa or New Zealand to be protected names under the Flags, Emblems and Names Protection Act, 1981 nor is there protection of the name Aotearoa under the Maori Language Act'. Letter from the Hon. Doug Kidd, Minister of Maori Affairs, 16 November 1992.
33. 'Current New Zealand Post policy is to use English in its business affairs. There is not presently a Maori equivalent in use for the Company's name.' Letter from Elmar Toime, Group Manager Sales and Retail, New Zealand Post, 23 September 1992.
34. Letter from Professor Timoti Karetu, Maori Language Commission, 4 September 1992.
35. O'Regan, 143.

TRIBAL MUSEUMS AND CULTURAL CENTRES IN CANADA
(1992 AGMANZ Conference)

Greg McManus, Manawatu Museum

There are many differences between the museum scene in Canada and that of New Zealand, but in some respects they share a common ancestry, common problems, common challenges, and common potentials.

Perhaps the most obvious similarity is that museums in both countries have, for more than a century, been charged with (some would say self-appointed to) the collecting and displaying of aspects of the cultures of their indigenous populations: the Maori in New Zealand, the Native peoples in Canada.

In both countries a situation has been perpetuated whereby a dominant, white, society and culture has built museums largely based around the material heritage of dominated minority cultures. This situation has a somewhat perverse quality about it in that the people being represented in these museums continue to coexist with the dominant culture that represents them. The **dominated minority** cultures are the represented, the **dominant majority** cultures are the representers and the represented for.

This state of affairs has not gone unnoticed by the represented others, in Canada or in New Zealand. Native Canadians have responded to their museumification by the dominant Canadian culture in various ways. The emergence of Native museums and cultural centres, for example, has become an important component of the current re-establishment or renewal of Native culture in many parts of the country.

THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF CANADA

Initially, it must be noted that the term 'Native' is the preferred term used by indigenous Canadians to collectively describe themselves. It is a general term referring to the people Europeans would call Indians, Inuit, and Metis. Native Canadians also use the term 'First Nations' to describe themselves, but more often will use a tribal or band name, in a similar way that Maori refer to iwi or hapu.

Census figures indicate there are about 500,000 Native people in Canada, but these figures have been challenged for many years. Unofficial estimates by researchers in fact range from the 1981 census figure of 500,000 to a high of 3,000,000. Scholars generally agree on a figure of about 850,000 as being more accurate than the census figures, but the published census figures are used here with the note that they are almost certainly rather conservative. (All quoted figures are from Asch, 1984).

Inuit are the people who would formerly have been called Eskimo by Europeans. The term Eskimo is no longer used officially in Canada because of its negative connotations for Inuit people: in the Algonquian language it means 'eaters of raw flesh' (Asch, 1984: 4). In the 1981 census, 25,370 people in Canada described themselves as Inuit, mostly in the northern provinces and territories.

Approximately 100,000 people in Canada describe themselves as Metis. Metis are people of mixed heritage, primarily Indian and French. Metis groups range widely in cultural patterns, and include some groups that are not distinguishable from Indian nations, and others that appear ostensibly European.

By far the majority of Canada's native people, some 370,000 or so in the 1981 census, are included in the category Indian. Officially, Indians are those whose ancestors were defined as Indians at the time of the first Indian Act in 1868. The Canadian government further distinguishes between 'status' and 'non-status' Indians. Status Indians are those who are registered under the Indian Act, while non-status are those who have lost, or as the government phrases it, 'have not maintained their rights as status Indians' (ibid.: 4). There are some interesting and important twists to these designations.

For example, included as Indians under the Act are non-Indians who are the wives of registered status Indians. Excluded under the Act, on the other hand, are persons who in other respects conform to the Act but who, for example, by deciding to vote prior to 1960, declared themselves (and their descendants) to be non-Indians, those who voluntarily enfranchise, and others who have lost their Indian status for some reason or other. The best-known example of this excluded group are Indian women who marry men not defined as registered Indians. By doing so they lose their Indian status, as do all their descendants (ibid.: 3).

Whichever way one looks at it, the term Indian is something of a catch-all term that designates a great variety of groups and individuals who have many different languages, cultures, and histories. It is useful therefore to

think of the term Indian as somewhat equivalent to the term European, with the various groups that comprise its constituent members as similar, in their differences at least, to the various nations of Europe (Asch, 1984).

Native people comprise only about 2% of the total Canadian population, although in some provinces the proportion is much higher (18% in the Northwest Territories), and in some very small indeed (Ontario, Quebec, British Columbia - between 0.5 and 2.0%). A majority of Native Canadians live on reserves which were set aside under the treaties of the nineteenth century, and some more recently. (Not all groups have reserves it must be noted - many are currently contesting land claims with provincial and federal governments).

By remaining on reserves, Native people retain their rights as status Indians. If they decide to live away from the reserves they relinquish those rights. Status Indians carry identity cards to prove their status and to claim the rights and benefits available to them. For example, status Indians pay no GST if they live on a reserve, they get tax concessions in general, and are able to take advantage of educational subsidies, etc. However, unemployment on the reserves is very high, and social problems such as alcoholism and violence are commonplace.

In mainstream Canadian society (i.e. off reserves), unemployment amongst Native people is also very high, with Native people being grossly over-represented in jails, and as drug addicts and alcoholics.

Politically, too, Native people have occupied a marginal position in Canadian society. Although Natives who do not live on reserves have equal voting rights as other Canadians, this is a fairly recent situation. Natives only won the right to vote in federal elections in 1960, while the date for enfranchisement in each province is different - as late as 1969 in Quebec. There are no Native seats in Parliament, or in provincial assemblies, and the Minister of Native Affairs has never been a Native Canadian. There are some Native MLA's and MP's, mostly in the Northern Territories and Yukon, but Native communities in most provinces are virtually unrepresented politically.

NATIVE PEOPLE AND MUSEUMS

Despite the fact that Native people appear to be extremely marginal to mainstream Canadian society, their cultures form the basis of many mainstream Canadian museums, and the focus of anthropology and archaeology. Like New Zealand museums and their Maori collections in many respects, many Canadian museums earn their reputations from their Indian collections, and many white anthropologists and museologists have made careers from the study of Native material culture in museums.

On the other hand, Native peoples' involvement with museums has until recently been very limited. Very few Native people work in Canadian museums, and virtually none at senior levels where policy is made. Marjorie Halpin, anthropologist and curator at the University of British Columbia Museum of Anthropology, characterizes the museum interpretation of Native peoples as very much an 'Us and Them' situation (1988). Native peoples are the 'interpreted', while the 'interpreters' and the 'interpreted for' are almost exclusively white Canadians or tourists. Rick Hill, a Mohawk artist and curator, says, 'we hardly ever think of Indians as a significant constituency of museums, we see Indians as suppliers of artifacts, crafts, paintings and an occasional dance or two' (1988:32).

This situation has changed somewhat in the last fifteen years, however, as many Native communities have developed a renewed determination to retain and strengthen their cultures and to affirm their continuing viability in the wake of the drastic changes imposed on them in the past century. Claudia Haagen, in her MA thesis on Native cultural centres (1989), explains that a new ideology has emerged in parts of Native Canada, one which regards cultural re-establishment as essential to the survival of Native groups as 'distinct peoples'. This at a time when Quebecois are fighting for their own perceived right to be a 'distinct society', within Canada or without, while all the time white, English-speaking Canada loudly cries the usual lament of the dominant group in any society: 'But why? We are all Canadians, we are all one people!'

One of the ways Native communities (and all cultural groups of course) approach the problem of cultural survival is to pass on the essential features of their own culture to new generations. As Haagen explains, the idea of cultural education requires an understanding of what Native culture is as distinct from the dominant culture, and that the essential features of this culture can be activated and communicated to provide the basis of self-determination. She notes there is also a conviction that, if these essential features can be effectively activated, then a sort of 'collective healing' will take place.

This ideological position can be shown to have had a profound influence in social and economic planning in Native Canada, and has led to systematic programmes designed to collect, preserve and communicate cultural knowledge. Cultural centres and Museums, and the education programmes they can provide, can thus be seen as critical to the social and cultural development of Native communities in Canada.

Regarding museums, Haagen says that Native people have begun to use aspects of 'the Museum' as a significant element in cultural renewal initiatives: 'Museum techniques have in many cases been incorporated into development strategies, and Native museums are being used to replace traditional museum stereotypes with contemporary images of living Native cultures'.

The museum is thus a recurring symbol in many Native ideas about cultural survival: often a negative symbol, but with positive potential and practical applications, as Haagen attempts to explain. The relationship of Canadian mainstream museums with their Native constituencies is a very complex one, largely because 'museums have for so long both facilitated the survival of many aspects of Native culture, while at the same time implying their extinction'. In other words, the way mainstream museums have portrayed Native cultures in the past has provided an important point of departure, both positive and negative, for the present cultural reclamation activities. Museums have preserved certain kinds of cultural knowledge such as ethnographic information, visual records and material culture, and as such provide a significant resource for cultural reconstruction initiatives. On the other hand, Haagen points out, museums have promoted some tenacious stereotypes of Indians and later, as Native cultures persisted, museums have maintained the stereotype of extinct cultures forever fixed in ethnographic time and suspended in the non-Native history of first contact.

In return, many Native people have held strong beliefs about Museums. Ideas about what a museum is, what it does, and how it is seen to represent Native people is also stereotyped by its Native constituency. Stereotyping is thus not the sole prerogative of the dominant group in any society. (Any similarity this description may have with the history of the museum enterprise in New Zealand is purely intentional).

The relationship so generally and inadequately described is rapidly changing, however, as Native cultural organizations emerge and claim/reclaim the right to interpret themselves, and the right of responsibility over their own cultural heritage.

Without meaning to state the obvious, and without taking the time necessary to explicate the point, Native museums and cultural centres approach ideas about knowledge of the past, etc., in a quite different way from mainstream museums in Canada, although traditional museum activities and ethnographic techniques are often employed by Native museum workers as they become anthropologists and collectors in their own communities. Some staff members of Native museums are in fact trained in Museum Studies, including at UBC, and mainstream museology is widely accepted and appropriated by Native Museums as they develop their own programmes and orientations based around their communities' material heritage.

One of the main tasks of the emerging Native museums and cultural centres is really to redefine some of the popular and negative ideas about Native culture for Native and non-Native audiences alike. As well, they are committed to responding actively to the way Native cultures have been portrayed in non-Native museum exhibits, and to redefine the stereotype of a museum held by many Native people themselves (Haagen, 1989).

The development of tribally-based museums and cultural centres has not followed any regular pattern, however. Dependent largely on federal or provincial funding, the emergence of Native museums is happening at different rates in different areas. In eastern Canada, for example, there appears to be a stronger commitment from provincial governments to Native education initiatives, and Native museums receive much of their funding from this source.

In western Canada, on the other hand, there appears to be less support for cultural initiatives - particularly in British Columbia which, until late in 1991, had a very conservative and overtly monocultural Social Credit government. It was this Social Credit government, for example, which contested the landmark land claim by the Gitksan-Wetsuweten of central British Columbia area on the grounds that, before Europeans came to sort things out, the 'Indians' had no society, no settlement pattern, and hence no claim to land. The judge in the case agreed with the government, concluding that Indian rights were extinguished with the arrival of Europeans, and that the Gitksan had no claim over any of the land in question.

Tribal development of museums in B.C. has been somewhat sporadic then. Some tribes or bands are actively developing museums as per the mainstream definition of the term, while others simply emphasize the collection of cultural material for purposes of curriculum development and for workshops for teachers and school groups.

There are some notable success stories in the development of the Native museum movement, however, and the following is a description of one of them.

U'MISTA CULTURAL CENTRE, ALERT BAY, B.C.

Opened in 1980, U'Mista Cultural Centre is located in Alert Bay, a Native fishing town on Cormorant Island at the northern end of Vancouver Island. Alert Bay is the main centre of the Kwak'wala speaking Kwakwaka'wakw people, part of the nation Europeans have for decades called 'Kwakiutl'.

The cultural centre has as its heart an exhibition of some of the objects repatriated to the Kwakiutl nation by the Canadian government from the Canadian Museum of Civilization (or the Museum of Man as it was) and the Royal Ontario Museum. These objects were acquired under duress by the government in 1922 after an illegal potlatch. It is worth briefly outlining the history of these objects since it demonstrates what U'Mista is all about. (U'Mista, by the way, is a Kwak'wala term meaning a state of good fortune or luck enjoyed by those captured in war who manage to return home safely. The appropriateness of this name will unfold as the story of the potlatch collection unfolds).

During the long winter months on the Northwest Coast, much time is spent staging and attending feasts and ceremonies during which families assert their greatness and recount the spirit encounters and experiences of their ancestors. Feasting usually takes place as part of special ritual occasions commemorating important events in the life of the community, such as birth, death, a new house, a new name, etc. One of the main features of this winter feasting is the distribution of wealth to the invited guests. This distribution has come to be widely known as 'potlatching' (Halpin, 1981: 10).

As Marjorie Halpin notes (ibid.: 10), there have been a number of explanations for the ritual occasion that involves potlatch giftgiving - that it converts wealth into prestige through the principles of conspicuous demonstration, with the giver deriving social prestige through the size of his or her gifts (much like Melanesian competitive gift-giving); that it serves as an economic investment through the redistribution of resources between groups owning territories of different and variable productivity; that it maintains society by reinforcing social bonds between family groups; and that, through the rivalry of aggressive giftgiving, 'fighting with property' is substituted for 'fighting with weapons'.

Whatever the social and cultural importance of the potlatch to the people of the Northwest Coast, the white colonial government simply saw it as wasteful of resources, wasteful of time, and generally an unproductive activity. Potlatching was thus outlawed in Canada in the early part of this century.

Illegal 'underground' potlatches continued, however, usually held in the depths of winter and in areas not easily accessible to the white authorities. One such potlatch was held in the winter of 1921 by the Kwakwaka'wakw chief, Dan Cranmer of Alert Bay. By all accounts it was a very big potlatch, with large quantities of goods being given away during its six day course.

Although Cranmer's potlatch was held on an isolated island to avoid the white authorities, the Alert Bay Indian Agent heard about it and decided he would put a stop to it. With the help of the RCMP (the 'Mounties') the Agent travelled to the scene and arrested all the participants. They were subsequently tried and sentenced to lengthy terms of imprisonment.

A little later, a deal was struck between the villagers and the authorities. The prisoners would be released if they and their families would renounce the potlatch and surrender all their regalia used in the ceremony. Some agreed and gave up their regalia, others refused and remained in jail.

In total, some 450 items of ceremonial regalia were collected from the prisoners and their families, including coppers, masks, rattles, headdresses, blankets, bentwood boxes, etc. Although the government offered token payment for the objects collected, this was out of all proportion to the value of the objects in the tribal economy. Many refused the payments as derisory, while others took the money and cut their losses.

The collected objects ended up in museums in eastern Canada and in the United States, where Northwest Coast culture had held a prime position since the days of Franz Boas and the museum-sponsored collecting fever of the early 1900s. Back on the Coast, however, the banning of the potlatch and the confiscation of ceremonial regalia was a serious blow to already severely threatened Native communities.

It was not until the 1950s that the potlatch was legalized by the Canadian government, and with it came pressure for the repatriation of the regalia seized after Cranmer's potlatch. The museums which held the objects agreed to their return, but with certain conditions:

(1) the objects could not be given to individual chiefs or families because of the fear that they would be neglected or sold to dealers;
(2) the objects had to be held in fire-proof tribal museums.

There was, however, some disagreement about where the museum should be built, primarily because the descendants of those involved in Cranmer's potlatch had divided into two groups, one of which stayed in Alert Bay, the other moving to the settlement of Cape Mudge on Quadra Island further south along the east coast of Vancouver Island. A compromise was reached: there would be two museums, one each at Alert Bay and Cape Mudge. The objects were fairly evenly divided between the two museums with the families who had claims to specific items of regalia deciding which they wished them to be held in.

A detailed and insightful study of U'Mista and the Kwagiulth Museum at Cape Mudge by James Clifford can be found in the recent book *Exhibiting Cultures* (1991: 212-254). Clifford makes the important point that each museum adopts quite different strategies for the display of their share of the returned regalia. The U'Mista exhibit is very much based around the history of the potlatch, especially the story of Dan Cranmer's 1921 ceremony, from which all the objects in the exhibit came.

The regalia at U'Mista are not displayed as art as they would be in other Canadian museums, rather they are regarded as community treasures, and as symbols of past colonial injustices. The display does not attempt to hide its political messages and, as Clifford points out, it strikes an oppositional note from the outset. An introductory label reads:

In the world today, there is a commonly held belief that, thousands of years ago, as the world counts time, Mongolian nomads crossed a land bridge to enter the western hemisphere, and became the people now known as the American Indians.

There is, it can be said, some scant evidence to support the myth of the land bridge. But there is an enormous wealth of proof to confirm that the other truths are all valid.

These are some of our truths.

The politics of identity and of contested history are reflected throughout the exhibit. There are no object labels in the traditional sense, rather there are large cardboard panels with all sorts of texts in large type on them. There are a number of letters, reports etc. from the colonial authorities at the time of Cranmer's potlatch. Written in the paternalistic tone of the day, the visitor is implicitly invited to draw his or her own conclusions about what went on. One group of letters refers to the fact that a number of families refused the compensation offered by the government for their regalia. The Indian Agent (the same who disrupted the potlatch in the first place) reports to his superior in Ottawa:

> *I am returning to you cheque ... in favour of Abraham which he refuses to accept for his paraphernalia as he says the sum is absolutely too small ... He wants me to tell you that he would rather give them to you for nothing than accept $22.00 for them.*

His superior replies:

> *With regard to the cheque for $22.00 in favour of Abraham, I am returning it herewith and would ask you to request him to accept this amount. All these articles are now in the museum and the valuation was fixed by officials of that institution.*

As well as the various archival materials, there is a lot of oral testimony referring to the potlatch, the surrender of the regalia, and subsequent events. Again, this is presented without further interpretation and has some powerful messages for the viewer. In his article, Clifford recalls two testimonies by elders present at the surrender of the regalia in 1922.

> *My uncle took me to the Parish Hall, where the chiefs were gathered. Odan picked up a rattle and spoke. 'We have come to say goodbye to our life'; then he began to sing his sacred song. All of the chiefs, standing in a circle around their regalia, were weeping, as if someone had died. (James Charles King, 1977)*

And, again:

> *My father took a large copper, it is still there. He took a large copper and paid our way out of gaol. For the white people didn't know that it was worth a lot of money. They didn't believe that it was expensive.*
>
> *Every one alive on earth has a story of their people; this is now part of our story, that we went to gaol for nothing. (George Glendale, 1975)*

The objects are there and they would easily stand alone in traditional museological terms: as beautiful art, as 'excellent examples of their type', and so on. What makes U'Mista and the potlatch regalia so evocative and exciting, however, is that the objects are **not** required to stand alone. Rather, they are presented as the material representations of a sometimes tragic past, but equally hopeful future, for the people, the Kwakwaka'wakw, whose ancestors made them, danced with them, gave them away in potlatch, surrendered them to the government, went to jail for not surrendering them in some cases, and finally triumphantly reclaimed them. The life history of those objects helps trace for the visitor the life history of a community and all the forces, internal and external, that have been brought to bear on it over so many years.

CONCLUSION

The uniqueness of tribal, or community-based, museums is not a mystery. People whose heritage has traditionally been the subject of museum work in mainstream museums, almost exclusively by museum workers from another, dominant culture, empower themselves to reclaim the right of self-representation and the right to do it in the way they choose.

If they happen to choose to represent themselves using the traditional museological methods of the dominant culture, or through ethnological-type interpretation, then this should not engender suspicion as to the authenticity of the representations. Rather, we should see in this a message that perhaps our traditional museology is less irrelevant to other cultures than many contemporary museum critics would assert. The continued appropriation of aspects of our museum-building culture, by members of other cultures for their own cultural and political ends, should thus be accepted as a positive and suitable development.

The U'Mista experience underlined for me the potential of small community-based museums in telling the stories of life and history that the community itself wants to tell. Not necessarily the stories told by anthropologists and archaeologists, but the stories told by elders and tribal historians.

The ongoing relevance of U'Mista to the community of Alert Bay is evidenced by the fact that it is in perpetual use by local schools and kindergartens, language classes, artists, womens' groups, and so on. To witness a community's use of that most European of institutions - the Museum - in such an appropriate, challenging, and political way was to witness the power and potential of that institution when in the hands of people for whom the objects within are more than simply 'excellent examples of their type'.

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WOMEN, MULTICULTURALISM AND THE CRAFTS AT THE POWERHOUSE MUSEUM, SYDNEY
(1993 MAANZ Conference)

Grace Cochrane, Curator of Australian Decorative Arts and Design

THE AUSTRALIAN CONTEXT

Australia is made up of several states and territories - each one of these has its own government, its own arts funding programs, its own art schools and its own state gallery and museum. There is also a federal government and a federal arts funding body (the Australia Council), a national gallery and an embryonic national museum. There are, I believe, about 1900 Australian museums, and 22 museum associations - most of which amalgamated into a single body in December 1993.

There is a whole parallel funding structure for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, with a separate board in the Australia Council (although funding bodies also support Aboriginal projects and people from their general arts funds), crafts co-operatives on many traditional communities, and a number of specialised marketing outlets. There is also a number of special programmes for the many groups of migrant people who do not speak English as their primary language.

As well, there are exhibition touring agencies, national exporting and cultural bodies like Austrade and Asialink and various cultural foundations, with arts development through local government funding and corporate sponsorship in varying degrees in each state. Arts funding also supports a crafts council in each state and a national crafts council, as well as contemporary arts spaces in each capital. Like New Zealand, there are national organisations of potters, jewellers and metalsmiths, handweavers and spinners, embroiderers and glass artists - and most of these have state branches.

Australia has not always been as interested in the needs of all the groups - of race, class and religion - in its society as it is now. We have a long history of, firstly, elimination of Aboriginal people, followed by exclusion of Aboriginals through 'protection' on reservations, and others through a 'white Australia' policy, followed by assimilation into 'the Australian way of life' before we arrived at the notion of multiculturalism, where ethnic difference is valued within our overall society. Similarly, we have not always been tolerant of, let alone insistent on, gender balance in employment, education, the writing of histories or representation in museums.

THE POWERHOUSE MUSEUM

New South Wales is different from other states, because our museum exists as a third state museum, between the Art Gallery of NSW and the Australian Museum (a NSW museum of natural history). The Powerhouse Museum is an old museum in a new guise. It is the old Museum of Applied Arts and Sciences, established in 1880 and reopened in 1988 in the Ultimo powerhouse building of the old Sydney tram system.

Like most museums of the time, it was set up following a great international exhibition, in this case the Sydney International Exhibition of 1879-80. This was shown in the Garden Palace, and the museum's first acquisitions were drawn from the exhibition and housed in its upper gallery, only to be destroyed by fire in 1882, along with the building. The Technological, Industrial and Sanitary Museum, as it was called, was committed to education and scientific research, with a special emphasis on the use of the natural resources of New South Wales for industrial development. Unlike other science and technology museums, it included decorative arts as well. In 1893 it moved into a new building, next to the Sydney Technical College, where some staff, including curators, still work today. The Powerhouse Museum project was announced in 1979 and the new museum reopened (two blocks down the road) in Australia's bicentennial year, 1988.

Our museum is unusual in the sorts of collections it holds, and the way we regard, and present, the objects in the collection as part of Australian material culture. We are considered one of the most important museums in Australia, and indeed in the world, for the way we approach and carry out our work. The Powerhouse Museum, together with the Sydney Mint building and the Sydney Observatory, are a sort of combination of parts of the Smithsonian Institution, the Victoria and Albert Museum, various specialised science and social history museums and European design museums. There is a staff of about 450 people, so there is a great deal of division of labour, and we need to work collaboratively in project teams for every exhibition and event. We have by Australian standards, large numbers of professional people - curators, registrars, conservators, exhibition designers, publications people, education and visitor services staff and so on.

Our holdings cross three broad areas - science and technology, social history

and decorative arts and design. In other states, the decorative arts collection is housed in the art galleries. We have a strong responsibility for design issues that are concerned with the conditions of production and consumption. The decorative arts department, has many connections with, for example, product design in the technology area, and social history. We also see a responsibility for bringing in the archives of significant Australian designers and industries.

After years of development, before the museum reopened in 1988, we have been concentrating how to reorganise ourselves to maintain the impact of the 25 opening exhibitions of different durations into a manageable and thoughtful programme, along with all the other research and information services. We spend a lot of time developing story lines and exhibition designs, planning involving associated events, preparing complex ideas in simple language on exhibition labels and in publications and and making sure that exhibitions are accessible, enjoyable - and scholarly. We have a good acquisitions budget, a good relationship with donors and sponsors, and a collection database that is leading the field, as far as we can determine, given the complexity of what we want it to do. We have centralised the holdings of a number of dusty suburban stores and totally reviewed aspects of the collection that have been inaccessible for many years. The Museum is heavily committed to all the reviews that are a feature of museums today - corporate and strategic development, market research, a range of policy development and evaluation processes, performance assessment, enterprise bargaining and so on.

While each of the approximate thirty curators has specific interests and expertise, we view the dozens of aspects of the holdings as a single collection. We do not exhibit objects in cases as display storage; our emphasis is on providing a good experience through a thematic presentation, where objects are seen in some broader context. Recently installed exhibitions include *The Australian Dream* (choices available to people in the fifties in building and furnishing a home); *Laserlink* (social implications of optical fibre communication);*Success and innovation* (issues concerning product design in Australia); *Monarchy* (issues to do with monarchy and republic, through objects and memorabilia of the last 100 years) and *South Pacific Stories* (issues of colonialism through 19th century photos and objects, and contemporary case studies).

One of the penalties of presenting exhibitions and public programmes very well, apart from the fact that they cost a lot, is that they are much slower to organise. Complex scheduling of space means that many aspects of the collection, like the contemporary crafts, are not always on display. One way of dealing with this dilemma, so that our constituents are not alienated from such a resource, is to spend a lot of time in the field, talking at meetings and conferences, judging and awarding, opening and closing events and functions and making works available to other institutions on loan. We have over thirty affiliated societies, and with all the curators, between us we also deal with a wide network of state and national organisations.

The content of our collection is reflected in the sort of audience we have. We have many more returning family groups than, for example, the Art Gallery of NSW. Our closest audience type, I believe, is that of the Sydney Zoo. Many people see us as a science and technology museum - they identify decorative arts with paintings and look in different gallery guides to find the exhibitions, so we have to work hard to bring these people in. However, the corporate goal of the museum at the moment is to increase its audiences - and our audiences are large. We are a very popular museum, even though, like others, we have been forced to introduce fees.

As a state government institution our museum is automatically an equal employment opportunity employer; we have a large 'multicultural mix' of people. We have an education and visitor services officer with particular responsibility for addressing cultural diversity, and are appointing our first Aboriginal liaison officer. Their particular role is to work with education and visitor services staff, curators and others on Aboriginal and multicultural components of, or approaches to, exhibitions and public programs.

A quick calculation of the staff in the Powerhouse Museum revealed a fairly even balance between men and women in all professional areas and at all levels, including exhibition design, registration and conservation, publishing and the development of audiovisuals and interactives. There is a slight weighting to women in curatorial areas and education and visitor services, with more men in finance and technical services. But we have female curators of energy and power technology, agricultural and food technology, spacecraft and satellites, while men are also involved in the curatorial areas of juvenilia and domestic history.

The National Gallery of Australia, the new Museum of Australia and the Art Galleries of Tasmania, Western Australia and the Northern Territory have female directors, and I think there is a rough balance in regional galleries and museums. By and large, however, the tendency is still for women to be employed in middle management with men at the top, and trustees of museums tend to be mostly men. According to Margaret Anderson, the many new museums - railway, maritime, military, sport, science, stockmen and mining museums - are primarily addressing 'big toys for big boys' or an imagined male audience. Their representation of women, Aboriginal people and other migrant groups tends to be minor; despite best efforts, these institutions do not provide 'sympathetic bases' for these histories.[1]

WOMEN, THE CRAFTS AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Recently an article appeared in *Art Monthly Australia* by Sandy Kirby, a historian well known for her involvement in community and union art. She summed up well that which occurred in the seventies in Australia that has relevance to the themes of this conference. 'Two major factors in the development of postmodernism have been the critiques of imperialism and of patriarchal society that took hold in the 1970s. As questions about the issues of postcolonialism, race, gender and class were explored, a plethora of new and revised social cultural and political histories began emerging. Accounts of modernism and the avante-garde were found to be fraught with problems of omission and interpretation.' She goes on: 'The centrality to postmodernism in Australia of race and gender has been largely shaped by the Aboriginal land rights and feminist movements over the last twenty years or more.'[2]

All this will sound very familiar, I know, because similar influences applied here. The women's movement in Australia was characterised by a number of significant figures like Germaine Greer, who wrote the *Female Eunuch* in 1970, and a number of organised cultural and political lobby groups. One of these was the women's art movement, which formed a couple of years before the visit of Lucy Lippard to Australia and New Zealand in International Women's Year in 1975. Histories began to be rewritten to include women, and the validity of working with different content, and using different materials and colours and different processes in making artwork were acknowledged. The crafts already had had popular appeal from the sixties because they provided objects at a time when art was becoming abstract, minimal or non-object, and where the handmade object, and the process of making it, was seen to be more human that the products of modern design. The women's art movement made some crafts practices that used materials like textiles, and domestic processes like embroidery and sewing, popular amongst visual artists as well. At the same time, those working in the crafts have had to counter a view that art is what men do, while the crafts are for women, and therefore inferior.

But perhaps the most significant changes in perceptions of the value of women have come through changes in language. Since the mid-seventies exclusive and patriarchal terms have been challenged. At first these were resisted by many: 'craftsman' was so entrenched as an expression of a particular professional attitude compared with, for example, the more neutral 'artist', 'dancer' or 'writer'. Cultural bodies like the Australian Broadcasting Commission and the Australia Council started talking about chairpeople rather than chairmen, and others that didn't were questioned. Demands were made for equal representation on committees, staffs, boards and so on, and in 1984 federal legislation passed a controversial Sex Discrimination Act which became the most used Act administered by the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission.[3]

At the same time, many other groups like Aboriginal people, migrant groups, people in rural and suburban areas - and those working in other art practices such as the crafts, all recognised that they had been marginalised, patronised, colonialised and trivialised, by the mainstream master narrative of modernism and the idea of progressive development. Splits occurred: even the women's movement was never a totally cohesive group. Ann Curthoys suggests, for example, that a major question today is to what degree we see women as a distinct group and 'to what extent...as fractured, as split apart by differences of culture, race and class'.[4] Another vocal and influential group now is the gay and lesbian community, whose Mardi Gras in Sydney in March each year is now the largest festival in Australia, and one of Australia's greatest tourist events. It generates over $30 million each year; it is bigger than the Melbourne Cup, the football Grand Final or any of the other arts festivals.[5] Its greatest issue this year is dealing with the way it has now become a mainstream event rather than a provocative statement.

For Aboriginal people, who have only had the vote, and inclusion on the census since 1967, developing a political voice has been a huge and fragmented issue, and one that has been supported by a great many non-Aboriginal Australians. In many communities and particularly urban areas, Aboriginal people were dispossessed: losing their language, their customs, the meanings of their cultural traditons and their land. Aboriginal people have found that their art, from being an ethnographic interest or a tourist curiosity, has now become a way of educating not only non-Aboriginal people in Australia and elswhere about Aboriginal values, but also their own young people.

For most of the 20th century, the motifs of Aboriginal art had often been used by others to express a sense of Australian identity. The director of the Australian museum in Sydney in 1941 was one who advocated its use in this very way, in his enthusiastic foreword for an exhibition entitled *Aboriginal Art and its Application.* Exotic and effective these efforts were (and had a parallel in New Zealand), but few people had considered what those forms or designs might mean to Aboriginal people. For most Aboriginal people, particularly tribal people, there are certain very specific and personal symbols that other people cannot use. Museums holding historical material are now entering into new relationships with the descendants of the makers of these items, regarding their interpretation, access, display and care. These days, the issue is so sensitive in contemporary art making that very few non-Aboriginal artists will use Aboriginal motifs or even devices (like dotting) in their work. Australian courts have upheld at least one complaint, based on laws of both copyright and false advertising, against a T-shirt

manufacturer that reproduced the image of an 'authored' painting of an 'owned' story.

At the same time, through the whole history of art and culture, and in all societies (Maori and Aboriginal included), secret, sacred and private motifs, and characteristic forms and processes have been transferred and adapted and assimilated through religious and secular social change, trade and travel, technology and conquest, scientific discovery, collection of curiosities and shifts in fashion and taste. It is easy to be critical of past practices of appropriation from the informed position of 1993. In New Zealand, similar issues of ownership and use are also being discussed.[6]

The adaptation, by Aboriginal people, of selected secular aspects of their traditional forms and motifs into new media like acrylic paint on canvas, prints on paper, or dyed and printed textiles, has meant that they have been able to make their art a cultural, political and educative tool, and above all an important part of their economy. Aboriginal art, paradoxically, is also currently a most significant Australian art product internationally, because its abstract 'languages' and 'maps' have so many elements that appeal to both modernism and to current semiotic theory. In turn, art world interest in paintings on canvas has also led to a revival of interest in paintings on bark and textiles, carvings of wooden figures and poles, and baskets and fishing nets, which, as in the exhibition *Woven Images*, from Maningrida, are sometimes displayed in groups as sculptural forms.

All Australian institutions - the public service, trade unions, schools and universities, corporate bodies - are now moving towards reflecting these changes in their representation of people and their responsibility towards them. Sometimes the changes are still token; sometimes they are imbalanced and inconsistent; but there has definitely been a huge shift in attitude and practice. Most exhibitions, events and committees these days are pretty heavily scrutinised for balance of gender and cultural diversity and everyone consciously tries to use inclusive rather than exclusive language in, for example, publications and museum labels.

There have been a number of surveys and reports looking at opportunities, discrimination and imbalances. The Sydney Biennale, *European Dialogue*, in 1979 was one of the first exhibitions to be the subject of protest by groups demanding both 50% Australian representation, and 50% female representation. Many groups looked afresh at balances and biases during the Australian bicentennial year in 1988 and a number of state sesqui-centenaries over the last few years. The Australia Council alone has commissioned several statistical analyses of the arts, and there have been numerous specialised reports on, for example, women in the arts, arts in a multicultural society and the Aboriginal arts industry. The most publicly scrutinised arts body, the Australia Council offers equal opportunities to, and appoints, women as chairs of the Council or artform boards or as executive officers, and from the seventies there have been efforts towards state and gender balance on committees working out policy and giving grants. Efforts are also made for multicultural representation and representation of specific art practices, like art that uses new technologies and the crafts.

However, in the visual arts and crafts, there is still an imbalance in the numbers of grants and the total amount of money given to the visual arts over the crafts. This appears to reflect the persistence of visual artists in applying, the relative self-sufficient attitude of many craftspeople and the higher value visual artists and their audiences place on themselves and their work. Craftspeople are less confident in applying; they ask for lower amounts - they simply don't ask for as much as often. Women, and people from smaller states, tend to go for more modest requests than men and artists from larger centres. So what is granted, reflects, to a certain extent, what is asked for, and that sometimes reflects the values people hold.[7]

Similar patterns and tendencies appear in education, and also in other artforms such as the performing arts and writing. There are huge unquestioning public acceptances of 'art' as the international painting blockbuster or the European opera. Politicians, who inevitably defend their philistinism as 'my wife and I love the arts - we always go to the opera when we are in the city', are much less likely to confess to a fondness for jewellery exhibitions or ceramic pots, marginal music practices, fringe theatre or arts events in the community. Moreover, sponsors inevitably want to put their money into the spectacular and safe, rather than the marginal and risky.

There has been an increasing tendency in art museums in Australia, including our own, to present exhibitions that attract large popular audiences at the expense of displays that appeal to smaller constituent groups. (Have you noticed how many dinosaur exhibitions there are these days?) Despite strong support from the late seventies, when crafts curators were appointed and crafts collections revitalised round the country, the contemporary crafts are a particular casualty in Australia in a number of major institutions in the 1990s. And Margaret Anderson is one who has recently researched the ways museums in Australia reflect the lives of women. Despite some important specific exhibitions in Australian museums she finds that, in this area at least, museums will have to make policy commitments in order to 'produce exhibitions which truly engender public culture'.[8] However, it is noticeable that there has been a marked increase in both specific and integrated exhibitions of Aboriginal works, and an increasing concern, in rhetoric if not always in practice, to reflect the 'cultural diversity' of Australia's population in museum programmes.

New Zealanders have been developing policies and practices that strongly reinforce the notion of biculturalism. This philosophy is very much becoming, it seems to me as an observer from a twenty year absence, an increasingly 'natural' part of a New Zealand attitude these days. At its best, for many people, there seems to be a closer sharing of values. I do not mean the complex ownership issues of assimilation or appropriation, or custodianship, but am making an observation that certain values associated with Maori culture are being incorporated into a different way of thinking by a wider group of people. It seems to me that this must strengthen Maori culture rather than dilute it. In the arts, it seems to be to do with values of materials and processes, and values of an association with place. And for many people these changes are associated with an understanding of, and automatic use of, the Maori language and cultural protocol. Bi-lingual letterheads are not just tokens here - people seem to *mean* them.

In Australia, the focus has been towards not so much biculturalism, but multiculturalism. Our bicentennial year, in 1988, focused enormous discussion from both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people about what was being celebrated, and by whom. Australia's indigenous Aboriginal people and Torres Strait Islanders are in many groups, with no common language term to identify them as a people, or single shared language or set of beliefs. As well, they are at various distances between urbanised life and traditional tribal life where customs and kinship rules are often at great odds with western ways. It is very difficult for many Aboriginal people to work between two such different ways of life, and sometimes even with other groups. This is of course changing, but change can also mean the loss of important cultural practices. Many urban people are trying to regain understandings of their history and culture. There was no treaty in Australia that recognised prior ownership of land before European settlement, a situation that is becoming of increasing issue in Australia following the Mabo case, a recent court ruling that acknowledged pre-settlement occupation for a certain group of people, and which was followed by the passing of the federal Native Title Act. And while Aboriginal curators and other professional staff are gradually being employed in museums and galleries, or consulted on the development of exhibitions, collections or public programmes, museum culture is not always sympathetic to their role.

There is also a very wide range of people in Australia from other places in the world, for whom English is definitely not their first language. A small understanding of the scale of cultural diversity may be measured by the SBS (Special Broadcasting Service) radio that broadcasts in 66 languages in Sydney and Melbourne, and 55 in most other capitals. For many decades migrants were encouraged to 'be Australian', and assimilate into what was largely an Anglo-Irish community as fast as possible. Now ethnic origin and difference is valued - by politicians, educators and cultural bodies at least. There are many programmes and efforts to help migrant people take a place in work and leisure - but also often amid considerable local antagonism, like the violent opposition to Asian migrants in suburban Melbourne as portrayed in the movie *Romper Stomper*.

In recent years, our interest in independence as a country that might be a republic, has been part of a political and cultural shift of interest from Europe and the United States, and towards interest in cultural and economic exchange with Asian countries. There have been many opportunities for artist and exhibition exchange, and in September 1993 the Queensland Art Gallery hosted the first Asia-Pacific Triennial, which also included New Zealand. Museums must be part of this change, not least because of the increasing Asian populations in our communities. As Julie Ewington said recently, 'her map' is changing, with America and Europe on the edges, and the centre somewhere between South East Asian countries, Australia and New Zealand.[9] It is not easy to become involved in these new connections; most of us know very little about these places and their people. There is a very real danger that we will generate a new form of arts imperialism. But it is generally agreed that it is better to try to become informed about and involved with such near neighbours, than to not attempt to find ways of communication and exchange at all. And that goes for relationships at home as well.

EXAMPLES FROM THE COLLECTION

I see the 'crafts', as they are generally known, as being a way of working; to do with a certain attitude or philosophy about a way of making things. This attitude has a lot to do with a concern for materials and processes, and is generally associated these days with making things in certain media. In our collection, these hand-made objects are considered as part of a wider and longer tradition, sitting between, and overlapping with the worldwide traditions of decorative and applied arts, the domestic and amateur and the industrial and commercial. There is also an overlap with the visual arts. We cannot think of a better name than 'decorative arts and design' for this wide area.

NOTES

[1] Margaret Anderson, op cit

[2] Sandy Kirby, Art Monthly Australia No 63, Sept 1993

[3] Legislation announced in July 1994 updated the 1984 Act on its 10th anniversary.

[4] Ann Curthoys, Women in Museums: Common Concerns, Points of Difference, paper for conference on Women in Museums, Canberra, October, 1993

[5] 1994 estimates were $45,000,000 for the Mardis Gras and all its associated events

[6] See for example, Robin Craw, 'Anthropophagy of the Other', Art and Asia Pacific, September 1993, p10-15

[7] The imbalance between funding for the visual arts and crafts occurred in the years following the amalgamation of the two separate boards, the Visual Arts Board and the Crafts Board, in 1987. In 1994 the Visual Arts/Craft Board of the Australia Council decided to actively promote its programs to craftspeople and reserved levels of funds for the crafts; with a significant increase in applications.

[8] Margaret Anderson, Engendering Public Culture: Women and Museums in Australia, paper for conference on Women in Museums, Canberra, October, 1993

[9] Julie Ewington, talk at Asialink meeting about artist residencies in Asia, The Gunnery, Sydney, 11 Sept, 1993.

SANTA FE, THE SIMMERING MELTING POT
(1993 MAANZ Conference)

Victoria L. Andrews
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Since 1909, before New Mexico became part of the United States, the Museum of New Mexico, has collected, preserved and presented the outstanding cultural achievements of the region. Beyond the four museums in Santa Fe, the Museum system operates five historic monuments across the State. Each museum and monument offers a distinctive perspective on the arts, history and photo archives, an art and conservation laboratory, a programme on archaeological research, a division of state-wide educational outreach and an award winning museum press. The system is part of the Office of Cultural Affairs and is governed by the State of New Mexico. It is a complex bureaucracy as one might imagine. The Museum is funded by the State which pays for the maintenance of the buildings and employee salaries and benefits.

A separate Museum of New Mexico Foundation was established in 1962. As a non-profit, tax-exempt corporation, it provides essential financial support and assists the Museum with acquisitions, conservation, educational outreach, exhibitions and volunteer services. The Foundation also operates a series of Museum shops. Membership of the Foundation includes local and state-wide residents along with many out-of-state individuals. Corporate sponsorship is being solicited on a national level.

The Palace of the Governors is both a history museum and a living history. Embracing the entire north side of Santa Fe's historic plaza, the Palace is the oldest public building in the United States. Built of adobe in 1610, this National Historic Landmark has housed the governments of Spain, Mexico and the United States. The Palace became the State Museum in 1909 and is now devoted to collecting and exhibiting the history of New Mexico.

Located several miles from the downtown plaza area, the Museum of Indian Arts and Culture exhibits the cultural and artistic traditions of the Pueblo, Apache and Navajo peoples from ancient times to the present. The Museum houses collections of prehistoric and historic pottery and textiles and is active in sponsoring art demonstrations, lectures, films and workshops by and about Native Americans from the Southwest and neighbouring regions.

Situated next to MIAC, the Museum of International Folk Art is the largest folk art museum in the country. The basis of the collection and the original building were donated to the State of New Mexico in 1951 by Florence Dibell Bartlett. A collection which includes thousands of textiles, toys and folk art, given by Alexander and Susan Girard was opened in 1982. The most recent addition is the Hispanic Heritage Wing (opened in 1989) which presents one of the most important collections of Hispanic and Spanish Colonial folk art.

Located on the corner of the downtown plaza, the Museum of Fine Arts, is an exceptional example of Pueblo Revival architecture and was built in 1917 to exhibit works by emerging and established American artists. The building has had one major addition of a new wing in 1981. The collection is nearing 10,000 works of art and includes paintings, prints, drawings, photographs and sculpture. Emphasis is on 20th century art. Eight to ten exhibitions are mounted per year, most of which are generated from within the Museum. A series of gallery talks, lectures and symposiums are held throughout the year relating to specific exhibits and the St. Francis Auditorium is made available for special performances and events. Free family days are held as often as possible, usually 3-4 times a year with educational programming for visitors. One of the author's responsibilities is the Governor's Gallery, an outreach facility housed in the reception area of the office of the Governor of New Mexico. A separate schedule of exhibits runs in conjunction with the Museum. Shows change every six to eight weeks. This facility allows flexibility in programming. Exhibits can be scheduled at relatively short notice and because of the location of the site, a broad and diverse audience is reached. The exhibits tend to be more informal and are rooted in the community. Hispanic, Native American, and children's art is featured from across the state.

The State Monuments are Coronado located near Albuquerque, Ft. Selden in the Southern part of the State, Ft. Sumner in the East, Jemez near Los Alamos and Santa Fe, and Lincoln in the Southeast. The Office of Archaeological Studies has recorded over 100,000 prehistoric sites throughout New Mexico and the Laboratory of Anthropology houses an important collection of pots and artifacts.

All of these components make up the Museum of New Mexico. In 1985 the Museum was given a mandate by the State to start charging admission. The policy included that children under 16 be admitted free and that Sunday was

'dollar day' for New Mexico residents. These fees were imposed to make up money which the State no longer funded and, as a result, attendance dropped. This occurred when the author was director of a contemporary art gallery not far from the plaza. There was an obvious shift of patrons coming through the door of the commercial gallery. They were many of the people who had gone to the Museum for free but would not pay the newly imposed admission charges. The use of the Museum by the casual visitor, local or tourist, changed dramatically. Instead of being able to pop in for a brief visit with a favourite painting, the choice had to be made whether to purchase an annual membership or pay the admission fee. More and more tourists visited the Museums and fewer locals dropped by for a casual visit.

I moved to Santa Fe in 1980 from Houston, Texas, where I had lived for eighteen years. I had watched Houston grow from a relatively small town to a giant metropolois of millions. I left to get away from the pollution and violent crime. When I first visited New Mexico in the late 1970s, Santa Fe was a small community based city. The plaza was a place where people of all walks of life sat, talked or just watched the world go by. The pace was slow, relaxed. People shopped around the plaza. The drug store, clothing shop, local restaurants and doctors offices all made life convenient with most necessities being provided with in walking distance to residential areas. When Opera season came around the first of July, the Mercedes and Cadillacs would start arriving bringing the sophisticated out-of-state visitors, many of whom had second homes in Santa Fe. They were accommodated by locals and came partially because of the uniqueness of the community and because of the beauty of the landscape.

In about 1985, things changed quickly. Several developers bought up a large portion of the commercial property around the plaza. As leases expired, businesses which could not afford the new rents were forced to move or shut down completely. In their place came boutiques and art galleries crammed into mini malls. Visiting during the high tourist months of July and August, naive entrepreneurs signed leases. When the slow months rolled around, they soon left, forfeiting the lease and their investment. Other businesses took their place, selling products of slightly inferior quality. Local residents, who had for generations made the plaza a daily part of their life, now had to drive several miles down Cerrillos Road to get their shoes repaired or to buy groceries. Today the plaza is a mix of expensive galleries and upscale clothing boutiques intermixed with T-shirt and poster shops. The only consistency has been Woolworth's and the two units of the Museum of New Mexico, the Palace of the Governors and the Museum of Fine Arts.

Tourists now come twelve months out of the year, with July and August still being the busiest months. The city is filled with visitors, shopping and seeing the sights. This summer they have been greeted by shouts of "Tourists go home!" The comments are largely directed at the Anglo population, some of whom are mistaken for tourists but have lived in the town for several generations. Bumper stickers have appeared on cars with statements such as "Thanks for coming to Santa Fe, now go home." Range Rovers and BMW's are the car of choice and are no longer seasonal but are now part of the daily traffic. Californians fleeing the LA riots and the on-going recession, have sought out Santa Fe as a haven. With the continuing arrival of an upper middle to wealthy class, property taxes have increased to a point where many Hispanic and some Anglos face the hard task of paying the bills or selling and moving. Racial tensions are unleashed in fights with the results ending in the emergency rooms of the hospital. Drugs are becoming a serious problem for the first time. The cost of living is high in this tiny pocket of exclusivity and the pay scale is low. For many Hispanic youths, the best paying job that will be available to them is through the State, the City or the tourist industry. For many, Anglo and Hispanic alike, the average hourly wage is $5-$7 per hour before taxes or benefits are deducted from their paycheck and $150,000 US is the average cost of a home.

In the past year, there have been several serious crimes with fatalities. One occurred just two months ago. Angered, the community demanded justice, not satisfied with the legal outcome. Citizens' round tables have started with city and police officials participating. Residents demand that their city be given back to them, something which is difficult at best to try to define, the reality being a remembrance of something now long past. Anger, hostility and frustration have become the starting point, the beginning of a new and an uneasy dialogue.

The weekend that I left to come to New Zealand was Fiesta weekend, the celebration of the "peaceful reconquest of Santa Fe" by the Spanish over the indigenous Pueblo Indians following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt. The reconquest in 1692 was not totally bloodless, Pueblo Indians were killed, a fact not often mentioned in promotion material. During Fiesta weekend, a forty foot human effigy called Zozobra is burned as the dusk turns to evening. Started in 1926 by two Santa Fe artists, Will Shuster and Gustave Baumann, Zozobra is the closest thing to a pagan celebration that I have ever attended. Boy Scouts dressed in white sheets dance at his feet, fire works light up the dark night and then the moving, groaning marionette is set on fire as 50,000 people chant "Burn, Burn, Burn!". Twice I have stood just in front of the figure with the fire blazing at close range. After the event, crowds walk a short distance to the plaza and eat, drink and dance well into the night and early morning. The following two days cover a range of activities which include a pet parade, holy masses and an arts and craft fair. This year the talk was of violence, that gang members would seek revenge against the police for the July killing of Francisco Ortega. Rumours spread

of attacks being made against the walled compound communities of the wealthy. It was said that riots would occur on the plaza following Zozobra with businesses being vandalized and burned. Police and security were added around the plaza where our two museums are located. People who had participated in Fiesta for years feared to venture out to see Zozobra, Old Man Gloom, burn. The memory of the LA riots were too recent in everyone's mind to take the situation lightly. It could happen here and we knew it. When Friday arrived and I went down to the plaza to go to work at the museum, I jostled through police barricades at 7:15 in the morning, trying to get to our parking lot. All through the day I was greeted by courteous people, both Hispanic and Anglo. Everyone was frightened by what might happen in just a few hours. We, along with a number of friends, watched Zozobra burn on Friday night from our house, as we have for the past twelve years. When I came to the Museum to work on this paper Saturday morning, the sounds of Fiesta came through my window, mariachi and marching high school bands mingled with the smells of tamales, posole and chile. The guards who were on duty all night at the Museum said that the crowds were smaller than usual and that the evening had gone relatively quietly. I felt the whole city gave a big sign of relief after holding its breath for some
time.

We still face the problems, but for the first time we may face them together as a community. The problems are ethnic, but they are also economic. They affect Anglo, Hispanic, Native American and whoever else is in town.

So what does this have to do with the Museum of New Mexico? The problems are something we must consider as an institution, not an easy task. Several years ago, under protest brought by young Hispanic and Native American artists, the Museum of Fine Arts decided to take a different direction. A Native American and a Hispanic, both outstanding in their respective fields, were asked to curate exhibits at the museum. On May 16, 1992, "Half-Indian, Half-Artists" opened, guest curated by Rick Hill, who at the time was director of the Institute of American Indian Arts. Rick Hill states in the exhibition essay that Indian artists "are unique people who see the world through two sets of eyes, combining their Indian life in America with their skills as artists' training in the white man's school.

Their job is to blend those two worlds on the surface of the canvas, or the paper. Their challenge is to make art that functions in two ways: first, the work presents their Indian side and reacts to the world as they find it. Their Indian mind deals with issues of race, gender, history, myth, heroes, stereotypes, law, environment, ritual, and personal identity and it does so differently from the way non-Indians deal with life. Second, their artistic minds find ways in which to carry individual perspectives to the viewers in emotional ways."

He continues about the four artists in the exhibit, "They are all storytellers of this generation, weaving object-lessons into their art. These lessons are meant to change the behaviour towards Indians."

Five months later, a second exhibit opened, "Los Guardians: Land, Spirit and Culture", guest curated by Judy Baca, an artist/art activist from Los Angeles. She raised the question if regional art was valid minus the so called high culture and intrusion of the outside world. She said of the Museum of Fine Arts, "This museum, like all others in America, struggles with these notions in light of the populations of non-white and non-Western European people, that literally surround the institutions of art. The question of whether the museum's role is to be the "Olympics of art", showing what has won the individual competitions of the dominant culture, or rather to make visible some of the most important artistic legacies of the American experience is nowhere better exemplified than in New Mexico. Here the experience of 500 years is still raw and freshened daily with new struggles over land and water rights and the harvesting of the indigenous Native American and Hispanic cultures for profit. The consequent inauthenticities create mind boggling difficulties for the arts which provide a major economic base for the state. The Native American, the Mestizo, the Spanish, and the pioneering Anglo coexist here in what is, in many cases, an uneasy equilibrium."

The four artists selected for the exhibit were all from New Mexico, many could trace their families back more than five generations through the history of the state. Judy wrote, "One could say that their molecules are constructed of this land. It is perhaps for this reason that their work manifests a passionate obsession with the land, a spiritual life tied to it, and a deeply held belief in the preservation of their culture."

Her ending remarks are, "A failure to recognise the relationship between the preservation of the environment and the people who inhabit it, and who, through their traditions, have learned to live on the earth harmoniously, is a mistake. America cannot afford the spiritual consequences of this mistake again. In this exhibition, the preservation of the land of New Mexico and the artist's haven is founded on a concept of community. Each New Mexican, new and old, is called, by the artists to be a guardian of the land-spirit and existent culture."

These two exhibits allowed the museum an opportunity to present both personal and cultural viewpoints beyond our normal perspective. The exhibits were met with mixed reviews, from within our own museum system and the public. We were criticized for not presenting "Art"; that the exhibits were not up to the usual high standards of the Museum of New Mexico. We were also criticized for not doing enough for the "communities". At a symposium sponsored by the Museum of Fine Arts and organized by Judy Baca, we sat through an afternoon of what is locally called "Anglo Bash-

ing". Comments from the Hispanic community hit hard at the museum.

Shortly after this encounter I suggested that we as a staff spend a day discussing our role and position within the Museum of New Mexico and the community at large. This lead to a second retreat with the Fine Arts Committee, an advisory group to the Museum of Fine Arts. Largely well to do and Anglo, they were sympathetic to our concerns but offered little help or input when asked, preferring to maintain the uneasy status quo. We realized that it would be a long and slow effort with many barriers both internal and external to overcome.

So we continued on, exploring and discussing ways to include a mixed cultural viewpoint and its artistic results into our exhibits schedule. We realized that we had segregated artists into categories, which was in fact what many of them had wanted, to be able to make a statement about their art work and ethnic background. Our next try was a bi-annual juried exhibit, a selection of art work from across the state of New Mexico. The two jurors selected were Romona Sakiestewa from Santa Fe, who is part Hopi and American and Daniel Martinez, a Chicano from Los Angeles. As former National Endowment for the Arts panelists, they viewed their responsibilities without regard to cultural backgrounds. They strove to select an exhibit of high quality which showed a diverse range of media. The museum was criticized for this exhibit because the show lacked a focus and presented too many works under the title "New Mexico '93".

It is a delusion to portray Santa Fe or America as a melting pot. We are culturally different. I have little understanding of the strong bonds which hold the religious, family orientated Hispanic culture together. While I can admire the Native American heritage, their art and craftwork, I do so as an outsider. Robert Hughes, in an essay in Time Magazine, says it most clearly when he states: "The melting pot never melted. But American mutuality lives in the recognition of difference. The fact remains that America is a collective act of the imagination whose making never ends and once that sense of collectivity is broken, the possibilities of American-ness begins to unravel."

I have been working on a new exhibit called "Critical Mass", which opens in November. The photographs, videos and recorded dialogue that make up this mixed media installation tell the true story of Edith Warner and her home at Otowi Bridge, a point about twenty miles northwest of Santa Fe. Edith moved to New Mexico from the east coast of the United States in the late 1920s. With invaluable help from the Tewa Indians of the San Ildefonso pueblo, she secured and rebuilt a small adobe house near the Rio Grande River, about ten miles south of Los Alamos. Tilano Montoya, a respected elder from the Pueblo, stayed with her, helping repair the house and planting a garden. In 1941 they were contacted by General Gross and Dr J. Robert Oppenheimer about a government project soon to be developed up the hill at Los Alamos. It was the beginning of the Manhattan Project, the research and development of the atomic bomb. Because of the high security, scientists were not allowed further than Edith's house at Otowi Bridge. She and Tilano served simple meals at the weekends to the scientists and their families. Her home became a common ground, a meeting place where the Native Americans and scientists met, shared their stories and cultures.

HISTORIES, MEMORIES AND MUSEUMS
(1994 MAANZ-MEANZ Conference)

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The number of museums devoted to recent human history has increased significantly in recent decades. In many countries, they are now more numerous than museums devoted to art, archaeology, anthropology or natural sciences. A key factor in this growth has been a genuine interest from a wide spectrum of the public. Keen to see the safekeeping and explanation of their histories, they have given museums their support, sometimes their volunteer labour and not infrequently their personal possessions. This has helped precipitate a political willingness to spend public funds on museums. Other factors have moved the idea along, including the relative commercial viability of history museums and the relatively easy, though spasmodic, availability of objects and sites, especially from near redundant industries and craft practices.

In many countries, the emergence and development of history museums has been facilitated by shifts in the political agenda, and this has impacted on the histories acknowledged and presented within them. Sometimes alterations in the political programme have meant the control of the present being buttressed by the control of the past, as was the dominant, although much challenged, political thinking in Britain of the 1980s. Sometimes, as in the Eastern European countries, release from the past has meant revisions of revised histories. Museums pay ample witness to such political forces and demonstrate beyond question that neither history nor museums are ever neutral or without politics. They, and the histories they contain, are forever caught between the agendas of others.

Shifts in the cultural agenda have also been significant. People once pressed for and now demand that their histories be not just represented, but represented fairly and with respect. The pasts of many of us have (too long) been hidden from histories, and the time is more than due for redress to be made. Many museums are rising to this challenge and exploring the difficulties and possibilities it presents.

Although perceived to be charged with passive roles, museums play an active part within society at large. Even deadly dull museums have some effect: their neglectfulness seems to signal that our pasts are not deemed to be worthy of appropriate note. In contrast, the acceptance of an active role has led to the development of engaging and thought-provoking museums, especially where museum professionals have been prepared either to question the current political dimate or to move with their own interpretations of it. In many ways, museums have become a meeting ground for public constructed versions of the past, *histories,* with individual and collective accounts of *itmemories.* This should lead us to think very carefully about the histories constructed in museums and how these relate to public perceptions of the past. It should also prompt us to think about the nature of individual and collective memories. Indeed, the relationship of memory to history is a topic worthy of our attention. In this, we are comparing and questioning the connections and disconnections between how we recall our pasts on either a personal or collective basis, and how our pasts are understood and presented by the group of skilled professionals called historians.

History and memory meet in many different points within museums. Memories are the substance of oral histories and should be a good part of the records behind the objects collected. They add to the vast stock of raw materials from which museum professionals construct and subsequently present histories within galleries and educational programmes. When people visit museums, memories may be stirred by the images, objects or words made visible. Such memories may then be compared and discussed, especially on a cross-generational basis within a family group. Moreover, memories of the visit will add to the store of memory for most if not all visitors. The content of such memories can sometimes have as much to do with social aspects of the visit, for example whether the coffee in the museum cafe was cold, the car broke down on the way back or a child was misplaced, as with the brilliant innovation (or dullness) of the exhibitions.

When we think about memory and history in museums, we must recognise the multi-layered nature of the provision and remember that what happens in museums is far more than the meeting of the minds of the visitors with the carefully constructed displays of the curators. Sheldon Annis has argued that museums essentially embody three forms of symbolic space (Annis 1987).

First, museums provide something formal in an intellectual sense, that is their history exhibitions have been developed to be explored and enjoyed. Thus, museums provide a 'cognitive space', where people will pick and choose the bits they wish to use. But

museums also provide what Annis referred to as 'social spaces' which people engage with, regardless of the exact nature of the exhibits. The sheer act of visiting enhances, in however big or small a way, the social bonds that see us through life, whether they be with friends, family or our own selves. Part of that bonding is promoted through the sharing of the experience of the visit and in particular through the exchange of personal and collective memories. Such exchanges may contradict or agree with the histories offered, and indeed they may be only tangentially associated with the topic on view. The reason why museums can be so powerful for our memories is that they are also what Annis called 'dream spaces', where we as visitors respond to images, colours and textures in rather random ways. Odd memories, bits of conversations, scraps of songs, images of things we once owned or used, or fragments of information long-forgotten may slip into our minds.

HISTORY

The word history has two meanings. We use it to refer to what happened in the past. We also use it to refer to the representation of the past in the work of historians. In general terms, historians work as agents of society and produce histories to service that society. They have the task of sifting through the infinite debris of human experience, usually documents, to find answers to questions, most of which tend to begin with the words 'why' or 'how'. Just how well this job is done has consequences for all of us. Histories can be manipulated to help form a national consensus, or confined just to the *cognoscenti*. Equally, they can become the basis of informed discussion and debate, even to the point of creating or precipitating change. Because history can be pressed into the service of society and because people have very different ideas about social order, rival even contradictory histories are produced, thus ensuring constant revisions and new questions. In sum, history is too powerful a discipline to be dismissed as an intellectual pastime or a quiet life for someone - least of all museums.

The formal study of history allows the perspective and objectivity that is often denied in personal memory. Because it usually deals with contexts and thus the broader picture, it asks questions and makes comparisons far outside the scope of memories. It can also reach back to times not encompassed in our current stock of active memory and draw parallels with more recent experlences.

Historians working in museums have possibly the most creative and complex roles of all history makers. They have a wide range of evidence on which to draw, including objects, oral tradition and observed social practice: forms of evidence often ignored by academic historians. Also the task is not just confined to producing histories in exhibition and educational or outreach programmes - the archive or collection has to be created too. Most other forms of history, including academic work and that of documentary film-makers, rely upon others to create the larger part of the archive. Because of this dual role, museums can be places where history is both remembered and forgotten, as curators have to decide what to collect and what to let go, what to record and what ignore.

Because we construct histories in museums using objects as a primary source, museum professionals have to adapt their way of working and often borrow methodologies from other disciplines. Objects can be tremendous bearers of information, but not in the same way as documents and therefore the 'reading' of material evidence has to take other forms. The situation is complicated and made more challenging for the museum historian by each object in the collection having numerous and often extremely different meanings. The meanings achieved may be as varied and useful as the questions asked. For the history curator, objects not only have to be identified and set within categories of meaning, they have also to be positioned and understood within their social, political and temporal contexts. In this, one has to understand that human life is operated not just through objects but through the interplay and manipulation of space, material things and language within given moments in time. History in museums therefore has to be approached through questioning this complex interplay. As a result unlike most other museum disciplines, although objects are a central concem, indeed the distinguishing characteristic of museums and this particular form of history making, they are certainly not the sole source nor the only point of interest.

The power of museum histories should not be underestimated. as Jeanne Cannizzo (1987) has pointed out, museums embody the stories we tell ourselves about ourselves. They are a form of negotiated reality. Because of this, perhaps we should be more conscious of the formal processes in which we are engaged. We remove objects from their contexts, we record what can only be part of the memories associated with them. We allow objects to survive in ways unintended by their makers. We increase the value of an object, both financially and symbolically, by placing it in a museum. Sometimes such increases may be beyond the scale of an object's social or historical importance. We say of the object we collect 'this is historical evidence' and of the one we refuse (or do not see) 'this is not relevant'. Such acts, however carefully considered, inevitably influence the kinds of histories our successors can make from the collections and records we amass. To correct the past and present imbalances and omissions, we produce new forms of collections and exhibitions. In a growing number of museum exhibitions, you will now find the admission that women, children, workers, minorities, the elderly, gays and lesbians, and the disabled had and have histories of their own. No doubt sometime in the future, such developments will be seen as an avoidance of other topics and approaches as yet not immediately evident to us.

Because such difficulties in our work can be acknowledged, we are much freer to work in a more honest and experimental way. Instead of looking for 'truth' or a continuous uninterrupted narrative (in themselves two of the biggest intellectual cul-de-sacs in our field), we can begin to encourage the study of the past through an open-ended exploration, one which is comfortable with plural histories. This is a healthy process which can raise as many questions as it answers and, because of this, it is both interesting and stimulating. Indeed, consciousness that histories do not come to us in a blinding moment of God-given intellectual purity is never more real than when a carefully nurtured and constructed history is confronted by a visitor remembering 'it wasn't like that' or 'we never did it that way in my time'.

MEMORY

Memory is the ability to recall and represent information from the past. It is what enables us to get the hot water into the teapot and not the milk jug, pick up a pen and sign our name, recite a poem and recognise our grannies. Neurobiologists believe that when we learn something there must be a chemical and electrical change in the brain, although no-one really agrees on what those changes are. But, whether we are 4, 40 or 94 years old, we have both short and long-term memories, adapted and responding to our needs and situations.

Obviously, long-term memories, especially episodic and procedural memories, are of particular interest to history curators. Long-term memories are notoriously difficult to erase, indeed like scar-tissue, they are perhaps the most durable features acquired in a person's lifetime. They are thought to be physically embodied and therefore can endure for a at least three score years and ten, and sometimes one hundred years. Not even electric shocks, anaesthetics or freezing can take them from us. Death is the only end to our memories - unless of course they are passed on through oral tradition, biography, the memories of our children or the records in museums and libraries.

Memories are context dependent. We do not perceive or remember things in a vacuum. Feelings, smells, objects, places, spaces, colours can prompt them and they tumble, however welcome, into our minds. That is why the 'dream space' in museums, mentioned above is so successful. For example in Britain, some of the industrial and maritime museums are the sole places where grandparents can really recall and share with their families the details of their working lives, as much of the evidence of their work and workplaces have long since been disposed of or built over. Once that generation is lost to us, the records kept by museums and by their families will be all we have of their feelings and experiences.

It is, however, important not to get too carried away with this. Memories, like histories are constructions and therefore can be both faulty and flawed. They exist in many different forms from the personal, individual and private to the collective, cultural and public. These memories are threaded through by issues of motivation and personal psychology and exist within shifting anthropological and political contexts; as a result, memories change over time.

People construct memories to respond to changing circumstances and alter the detail according to the setting in which it is recounted. When we reveal our memories we narrate them to an audience, if only of one. We become story tellers and organise and present our memories accordingly. Indeed the construction and organisation of our memories is a significant part of our coping strategies in life. If we don't want to remember something in a particular way, we will find some other way of remembering it, another story to tell. Children are particularly adept at this - 'his head hit my fist' or 'the greenhouse got in the way'.

This process is especially helped where the contexts of community, politics and social dynamics reinforce how we would prefer to remember things. This allows us to omit, reshape and reorganise memories, perhaps without even giving them a second thought. If we, or our world changes, we will revise our memories accordingly. One vivid incident or episode will drive another from our mind, giving us fresh interests or worries, and new memories to be recalled one day, as needed. Whether we present consistency or change in our lives, our memories will be used as validation. This is a very human way of dealing with life. It can be a warm and sometimes startlingly honest process, yet it can also be subversive, deeply disruptive and damaging.

Our concern as historians working in museums is firstly to recognise and record memories through objects and oral history and secondly to provide a place where individuals and groups can not only share, compare and even confront memories, but also relate these to broader histories. In this, two concerns should be kept in mind: the social dynamic of the memory and the bridge between history and memory,

For the purposes of historians, the social dynamics of memory, why and how we remember something and the form the memory takes is as important as the accuracy of its content. If this means dealing with contradictory memories, the contradiction itself becomes the point of interest. We should always be aware that the memory is important for the person at the moment of construction, and is not necessarily an accurate depiction of a past moment.
David Thelan has this to say about historians studying memory in itself:

> The historical study of memory would be the study of how families, larger gatherings of people, and formal organisations selected and interpreted identifying memories to serve changing needs. It would explore how people together searched for common memories to

> meet present needs, how they first recognize such a memory and then agreed, disagreed or negotiated over its meaning, and finally how they preserved and absorbed that meaning into ongoing concerns.
>
> Such selected memories are constructed and modified by individuals who must be able to recognize their own pasts in the groups' shared memory. The historical study of memory can provide fresh perspectives on how individuals and groups shaped and were shaped by larger groups and processes (Thelan 1989: 1123).

I believe that awareness of how memories are constructed is as important to historians in museums as an awareness of how history is constructed. It should at the very least help us to understand a little more about how people connect to their pasts (or not) when visiting museums. It should also prompt us to consider carefully the memory content employed in history exhibitions. In turn, this could help us provide facilities and services which not just release memories, but help people to really explore them and gain access to other forms of understanding. This is a hugely important though daunting task. A lot can go wrong here. To mis-read memories or to make false assumptions about them, to unintentionally trivialise memory or gratuitously employ it is to place museums in a situation where they could be open to scorn or at least the loss of credibility. The affectation of memory is quickly spotted, especially by those who know. David Thelan gives us this example:

> ...during the vice-presidential debate of 1988 Dan Quayle sought votes from people with positive memories of John F Kennedy by suggesting that he and Kennedy had shared experiences (and generations). Lloyd Benson answered Quayle's familiar kind of rehearsed appeal by a vivid and authentic memory rooted in first-hand experience: 'I served with Jack Kennedy. I knew Jack Kennedy. Jack Kennedy was a friend of mine. Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy'. Watchers (and pundits) gasped. They knew the difference between a memory that a person constructed on the spot out of a vivid experience and in response to a present need and a rehearsed appeal that floated lazily out in hopes that listeners might somehow connect it with their own personal memories (Thelan 1989:1125).

Our settlement into collective memory can be rather difficult to confront when contradictory evidence becomes available, especially when that collective memory has been set by a variety of different media forms including popular films. The film *The Great Escape* (1963) is shown at least once a year on British television. Recently a documentary programme brought together three men who had been imprisoned in the camp on which the film was based. Their memories were prompted by the experience of being together again and visiting the site of the camp. The memories of two of the former POWs were radically different. For one, the single-minded heroics as portrayed in the film and familiar to all of us who have seen it were resonant of much that he remembered. For the other, a different form of memory came to the fore. He recalled the men in the camp who despised those with a fanatical drive to escape and refused to have anything to do with their plans. Some were not prepared to give up their bed boards for the construction of the tunnel and wanted no more than quiet time to read, tend their gardens and wait for the war to end. This was a side of the camp not shown in the film. The clash of memories made at least one of the parties unhappy and they chose to differ on their accuracy.

In some situations, people's memories can be a powerful corrective. Earlier this year (1994), the government decided that part of the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of D-Day should be a big family day out in Hyde Park in London. Former servicemen and women with first-hand experience of D-Day itself were flabbergasted at this. They did not remember the Allied invasion of Northern Europe as a jamboree and recalled all too vividly the cost in human life of this one operation (37,000 British Servicemen alone in the two and a half month onslaught). Their protests persuaded the government to drop this plan in preference for more dignified and appropriate means of commemoration. Someone in Whitehall perhaps had got their history wrong. Had they confused the spirit of VE day with D-Day? Could they tell the difference? Had they done their homework? In any event, collective and individual memory was there to put them right.

In a hard-hitting artide on the relationship between memory and history in the United States Michael Frisch argues that the justification for much public history in the States (of which history museums are a significant part) is expressed in formulaic self-congratulatory prose, rich in good intentions. (Such is the stuff of many a museum studies essay - 'the Social Purposes of Museums: Discuss'.) Frisch argues that these generalised and untested responses to the purpose of public history beg questions about the very nature of historical sensitivity and consciousness in America and whether this can or needs to be altered and if so to what specific ends. He writes:

> What matters is not so much the history that is placed before us, but rather what we are able to remember, and what role that knowledge plays in our lives (Frisch 1986: 6).

He argues that in the US the relationship between history and memory is peculiarly fractured and that repairing it needs to be a major goal of public history. This problem is by no means just an American problem - all countries have it in one form or another.

BRIDGING MEMORY AND HISTORY

So what could or might museums do to help bridge the gaps between memory

and history, between popular and professional approaches to making history?

Firstly, I think it is important that museums move away from single 'story lines'. The tendency has been in recent years for museums to offer neat linear histories with topics offered in discreet sub-compartments. But neither life nor history is like that; they are full of connections and disconnections, contradictions and similarities. Perhaps we should instead work to allow more open-ended histories and therefore more open-ended memories, with spaces for comparison and debate with conclusions and responses left to the public, who can be provided with the facilities to record what **they** think.

There are a growing number of museums which adopt this approach. The Museum of Religion in Glasgow and the Old Grammar School in Hull, have both adopted an approach that does not seek a linear narrative, but which approaches their subjects in a cross-chronological way, largely through personal testimony. In the recently opened Museum of the Famine in County Roscommon in Ireland, not one version of the famine is offered but eight different accounts, from rabid nationalist to rabid tory.

If we are conscious of both history and memory we will be constantly reminded that there is always more than one version of anything, and perhaps we ought to allow that in our history galleries. If we do, then people will have a better chance to make their own connections between the past and present and between memory and history.

Secondly, it is time we moved away from traditional thinking about what should or should not be in a museum collection. Museums are places which cling to established curatorial practices and one of the ways this shows itself is in the things brought together. As a result, one often finds that the objects a museum has collected in one part of the country are suspiciously like those collected in another, regardless of cultural and geographical differences. Clearly, such differences should be quite evident in both the objects and memories collected. To avoid this, curators need to explore and ask, to observe and participate, to listen and witness; essentially to build museums from the locality and especially the people a museum serves rather than from models of museums elsewhere. This might mean museums breaking down or at least working across traditional museum discipline boundaries. Neither life nor history is bound into the categories of fine art, science, natural history and social history. Why should museums continue to suggest that it is?

Thirdly, we should admit the personalities and lives behind the objects and memories. If social history in museums is about the lives people have led, then individual and collective biographies should be more evident. People are not an amorphous mass, but a rich weave of individuals and social groups, never static, never consistent, never in total agreement. The people behind the flat irons, ploughs, buses, guns and wedding dresses had lives, priorities, abilities, personalities, connections and memories. It is time these were given back to the collective memories and histories before us. This can be simply done - for example by using their words, more than ours, on the labels. Would you want to be remembered only by the make of your toaster or the fabric of your jacket?

Finally, we should accept that museums are places where memories and histories meet, even collide, and that this may be an emotional experience for some. Indeed if it is not, then something is going seriously wrong. On a practical level learning theory tells us that affective learning is one of the best platforms for cognitive learning. If we do not feel something and connect somehow, it is really difficult to get motivated about learning something new. I am by no means advocating that museums consciously engage in gratuitous promotion of a pre-determined range of reactions. We can leave this to funfairs, dungeons and the heritage fun rides. But histories which make people think and use their memories are ones which are capable of moving us, whether it be to laughter or sadness. If we do not recognise the feelings and thoughts in the histories we are making, then somewhere along the line a point has been lost.

In sum, the role of history museums has huge potential to make us all think about the past and to explore the relationship between history and memory. We are just stroking the surface of this. Better understanding and, as a result, better provision will only come about if we are conscious of what we do and are deeply aware of the present as well as the past, of histories as well as memories.

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TRAFFICKING AUTHENTICITY: ASPECTS OF NON-MAORI USE OF MAORI CULTURAL AND INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY
(1994 MAANZ-MEANZ Conference)

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INTRODUCTION

My connection with museums was galvanised when the kahukiwi that I had watched my greatgrandmother make was gifted, along with her other korowai, to the Auckland Museum upon her death in the early 1980s. I realised that with that kahukiwi had gone much aroha, including mine formed from the many precious moments that I had spent with her, watching and helping. I have not seen that kahukiwi since then. However, I consider myself fortunate because my continued association with museums via museum workers has gained me access to the "inside" and I now feel confident to go through the motions required to reconnect to that kahukiwi. I also recognise that this access increases my responsibility to that taonga and my whanau, the traditional owners of it.

GAINING ACCESS

The association with museums was continued through my meeting Barbara Moke-Sly, the Curator of Ethnology at Te Whare Taonga o Waikato at university in the late 1980s. We were both students, usually the only Maori women in our courses. We looked similar (to the extent that people who knew both of us mistook us for each other) - it was inevitable that we would meet. Through Barbara, I became aware of the world within the museum doors. I discovered(!) the taonga waiting within that connected to me. This awareness grew through my increasing collaboration with Barbara personally and professionally.

At that time, I had become a kaiwhakaako (teacher/mentor) with the Te Timatanga Hou university bridging course for Maori students. Most of these students were estranged from the eduation system and civic institutions in general. Encouraged and supported by Barbara, I took them to the Waikato Museum frequently, as part of their general introduction to the Waikato and for the development and application of their specific subject knowledge. I have since moved to the School of Education at the University where I teach bicultural education in the Department of Education Studies. In bicultural education, students are required to critically analyse institutions in our society, not only government ones, from a bicultural position taking into account Maori and Pakeha perspectives. Not surprisingly, students are encouraged to examine museums via lectures by Barbara and recommended visits to Te Whare Taonga o Waikato. Like me, they grew through their own discoveries of and connection with various taonga. Like me, they realised their responsibilities as whanau toward the taonga. For this, I cannot emphasise enough the importance of museum education and educators. In my experience, museum education is the link with the community. Without it my access to the taonga, let alone that of my students, would not have occurred so powerfully.

Professional collaboration with Barbara was enhanced when I was contracted in 1990 to the Tainui oral history project as an interviewer of Tainui people from the Hauraki region. This was a unique experience for me because the methodology was exactly the opposite to university research where the researcher decides to research a topic and goes out and does it. In this case, the requirements, for example, the topic, had already been decided by Tainui kaumatua. They had declared that there be interviews from Hauraki, people were needed. Therefore, a researcher from Hauraki, like me, was required. The aim of the Tainui project was to achieve the combination of people and taonga, to show Tainui as we (Tainui) know it; Tainui as a living group of people with dynamic ideas and visions, not only antiquities. These were the things that Tainui wanted shown in the museum.

The Tainui oral history project has influenced my research interests because, at the end of it, we were left with all of the material, ideas, memories, histories on tape and transcript. We had contracts between the museum, ourselves as interviewers, and the interviewees recognising that the Museum has some right to make conditions over the use of the material and with whom it should be held. Yet, we also recognised a grey area over the ownership of the cultural and intellectual property that was generated in the project. The question of ownership was clearly seen in the example of the photographs that were taken of the interviewees. Who should receive them at the end of the exhibition? In the end, copies went to families but the masters remain in the Museum.

Most of the material is being held, embargoed, in the Museum. It cannot be used without the applicant going through a very stringent process to use it. It is acknowledged that the taonga must be protected but, the access of the taonga to the whanau of the interviewee remains in question. How

would they gain access if they were not familiar with museum procedures or environs? What if they did not know that the taonga were there? These questions were not new to me. The situation is apparent in many institutions, especially universities where there is a wealth of information gathered from various people, not just Maori. Again, applicants have to be familiar with the institution and its processes to gain access to the material. Not surprisingly, the applicants tend to be other academics, those on the "inside". Maori academics then, share the concerns and responsibilities faced by those on the Tainui project. We have a responsibility to the taonga and to the iwi (not necessarily our own) from which they came. We have a responsibility to work towards iwi objectives, iwi desires. These responsibilities are a lot to carry if there are few Maori within the institution to share the load. There are many more Maori within universities in New Zealand than there are Maori workers within the many New Zealand museums. I can only admire and marvel at the tenacity and willingness of Maori museum workers.

Through Barbara I was lucky and am honoured to have been allowed to attend the Kaitiaki Maori hui that was held in Wanganui. Although kaiwhakaako Maori share similar concerns and difficulties, Kaitiaki Maori face different situations. First and foremost, they are the carers of our taonga. And when I talk of taonga in this sense, I want to talk about taonga as our ancestors. Kaitiaki Maori are being asked to care for taonga that are figuratively representative or the embodiment of our ancestors (Mead, 166) and, literally, for the actual bodies or koiwi of ancestors. This is special. The responsibilities are daunting.

Secondly, Maori museum workers are a link between the museum and Maori communities. My life would not have been the same had I not met Barbara. None of the things I have described and am about to describe would have happened. Yesterday, through Kaitiaki Maori, through Barbara, I was able to discover another whanaunga or relative taonga, a pare or lintel from Hauraki which was in the back room of the Wanganui Museum. It was an emotion of meeting a close yet, unknown relative and having to part with it blew away any possibility of having a "dry" academic doctoral thesis. I had to leave that relative there in its perspex plinth and hope that it would be all right in a place so far from home! However, having calmed down, I consider myself lucky to have discovered it and made the connection. I could not have done this had I not been on the "inside" of the museum world. Without inclusion in the Kaitiaki Maori party I would not have had access to the back room.

As we were leaving the Wanganui Museum, Barbara remarked on the beauty of the piece. Needless to say, I am proud and would like to think that all things from Hauraki are beautiful. However, while the pare may appear beautiful to some, it's aesthetic value is actually quite secondary to me and others of Hauraki. What is more important to us is that whakairo (carving) like this pare perpetuate and embody all of the things that signify Hauraki as people; our beliefs, our lifestyles, our heritage. I could identify these features but, I will not because, if I did, the authentication or validity of that pare would be complete. This brings me to my thesis regarding the use of Maori cultural and intellectual property.

TRAFFICKING AUTHENTICITY

Over the last decade it has generally been considered "politically correct" for non-Maori as well as Maori to find and be associated with a "valid" "Maori" approach. This can be seen with the predominantly non-Maori NZ government preoccupation with the "spirit " or "principles" of the Treaty of Waitangi (leading to the proliferation of Maori policy units and consultation groups injecting "Maoriness" into government institutions); and, internationally, non-indigenous "New Age" interest in indigenous beliefs. This "association" has increased the transfer of Maori cultural and intellectual property into non-Maori hands.

"Trafficking Authenticity" is an exploration of the process which is a result and part of this association. The idea that Maori cultural and intellectual property can be "reduced" and "sold" as a marketable "commodity" has engendered considerable connotations. However, not only is "commodification" as well as "marketing" common practice, it is difficult to control or police, let alone stop. Maori cultural and intellectual property then, like a drug, is being "trafficked".

To talk about this then throws up many questions: What is "cultural and intellectual property and what is "Maori" cultural and intellectual property? What makes a "cultural and intellectual property" specifically Maori or of an "iwi"? What makes it a "taonga Maori?" Maori cultural and intellectual property, is valued on the market according to its "purity" or "authenticity". This involves the idea that traditional Maori cultural and intellectual property is more "authentic" and therefore is of greater value than more recent "tainted" expressions. Why this is so involves the idea that Maori cultural and intellectual property in some way can "authenticate" or validate a non-Maori idea or practice.

If Maori cultural and intellectual property is being "trafficked" who is doing it and on what terms? Are Maori/non-Maori relationships merely hegemonistic? Are Maori exploited, forced to be pragmatic participants in an "inevitable" process? Or, are Maori willing participants in a mutually-desired intercultural exchange? Is there some demarcation between things Maori/non-Maori so that there can be an "intercultural" exchange? Where and how does it work? Who is in control of this exchange and to what extent? On what terms would this

exchange take place/not take place? What can and cannot, should and should not be exchanged? (This involves the idea that Maori cultural and intellectual property or at least various forms are "sacred", "tapu" and as such, cannot and should not be "commodified and exchanged". These questions will be addressed in my research. I don't expect to find many solutions. I expect to find more questions, and more observations of trafficking at work.

What types of Maori cultural and intellectual property are "held" by museums and why? What role(s) does the museum play in connection to these "holdings" and how do they operate? Are they repositories (at the end of the transfer/exchange process) or are they agencies? What does the museum environment do to taonga Maori? Are New Zealand museums "real" without "their" taonga Maori?

I believe that taonga Maori "make" New Zealand museums and without taonga Maori, New Zealand museums would hold little to present to the world as unique. I also believe that indigenousness and indigenous tradition paraded as "antiquity" is being used to validate the non-indigenous and I question the validity of this practice. Furthermore, there is a danger that this practice will be perpetuated by largely monocultural institutions under the guise of bicultural development. Biculturalism is being narrowly (re) defined to keep Maori authenticating non-Maori things. This is not what being bicultural is about. Biculturalism recognises the validity of both Maori and Pakeha ways of doing things and allows for each. Unfortunately, what often happens is that Maori ways of doing things are ignored for Pakeha ways of doing things superficially "dressed up" in "Maoriness". This was tackled head on at the First International Conference on the Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples held at Whakatane in June 1993.

THE MATAATUA DECLARATION

Significant issues including: the value of indigenous knowledge, biodiversity and biotechnology, customary environment management, arts, music, language and other physical and spiritual cultural forms were considered at the six day conference attended by over 150 delegates from fourteen countries including indigenous representatives from Ainu (Japan, Australia, Cook Islands, Fiji, India, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Surinam, USA and Aotearoa[2]. Joe Doughtery and I were among those who attended. We heard the many difficulties regarding the above issues experienced by indigenous peoples worldwide and considered positive strategies for their alleviation.

Specific issues were discussed on different days at different marae throughout the Mataatua district. Discussion on cultural objects, such as Taonga Maori was held at Whareroa marae, Tauranga. At the session on museums it was discovered that there were no indigenous museum workers from Aotearoa present.[3] Session members, including indigenous museum workers from other countries and kaumatua from various tribes, notably Ngai te Rangi, were deeply disappointed but the discussion remained informed and, ultimately, fruitful. Indigenous museum workers from the other countries expressed many of the difficultires shared by their counterparts in Aotearoa. Many felt vulnerable and angry about the situations they were being placed in. Culturally, they were offended by or worried about particular museum practices. An Australian worker expressed doubts about her personal safety having seen a "secret, sacred Men's object" thus breaking a major Koori taboo. (This had been unavoidable as the object had been on display at a German museum she had visited). She also told of her sorrow at having seen so many Koori objects so far from their homeland. She was poignantly reminded of this much later when confronted by a group of Maori women weeping over taonga Maori displayed in her section. She realised then, the awful responsibility of caring for the objects of other indigenous cultures as well as her own and wanted to provide a programme beneficial for and agreeable to indigenous peoples.

Kaumatua spoke of their concerns, several expressing dissatisfaction at being called upon to "fix" or "sanction" situations involving cultural objects. They had obviously spent much time considering the role(s) of museums, the iwi and cultural objects quickly providing motions for discussion and eventual recommendation to the Plenary. The outcome was the inclusion of the following recommendations to States, national and international agencies, in the Mataatua Declaration passed by the Plenary:

CULTURAL OBJECTS

2.12 All human remains and burial objects of indigenous peoples held by museums and other institutions must be returned to their traditional areas in a culturally appropriate matter.

2.13 Museums and other institutions must provide, to the country and indigenous peoples concerned, an inventory of any indigenous cultural objects still held in their possession.

2.14 Indigenous cultural objects held in museums and other institutions must be offered back to their traditional owners.

These recommendations reflect the spirit in which the indigenous peoples, including Maori, wish to operate. Maori are not storming museum doors arbitrarily repossessing their cultural objects. Maori want museums to implement programmes which achieve the objectives recommended and are willing to help. Implementation should not be left for Maori museum workers but, undertaken by all. It is acknowledged that there will be difficulties. Obvious examples will be those involved in dealing with the many unidentified taonga held in

museums. However, these difficulties can be faced by museum collaboration with iwi. Therefore, we want enhanced liaison with museums, circulation of information about museum holdings and the power to decide the fate of our cultural objects. Maori want access.

CONCLUSION

As an iwi person, access, for me, has sometimes been a two-edged sword. Collaboration with museums and museum workers has been exciting, frightening, yet rewarding. By gaining access to the museum world, I have discovered and connected with cultural objects relating to me. I have the ability and knowledge of museum processes required to gain further access for my iwi. At times however, I have had access to things that I would rather not know about. I am beginning to appreciate the weight of the burden of responsibility to the taonga and their traditional owners shouldered mainly by kaumatua, Kaitiaki Maori and their Pakeha colleagues. I can't pretend that this is a desirable situation.

Museums need not be hegemonistic traffickers of "authentic", "exotic" taonga. The challenge is for museums and museum workers to decide whether they will implement the recommendations of the Mataatua Declaration concerning cultural objects. I applaud MAANZ and MEANZ commitment to bicultural development but, cannot see this happening should these recommendations be rejected or redefined. I urge you to embrace the broader spirit of biculturalism and seek ways in which the recommendations can be implemented and offer my assistance in any way possible.

No reira, nga kaimahi o nga whare taonga o Aotearoa, nga mihi nui enei ki a koutou. Tena ra totou katoa.

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2. The Mataatua Declaration on Cultural and Intellectual Property Rights of Indigenous Peoples, June 1993.

3. I later found out that Kaitiaki Maori had not received the conference notices sent to all institutions and were expressly disappointed at missing out.

CONSERVATION AND THE CURRENT MUSEUM CONTEXT
(1994 MAANZ-MEANZ Conference)

Miriam Clavir, Conservator, University of British Columbia, Museum of Anthropology

This paper is about conservation in Canada and the self-reflection that is going on about the nature of the conservation profession. Such self-reflection has been prompted chiefly by pressures originating outside conservation and indicative of current forces in museology.

Three major pressures for change are:

A. Requests by First Peoples, or First Nations as they also call themselves in Canada, to museums, concerning their holdings.
B. Continuing budget cuts to museums and government cultural agencies.
C. The direction in current thinking in some museums which emphasizes less and less the centrality of objects to the museum enterprise and more and more the importance of the visitor experience. George MacDonald, Director of the Canadian Museum of Civilization, has said that his museum is a "presenter of history, not a presenter of objects." (MacDonald 1993).

A. Requests by First People: These include - and I believe there are parallels here - requests to borrow objects for ceremonies; to conduct rituals in museums; to have storage and display rooms be culturally sensitive, not just regarding issues such as self-representation but also in ensuring that the physical stewardship of the objects is not offensive. There are requests for increased access to collections, and for repatriation, and for giving First People's views on object care, preservation, and appearance the same status and credibility as western scientific views.

B. Decreased funding has meant (speaking from a conservation point of view only here, or else the list would be far too long) that:
1. the cost of keeping collections, which some have seen as the standards that conservators have imposed on museum practice, is being reviewed.
2. the physical building structure of many museums is harder to maintain or upgrade, and with it the protective environment which is part of ensuring that a professional museum is a place which will preserve its collections rather than let them deteriorate.

C. There is a current direction in museology which consigns collections to a less central place in the mandates of a museum than most conservators believe they should have. As my Director, Michael Ames, has said, it is only in the last twenty years that museums have been expected to work actively to attract visitors, and have begun to embrace entertainment rather than education as an explicit priority. (Ames 1992, 11-12).

Conservators in Canada now find that they are being asked to treat props purchased by the museum for public performances, and also objects from the collection which have been placed in public areas as attractions, and whose placement has left them susceptible to damage. Conservation ethics and practice were developed for objects which the public or private owner wished to preserve, not for objects people touch or use. Repair of objects in these latter situations may involve materials which are stronger or less reversible, or techniques which are more interventive, than those the Conservation Codes of Ethics instruct a conservator to use. At the Museum of Anthropology recently we drilled large holes through the shoulder joints of an 8ft. wooden sculpture in order to solidify the arms with bolts, because the sculpture is now in a location where school children have been handling the arms.

Museum conservators are faced with questions in ethics and practice, where the solution which will work the best in the situation verges on the unethical as defined by the professional parameters of conservation. The traditional museum conservation solution - protect the object with a display case or barrier - is seen as the antithesis of giving the visitor a good museum experience.

How are Canadian conservators meeting these challenges? Developments in conservation practice and thinking include:

1. Due to decreased funding, the conservation profession, in much of its day-to-day work, has moved in the direction of preventive conservation and away from an emphasis on costly treatments.
2. Environmental guidelines for relative humidity and temperature are being rethought. The Canadian Conservation Institute has shifted from defining a single standard for RH and temperature to identifying degrees of damage experienced by specific materials and assemblies. This has meant, for example, that it is most important to control the worst forms of incorrect relative humidity, e.g. above 75% and that in the long run it is probably less

beneficial to a museum to have a costly HVAC system which requires extensive maintenance than it is to build practical, fixable, forgiving systems of RH control which take into account the museum's environmental history, and include display case and packing crate buffering or systems. (Michalski, 1994).

3. In response to requests to use objects, treatments on ethnographic objects are being approached differently. This is not just in relation to sacred and sensitive material, but, for example, at one Canadian museum the backing of a textile was reconsidered after 20 years as the original was done for exhibition and now the textile was requested for wear, so the fabric had to be strengthened against different stresses.

It is not, however, nearly as clear to Canadian conservators how to respond to the philosophical issues posed in current museum work. New roles for museums and new realizations about objects challenge fundamental assumptions in conservation, a profession which developed and continues to mature within traditional museology.

In addition, because of the scientific nature of the profession, conservators are facing a different context of understandings, challenges and solutions than their museum colleagues, even though many of the pressures are the same on curators or registrars as they are on conservators. These philosophical challenges are, however, making conservators reflect on why they are doing what they do, for whom they are preserving objects, and what values the profession holds.

Some issues within the profession that conservators are facing include:

1. To what extent do conservators remain advocates for the artifacts and the voice of authority for preservation matters relating to museum collections? If communities are achieving the right to self-representation in exhibitions, to what extent is this happening in conservation? If curators are becoming facilitators for community self-expression, rather than powerful brokers whose self-appointed role was to explain a community to a museum audience, do conservators play a role other than the self-appointed? Is it not presumptuous of conservators, no matter how much scientific evidence there is about how a particular material deteriorates, to believe they know how objects which are now in museums but which are from cultures other than their own should be cared for?
2. Related, however, to this question of authority for preservation is the following. One reason why conservators feel responsible for the physical safety of collections is that museums have a history of putting objects at risk in order to achieve their other goals. In the past many objects have deteriorated in storage after the goal of collecting them was accomplished, or have been mounted in great exhibitions or loaned, without equal regard being paid to the object's physical safety.

In Canada, in the 1970s when conservation was still in its early stages, conservators, with their scientific expertise, developed standards for what they considered to be the best conservation of museum collections. This period has been referred to by one museum curator as "the tyranny of Conservation". (Ho, 1993). In the 1980s in Canada, a number of conservators working in museums had begun to move on to a more pragmatic approach, a risk-management approach, where options and risks regarding a particular decision or action were discussed, and the conservator assumed an advisory role in the museum structure. The advice was either taken or not by the museum director. Today, however, the situation has gone a step further and conservators are being challenged to actively agree to decisions which put museum objects at physical risk, for example, the borrowing back of objects in museum collections by First Peoples for ceremonial purposes.

This is a second issue conservators face. Can they wholeheartedly, professionally agree to situations which put objects in museums at physical risk, when conservation is a field expert in and dedicated to the long-term preservation of those objects?

As one answer, the very recently revised American Conservation Code of Ethics says, "(w)hile recognizing the right of society to make appropriate and respectful use of cultural property, the conservation professional shall serve as an advocate for the preservation of cultural property" (AIC, 1994:1). In other words, the bottom line in the United States appears to be that the conservator must preserve the physical integrity of the object, or else s/he is not an ethical professional conservator.

The Canadian Code of Ethics, on the other hand, (the Codes of Ethics continue to be articulated as significant reference posts in North America) lists preserving an object's conceptual integrity, that is, its cultural meaning and significance (as I understand the term), along with preserving its physical integrity and historic and aesthetic integrity.

The problem with this is that the Code of Ethics does not yet provide clear guidelines or case studies as to how to balance preserving conceptual integrity with preserving physical integrity when the two conflict. It is doubly difficult because preserving physical integrity is based in observable science, but with conceptual integrity decisions are based on the intangible attributes of an object. A third issue that conservators are facing, then, is that the current museum context is asking them to think in a different language, with different and apparently opposing constructs, than the one in which their profession is based.

A fourth and related issue conservators are reflecting on is the question of

what is being preserved when only the physical object is being preserved. One conservator in the American Southwest said of conservation, "are we extending the life of objects or merely their existence?" (Clavir, 1992).

A fifth issue which confronts conservators is that of the same standard of care. This important clause in the Code of Ethics put objects from ethnographic and historic collections on the same footing as European Fine Art pieces concerning the standards of care and respect they should be given. Now, however, the situation is uncannily reversed, as museums accept that respect for a First Nations object may involve, for example, allowing its deterioration through use or otherwise. First Nations viewpoints have been expressed both on the side of having museums give the best possible professional care to their objects now in museum collections, as well as on the side of allowing selected use and deterioration. The principle of the same standard of care leaves conservators in a dilemma as to whether professional standards for one area of the collection can be different from standards for other areas.

What is happening in Canada regarding conservation and First Nations requests to museums? Are conservators opting more for preserving the physical integrity of First Nations objects or their conceptual integrity?

It is interesting that all major Canadian museums I have researched which have collections from First Nations have loaned ceremonial objects for use, or have allowed ceremonies to take place in storerooms or exhibit halls, or have given the descendants of the makers of the objects, or of the person who had the rights to the objects, privileged access to the objects. This has included handling the objects and sometimes included the borrowing of the object for use. Most conservators I have talked to in ethnographic museums have no problem with this, and support the moral principles embodied in First Nations requests to museums. The problem for conservators is that they are afraid to talk about it, because their colleagues will call them unethical. At the same time, the boundaries are very fuzzy as to what is acceptable in today's conservation practice and where to draw the line. For example, what is acceptable, and what would be considered a breach of professional practice, parallel to what, in private practice, a conservator might get used for if he or she damaged an object by knowingly putting it at risk.

Concerning physical preservation versus conceptual integrity, the problem for conservators lies, first, in not having guidelines within the profession which clarify the validity of the preservation of conceptual integrity even if this means putting the object at physical risk. Second, the problem lies in having what comes across in many museums as only grudging support from museum colleagues (other than those directly involved in managing collections) in the responsibility for good physical stewardship of museum collections. This latter, I believe, pushes conservators into a defensive position regarding collection preservation, and this makes it even more difficult for conservators to adapt to the changing context of work in museums with collections originating from the First Nations.

The self-reflection going on in the conservation profession today is needed and timely, because the mainstream conservation profession does not currently have clear answers which will help it meet the challenges in today's museums. Conservation is a profession dedicated, to the value of preserving material objects against change, and to the value of preserving the intrinsic object, whatever the temporal changes in the object's social or cultural context. Conservation is now finally old enough to experience fundamental changes in its own context, and this anti-change profession has to figure out how to accept change.

CONCLUSION

The resolution of some of the dilemmas and challenges in the profession might be achieved by:

1. Recognising that while the best conservation procedure is based on science, what is appropriate to do is based on the larger picture;
2. Enlarging the conservation paradigm of what is significant to preserve, and who are all the people involved.
3. Including a focus on working with people, not just objects, as part of a conservator's training and work; and
4. Recognizing that even when the definitions and parameters of preservation are different between conservators and First Nations viewpoints, there may be enough parallels in the pathways to each one's goals to reach mutually agreeable solutions.

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CONSERVATION IN A CHANGING MUSEUM CONTEXT

A Case Study at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

(1994 MAANZ-MEANZ Conference)

Rose Evans

INTRODUCTION

Traditionally, the primary motivation for museums was to care for, maintain and interpret their collections. There has, however, been a major paradigm shift, directing Museums towards a market-orientated approach with customer focus. As a consequence, there has been a recent international/national trend for Museums to actively compete within the commercial sector for larger, more diverse audiences and therefore increase their visitor numbers. One of the impacts of this changing nature of museum philosophy has resulted in more interactive participatory exhibitions, illustrated by the increasing use of functional collection objects, the use of facsimiles and changing display techniques where object safety may be compromised for a more attractive, inviting display. These changes illustrate the current conservation dilemma: the changing status of object and status of conservator within the museum framework.

An external demand also affecting Museum philosophy is where the tangata whenua are increasingly asserting their own identity. This has been demonstrated by demand for control over and interpretation of their collections within the museum context.

All these initiatives have resulted in the changing expectations from and demands of the Conservation profession in the museum.

In summary, some of the major changes placing different demands on the Museum worker/conservator are as follows:

- Active promotion and competition with the private sector for greater visitor numbers and more diverse audiences.
- Balancing the demands of collection maintenance and the driving needs of exhibition programmes (which take first priority)
- Changing display and exhibition methodology
- Transferring responsibilities to tangata whenua and their emerging role within the museum context.

Today, I am speaking from the perspective of both museum worker/conservator and as tangata whenua in Whanganui-a-Tara. I have worked at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa for five years and have witnessed enormous changes, most of which have resulted from the previously raised points. I am not attempting to discuss nationwide trends, as individual institutions have their own distinctive communities and associated relationships, instead I will concentrate on the changes occurring within my working environment.

PROJECT MODE

Currently the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa is project driven. Each exhibition has an elected project team for exhibition planning purposes. Within these teams all key contributors in the exhibits development such as concept development (curator), audience advocacy, conservation, nterpretation (education), design, iwi liaison, project co-ordination are present as soon as development requires to actively contribute to the concept and exhibition process.

The team approach reflects the museum's commitment to collective contribution in exhibition development. In the past many of these museum disciplines (eg. conservation) have felt marginalised or even excluded from the exhibition planning process.

The advantage of this project management system is that resources such as people, money, materials and time can be separately managed. Each project have specified focus audiences. Projects has their own budgets which result in few hidden costs lost in a wider institutional budget. This system of resource management allows for comparison and evaluation between all projects.

PROJECT TYPES

Not all projects are exhibition driven. The Te Kahui (information system) is a project set up to develop collection management systems which will result in control of object movement in and outside the museum. It will also provide information for staff and limited information for public access on collection provenance, condition and treatment history and location.

The majority of projects are, however, exhibition driven. There appear to be three types of exhibitions currently proposed:

- **Blockbuster exhibition:** high profile, with wide popular appeal and increased revenue. Negative aspects are increasing potential for damage due to increased audiences and venues. Nature of touring exhibitions places emphasis upon condition reporting and remedial treatment results from exhibition

damage.

- **Quick changeover, high object concentration exhibitions.** These exhibitions are characterised by a higher workload with emphasis upon condition reporting, extensive collection surveys and minor treatments. This results in emphasis being placed on minor cosmetic rather than structural remedial treatments.

- **Significant objects targeted at specified audiences** characterise the last type of exhibition. This is an exhibition area where the Museum can implement bicultural initiativees by targeting Maori audiences. More extensive, structural remedial treatments could occur here where permitted.

Not all of the above exhibitions may include substantial areas of the collection for their displays. This trend has created a major concern for conservators as collections not considered significant to specified projects may not, as a result, receive treatment. **This creates a major conflict of interest between conservation priority, curatorial priority and exhibition priority.**

The ***positive*** aspects for conservation are inclusion in exhibition from development of concept though treatment to installation. At this point the process of negotiation gains importance.

The ***negative*** aspects of project mode are as follows:

- The nature of project workload is high. Conservators may be accountable to several managers of concurrent projects.
- Heavy emphasis placed on administration: each project requires the conservator to complete major treatment surveys, time and budget estimates.
- Exhibition priority in a project driven organisation will take precedence over routine and necessary collection maintenance.
- Time allocations are characteristically tight allowing little time, if any, for on-going professional development
- Currently all research is project driven. Resources are not allocated to other areas of research.

THE STATUS OF CONSERVATION

Previously, conservation was a new profession within the museum context. It appeared to be characterised by a high moral stance, rigid rules and guidelines for the care of collections, and frequently used science as a justification for these. Concern has been raised that professional ground has recently been lost in the wider museum context. The conservator is no longer the sole advocate for collections as treatment priority and budgetary allocations may be now determined by exhibition needs. The emphasis for conservators now is to examine and recommend. Implementation of these recommendations is enacted at management level.

TREATMENT NEGOTIATION

Development of negotiation skills for conservators are a necessity within a project driven system, especially in iwi driven projects. I am currently involved in three project teams as well as being responsible for ongoing collection maintenance and advice. An iwi liaison position is recognised in all iwi driven projects. One such project is the interpretation and conservation of Te Hau ki Turanga, a Rongowhakaata Wharenui (meeting house) located currently on exhibition in the existent Buckle street site. This liaison position has acknowledged that the relationship between Te Hau ki Turanga and its iwi group Rongowhakaata was central to the project. In making a commitment to create an exhibition that respected the wairua of the taonga and the relationship to its people, a process was planned to ensure credible iwi involvement so they could express and define their own history and future. Key to this was to create an iwi liaison position. This team member acts as an iwi advocate in the planning meetings. They are in regular contact with iwi for updates and discussion. In addition to this position, a smaller key group of representatives from Rongowhakaata were identified to regularly travel to Wellington to attend planning meetings and discuss areas of concern. Iwi representatives living in Wellington were nominated to also attend meetings to regularly contribute in the planning process. This level of consultation has ensured substantial involvement in the planning process of this project.

TREATMENT OUTCOMES

Treatment options for Te Hau ki Turanga were presented and negotiated with Rongowhakaata. In some cases, the treatment basis was not aesthetic or structural but had cultural emphasis, for example, carvings with longitudinal splits travelling across tipuna faces, it was felt appropriate to infill and inpaint these loss areas. This is a good example of where the perspective of iwi can initiate a different approach to treatment outcome. Concerns like these may not be generally considered by an institutional Conservator. Generally treatments are founded in structural or aesthetic dimensions and not culturally based.

COLLECTION MAINTENANCE

Other projects have focused on accessibility of collections in storage and object specific information to relevant communities. This concern has driven layouts, architectural details and storage system designs in both the existing and the new waterfront structure. An example of this is with collections stored in the basement area in the existing Buckle street building, where objects are stored according to their iwi grouping. Some compromises were arrived at due to space restrictions such as separate storage of long and short weapons where the majority were stored separately to save much needed

space. However, where weapons had definite provenance they were stored in their iwi location.

Storage mount support systems were designed to allow visible access and safe handling. This in turn reduced the potential for damage with increased inspection. One area where cultural concerns have completely driven a storage system would be the upright position of poutokomanawa. A prototype upright support system will have to be designed to cater for iwi initiatives and satisfy physical collection care requirements.

Problems have occurred where theory and practical concerns have conflicted. The implementation of storage tours for iwi and pan-tribal groups of Maori collections in the existing museum basement. Access has increased potential damage with handling, movement, vibration and resultant structural damage, insect and mould outbreaks. The resultant damage control by conservation and collection management staff has been substantial. Implementation of proposed architectural planning in the form of viewing rooms or restricted layouts and adequate storage/support systems would have averted these potential problems from occurring. This is a good example where well intentioned institutional initiatives have not been supported by resources in the form of staff and budget, and may be characteristic of an institution in transition.

CONCLUSION

It is misleading to suggest the project planning process is fully developed or even partially realised. The process is in its infancy and we still have years of intensive planning and development. Several issues have been raised as a result of this new project approach.

Clearly there is a need to address day to day concerns expressed regarding routine collection maintenance, staff professional development and research which is not orientated specifically towards day one opening. Developing a project approach with a longer time frame which addresses wider issues beyond day one exhibition concerns may accommodate these disparities.

Wider museum issues range from detailing our bicultural policy, cultural and legal ownership rights, intellectual property rights, the nature of museum interaction with their communities to practical exhibition team issues such as Maori staffing levels, establishing a credible consultation process, adequate time-frame and budget allocations, and how project management techniques should be applied within a bicultural museum structure.

Conservation is only one of the departments affected by this new planning process. The institution is currently in a transitional state and many of these issues raised affect all disciplines within this museum context. The transition will be difficult for all staff. However, I believe that community involvement within the museum exhibition planning will result in better, more equitible exhibits.

RUATEPUPUKE
WORKING TOGETHER, UNDERSTANDING ONE ANOTHER
(1994 MAANZ-MEANZ Conference)

Arapata Hakiwai - Museum of New Zealand - Te Papa Tongarewa

Indigenous peoples throughout the world are increasingly claiming that they have rights to own and control their cultural heritage as they form an important part of their continuing social reality and universe. The fully carved meeting house in the Field Museum seemed destined to provoke searching questions and the exploration issues like ownership, control, museum roles and responsibilities, obligations and commitments.

A FULLY CARVED MAORI MEETING HOUSE IN CHICAGO

A fully carved Maori meeting house in the Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, USA. How can that be? How did it get there? What is it doing there? A repatriation issue? I wonder. What has it got to do with me? These were only some of the questions that came to mind when I was first approached by Te Waka Toi (Maori & South Pacific Arts Council), acting on the advice of the Maori community of Tokomaru Bay, asking whether I would like to be involved in the renovation and restoration of their ancestral meeting house Ruatepupuke in the Field Museum. I listened intently and visions of other Maori meeting houses overseas invaded my mind, *Rauru* in Frankfurt, Germany, *Hinemihi* in Clarendon Park, England and *Maui Tikitiki-a-Taranga* in Germany, not to mention all those nationally important and significant Maori treasures in so many overseas museums. Although listening intently my mind was wandering and all sorts of issues were appearing before me. Maori rangatiratanga, ownership and control of Maori taonga, the Treaty of Waitangi, Maori identity, Repatriation, the roles and responsibilities of museums. After about an hour or so I felt confused. My people had asked that I be involved in the restoration and renovation of Ruatepupuke because I have genealogical connections with Tokomaru Bay as well as my curatorial knowledge in the museum world. Deep down I couldn't help wonder and ask the question; do they really know what they are doing? Is this the right thing to do?

Anyhow considering all things I agreed. This was to be the start of a very special journey, a journey that took me back to my roots at Tokomaru Bay to discuss all the issues with the kaumatua and kuia, a journey that took me to other New Zealand and overseas museums in search of the missing original carvings and a journey that made me inwardly reflect on my position as a museum curator and Maori individual. As is the case now, I often found myself straddled between two worlds - a Maori world that sees taonga as an important part of our social universe, our identity and history, and the museum world that appears to constantly struggle for legitimacy and respect.

RUATEPUPUKE - A NAME OF SIGNIFICANCE AND MANA

As I was to discover the history of this meeting house was immensely rich and had its own intrigue and mana. Being the second Ruatepupuke meeting house, the carvings of the first house carrying this ancestral name were buried in the Mangahauini stream at Tokomaru Bay in the 1820's for fear of discovery by the raiding Northern tribes. These carvings were Pakirikiri, opposite to where the old Farmers building is presently situated. This house was carved for Mokena Romio Babbington, one of the local chiefs and leaders, and opened with full Maori ceremony on September 23rd 1881. The house was reputedly sold sometime in the 1890s to the well-known German collector/dealer J.G. Umlauff and was subsequently taken to Frankfurt, Germany. In 1905 Ruatepupuke was sold to the Field Columbian Museum where it has remained ever since.

The house is very significant and important as it is the only meeting house in existence that has a fully carved front facade and side porch interior. Ruatepupuke is an extremely important name in Maoridom for he is accredited with bringing the art of carving to this world from the realm of Tangaroa (God of the sea). Thus, before I even started I realised that this house was special and carried significance beyond our immediate world. Its significance for the East Coast tribe, its significance because of its name and its significance as a major artform and symbol of strength and mana made this project somewhat daunting and formidable.

THE TREATY OF WAITANGI - "TE TINO RANGATIRATANGA"

When I had met the people concerned, talked the issues over with them and was confident that that was the wish of the Tokomaru Bay people I agreed to be involved in the restoration and renovation of this meeting house. Article two of the Treaty of Waitangi is on the lips of most Maori people today and is generally used to describe the ability of Maori to decide what is best for them. In other words the acknowledgement that Maori are the

masters of their own destiny. Although many friends asked and questioned why this house was still in distant Chicago my response was very simple. The wish of the people of Tokomaru Bay was for the house to remain in the Field Museum, Chicago. *"They have looked after it to this time and we are confident that they will continue to look after it in the near future"* the people said.

Many people, especially those from outside the tribes of Tokomaru Bay, said that this house should not be over there and that it should come home. My view on that is that if we are true to the principle of "te tino rangatiratanga" then the Tokomaru Bay people have the right to decide for themselves what is best for themselves. If we do not respect the mana and integrity of our tribes to make decisions that concern them then we would be infringing one of the most basic and fundamental human rights issues concerning indigenous peoples. Keate suggests that the Canadian approach of focusing on developing new relationships between museums and indigenous peoples is preferable to direct negotiation because it removes the emphasis from a debate about ownership of cultural property to developing more creative solutions. He says that communal concepts of ownership are more concerned with social relationships to objects rather than rights and that concepts such as guardianship or trusteeship may be more appropriate, reflecting their relationship to taonga. In essence he suggests that the issue is not one of ownership but rather one of "mana or authority over taonga" (Keate 1993; 10-11). Partnerships and developing relationships can thus be seen as empowering and providing greater opportunity for Maori to be involved and in control of the process.

A WORKING RELATIONSHIP, A LASTING PARTNERSHIP?

In a time when museum roles and responsibilities are being questioned by the living cultures whose artefacts they possess, Ruatepupuke in the Field Museum was to pose some interesting questions. Was this project going to seriously look at and discuss the real issues underlying this cultural treasure and was the Museum going to do anything different from what museums have done in the past? What were the obligations of the Museum and what sort of approach was being offered here?

The Field Museum is one of the big four museums of the world and has extremely rich and important collections. However, being rich in collections does not necessarily mean you are rich in people's relations. The cultural partnership and working relationship that was established and fostered before, during and presently between the Maori community of Tokomaru Bay and the Field Museum provide an interesting model and approach for other museums to follow.

Staff of the Field Museum had visited Tokomaru Bay before the project had commenced, they had stayed on the marae and had talked to the people about the house. The Field Museum eventually embarked on a course that many Canadian museums are embarking upon, that is, focusing on developing new relationships between their museum and the indigenous peoples whose cultural property they have. As John Terrel, a Field museum anthropologist and curator put it:

> *"When we get to know native people as friends, you move away from the view that other cultures are exotic"*
> (Chicago Tribune Feb. 28th 1993 p.13).

In 1986 the Field Museum hosted the Te Maori exhibition and Ruatepupuke, although quite naked in appearance, became the focus and centrepoint of the meeting of the two cultures. Long before the Te Maori exhibition the Field Museum had wanted to restore the house to its former glory. The Te Maori exhibition exposed the problem once again and with the tears shed by both Iranui Haig and Tai Pewhairangi, kaumatua & kuia of Tokomaru Bay, the call became louder and stronger. With the sponsorship of Ameritech in Chicago the way was clear to restore Ruatepupuke.

The Field Museum invited some Tokomaru Bay people to travel to Chicago and while there talked intensively about the house - how the house should be approached, who should do what, where and when and why, as well as the protocols for its use was. Many of the decisions were left to the Tokomaru Bay people to decide and in a real sense the Tokomaru Bay people were given empowerment and control of the process, albeit, thousands of miles away from home. The project also made a generous attempt at providing two opportunities for people to train while working on the house and this again showed the positiveness and commitment towards developing a relationship and partnership. In addition to this the Field Museum also paid for a number of the Tokomaru Bay people to attend the opening and this again was seen by the people as providing action and commitment to words.

When the proposition was put forward that this relationship should not die after the house had been opened the Field Museum then demonstrated a further level of commitment by guaranteeing the financial provision to set up a traineeship/internship whereby a person from Tokomaru Bay, wherever possible, can go to the Field to gain experience in areas like conservation, collection management, curation etc. This act demonstrates to me the integrity and commitment of the Field Museum in establishing, maintaining and building on a cultural partnership. Establishing meaningful relationships breaks down many barriers and provides a space or bridge whereby two cultures can meet, talk and discuss issues that effect both parties. If the Field Museum had gone ahead without the support and consent of the people I would never have accepted the position as mediator and co-curator and I believe the relations between the Museum and the Tokomaru Bay people would have been strained be-

yond reconciliation.

AMERICAN INDIANS - THE FIRST NATION PEOPLE

Before we had started on the project the Tokomaru Bay people had insisted that we acknowledge and pay respect to the indigenous people, the Indian people, as we were traversing their land, their country and their mana. From the time we first arrived to the time we left we attended pow wows, enjoyed the comfort of Indian homes and shared their culture and history. For me this was also an important step in this relationship because in looking at our relationship we also made the Field Museum look at their relationship with the first nation people. Although they appeared to be committed to developing a new relationship with the Maori of New Zealand, I also saw this as an opportunity to effect some sort of change from within regarding the first nation people of that land.

Towards the end of the restoration process the Field Museum staff often looked a bit confused and wondered why we seemed to go on and on about the Indian staff at the Field Museum and the relationships they had with the Indian community. To understand our culture, the Field Museum was also asked to look at their relations with the Indian people as we were insistent that we were only visitors to their land. I believe in some small way our relationship made them question and seek solutions with other cultures as the setting up of the Centre for Cultural Understanding clearly acknowledged our relationship with the Field as a prototype or example of what could be done when two different cultures get together to understand one another.

CONCLUSION

Thus in conclusion I return to Ruatepupuke and ask the question: He aha te Koha o Ruatepupuke or What is the Gift of Ruatepupuke? The old proverb would say: Tis the gift of carving. In this particular case the gifts are many. A prized jewel is presented and exhibited to the world at large. A gift whereby people of different cultures, backgrounds and experiences can come together, talk to one another and understand each other.

The partnership and relationship established between the Field Museum and the Tokomaru Bay people is an example of a museum committed to breaking down its walls and barriers and meeting the people and the culture face to face in the spirit of friendship, integrity and respect. To the present day the partnership lives on and just recently two groups from Chicago have visited and stayed with the Tokomaru Bay people.

Faced with issues like repatriation, alienation of cultural "property", of anger and resentment, of stifling museum practice, this international partnership shows that bridges can be built and friendships created. John Terrell in his article "We want our treasures back" talked about the museum as a cultural theatre where the native people serve or act as the script writers and principal directors. He also asked the rhetorical question: *"Do the Maori have anything to teach the world? If not, then it would be appropriate to bring everything back" (i.e. repatriate taonga).*

I believe there's a two-way process to this question. Meeting the people, getting to know the people, establishing and building meaningful relationships or partnerships are building blocks that can only serve to break down barriers and bring about greater understanding and respect for one another. However, a relationship once developed must be fostered and looked after for that relationship to grow and blossom.

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'POMPALLIER' - A FRENCH-COLONIAL MISSION FACTORY IN THE BAY OF ISLANDS NEW ZEALAND
(1994 MAANZ-MEANZ Conference)

Fergus Clunie, Conservation Adviser, Research Unit, New Zealand Historic Places Trust

In 1839 Bishop François Pompallier founded the headquarters of the French Roman Catholic mission to Western Oceania at Kororareka in the Bay of Islands. In the summer of 1841-42, with their bishop safely away in the Pacific Islands, his Marist priests built a combined printery, bindery and storehouse at the back of an already crowded mission compound. Design was not a problem: one of the lay missionaries was an architect. But money to buy materials was lacking. Timber could perhaps be diverted from the church they were meant to be building, but the supply was limited. So they fell back on the vernacular building techniques of their native Lyon and Belley dioceses: *pisé*, or rammed earth, and *pan de bois*, or half-timbering.

What eventuated was a beautifully designed, shoddily built French Colonial building, just one room thick and sheltered by a hipped roof flaring out over verandahs. The lower storey was of rammed earth, the upper was half-timbered with rammed earth panels. At the back was an afterthought - a timber lean-to housing a tannery.

For several years this unmistakably French building functioned as the mission's printery, bindery, storehouse and tannery. But by 1850 Bishop Pompallier and his estranged Marist missionaries had gone their separate ways, and the port of Kororareka had become a stagnant colonial backwater: Russell.

The abandoned mission compound was sold to tanner James Callaghan, who continued making leather there until 1863, before converting the printery cum tannery into a house, enclosing the end verandahs and lean-to, and adding a kitchen chimney.

In due course the tumbledown Callaghan place was bought by Hamlyn Greenway, government clerk, who in 1879-80 demolished all but one of the little houses standing between the beach and the old mission factory, which he transformed into a fashionable residence. Besides carrying out extensive repairs, he replaced the old-fangled windows and rude plank doors of the facade, strung a graceful balcony across it, nearly brought the house down while installing a chimney at one end, variously partitioned the interior, re-enclosed the lean-to, and re-shingled the roof. What had been a factory, jammed for want of anywhere else to put it at the foot of a hill behind a clutter of other buildings, was transformed into a handsome, commandingly situated house.

By 1905 the Greenways were gone and the house was again being renovated, this time by Henry Stephenson, the local harbourmaster. He carried out much needed maintenance, clad the roof in corrugated iron, replaced the dormers, repaired and partly replaced the front balcony, but did not radically alter things. Stephenson's 'Pompalier' (sic), standing in its handsome garden, complete with tennis court, flagstaff and signal cannon, became the show piece of Russell. By 1943, however, it stood abandoned; grounds overgrown and building decaying.

Despite being at war, the New Zealand government bought the place and commissioned C.R. Knight, Professor of Architecture, to oversee its restoration. Believing the house had been a bishop's residence, and on the basis of a 'whole day' survey, he set about transforming it into an historic monument.

All peripheral timberwork - verandahs, lean-to and balcony - was demolished and rebuilt using modern methods and with almost entirely new materials. The roof went the same way. Every timber partition was demolished and only one was replaced, new partitioning following a new plan. The old attic floor was discarded, and the timber ground floor of the core building had a concrete slab poured in its stead. Century old burnt shell lime plaster was stripped off the earth walls and replaced with concrete render spread over wire mesh. Displaced historic boards and timbers served as cement moulds or formed the core of mock 'earth' walls to mention only a few of the alterations.

The outcome was a house that never was: a modern building masquerading as and masking the remnant of an old one. Pompallier House functioned as a national historic monument until 1968, when it was entrusted to the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. Trust historians soon established that the place had been transformed to accord with mythology rather than history. They recognised that the 1940s restoration had involved drastic modification, but believed it was impossible to determine what the building had been like beforehand, or even to gauge the extent of the restoration. Displays were therefore adjusted to reflect more than legend, and the building, while remaining for appearances sake an

historic treasure, was unofficially written off as a basket case.

By 1980, time was catching up with Pompallier House. The falsity of the restoration was by now palpable to all but the besotted, the interpretation was drawing vehement criticism, and the earth-walled core of the building was being destroyed by dampness entrapped by modern concrete. Various ideas were floated but foundered through lack of knowledge of what the place had been like before its restoration.

Thorough - indeed inspired - documentary research backed by conventional architectural examination had failed to provide the key to the place, and the outlook was bleak. An unexpected breakthrough was made in 1989, however, when for the first time somebody set about seriously asking the building whether it, as an historic artefact of diverse and too often obscure experience, had anything to say for itself.

To determine whether the place was worth preserving I initiated a limited archaeologically inspired survey of the standing structure and fabric of the building. This involved sacrificing some modern institutional concrete render, plasterboard and woodwork, and probing through it at selected points to find if it was concealing anything worthwhile. This was a last ditch foray, the place being in advanced decay, and to all appearances not being worth saving, despite its pedigree as an historic landmark.

The building responded informatively to even timid probing, early historic fabric being unmasked from the outset. This justified further cutting and prising away of modern concrete render and plasterboard, the cautious peeling back of the odd surviving high Victorian architrave, and the release of further primary historic fabric of an order which had been despaired of. It became evident that this investigative technique, if logically pursued, might provide a coherent and remarkably detailed knowledge of the early building. The place, wherever unmasked, had an awful lot to say for itself. Conventional archaeology - underground as opposed to 'elevated' - meanwhile proved that rising damp destroying the building, while aggravated by 1940s concrete, was caused by secondarily raised ground levels in the lean-to and on one verandah. It also exposed the buried working floor and pits of the tannery which operated in the lean-to for the first two decades of the building's life.

That was the good news. Our survey also exposed alarming structural defects. These were investigated by an engineer who, with knowledge growing in leaps and bounds, also analysed an hitherto obscure original design. His findings were sobering: a soundly designed building had been progressively weakened by alteration into an endangered one. Almost without exception, alterations had conspired to dangerously weaken the place. One end was on the brink of collapse thanks to chasming to install a chimney. The modern roof proved so incompetently framed as to (like much else) be 'incompetent to stand under self-weight'. The 1940s vintage front balcony was on the verge of falling down and had undermined the upper storey bearer to the point where it was threatening to drop out from under. Demolition of cross-walls had dangerously weakened the upper storey, which had also had its once strongly interlocked timber framework disarticulated in an attempt to level the attic floor. Modern loadbearing partitions were striving to snap overstrained joists. There was more of that sort of issue: too much to review here.

In 1990, aware at last that the considerable remnant of an outstanding historic place was lurking behind all that white-painted concrete and chickenwire, and turning its back on the prospect of demolition, the New Zealand Historic Places Trust bit the bullet and commissioned architect Jeremy Salmond to review a voluminous and mushrooming body of evidence in preparing a conservation plan for Pompallier.

Options were limited by structural and decay realities and the earlier wholesale destruction of historic fabric.

Maintenance of the status quo, Pompallier House, whatever the philosophical pros and cons, was impracticable, the greater part of the restoration timberwork being condemned as unsafe from a design viewpoint (the materials were sound) and concrete footings and renders aggravating, where they were not causing the breakdown, of earth walls.

Restorative evisceration likewise ruled out return to the "as-found" status of 1943, with its accumulated layers of high Victorian and Edwardian historic fabric. Most of this had vanished without trace, and inadequate recording in the 1940s meant that it was futile to attempt to reconstruct it. Ironically, we increasingly found ourselves with a far more detailed and intimate knowledge of the simpler but hitherto lost and despaired of early building of 1842-63 than we did of that of 1943, or of any intervening period.

Given such factors, what at first glance seemed a radical and controversial proposal fell into reasonable perspective. After deep soul-searching the conservation plan for Pompallier was approved. Essentially this contended that the historical significance of the place lies overwhelmingly in its early Roman Catholic mission and industrial experience, and that its architectural significance essentially emanates from its unique French Colonial design and archaic French vernacular construction. That being so, and in consideration of structural and decay realities, the plan recommended the return of the building, as close as emergent evidence allowed, to its original form, leaving alone such secondary features as did not mask or detract from earlier ones.

Whatever other than demolition or ruination might have been attempted at Pompallier, it must have entailed a great deal of reconstruction work, this inevitably being as much a salvage as

a conservation operation. Given the extent of reconstruction, it was clear that if the outcome was to have any integrity, and be true to the historic experience and spirit of the place, close attention would have to be paid to all available and emergent evidence in the course of works. So much had been lost that every available scrap of historic fabric, however badly butchered and displaced, demanded attention and analysis.

What distinguished the Pompallier project from other historic building conservation projects thus far undertaken in New Zealand lay in the way in which planning and works were governed by emergent and accumulating evidence. Archaeological survey and investigative techniques had provided the necessary insight into the historic experience and nature of the place, and continued to govern and determine the course throughout. Site works, as unlikely as this may seem, were governed and overseen not by an architect and a clerk of works but by a scholar who recorded and analysed historic evidence as and wherever it was unmasked, altering plans to conform to the latest available evidence right up to and during actual implementation, delaying implementation as necessary in order to record and take fresh evidence into account. The traditional dominant role of the architect was in effect reduced to that of an adviser and "watchdog", with implementation details being decided on site by a specialist in material culture. This allowed accurate recording of historic fabric as it was uncovered, and enabled far more accurate and faithful reconstruction of hitherto obscure lost or severely butchered historic elements than would otherwise have been conceivable. It effectively restricted the degree of imagination, grandification and disneyfication which otherwise must have overwhelmed the undertaking. Extreme attention to detail was forced upon us by an appalling paucity and scarcity of historic fabric thanks to the gutting of the building half a century before.

The necessity of pacing works to allow proper recording and analysis in turn led to the deliberate use of a small core team of locally recruited workers, mostly trained on site in historic building techniques, and in associated trades, such as blacksmithing. Scholarship again ruled, traditional French *pisé* construction techniques, for instance, being closely researched, and workers then taught the necessary skills, after they had made the tools and prepared the materials. Wherever possible, traditional repair methods were used, in both material and historical sympathy with what was left of the old building.

The outcome is today's Pompallier, more or less as sound as it was in 1842 (when it was realistically assessed as being *très peu solide*), and very close in general appearance and "intimate detail" almost throughout to the mission factory of that time. The amount of reconstruction involved is great, but has reasonable integrity, most of the work being founded upon hard archaeological recovery, and the providential survival and painstaking recognition of myriad scraps of key evidence. While I hope true to the spirit of the place, nothing is sacred about our 1990-93 fabric, and as knowledge improves, it can be altered or replaced to enable the building to more faithfully reflect its past.

Whether it remains so or not - and given the way in which it is now being administered it is unlikely to - the Pompallier building was in all essence the Kororareka mission factory of the 1840s and the commercial tannery of the 1850s and early '60s, when I ceased to be responsible on the ground there in December 1993.

The Historic Places Trust intended that Pompallier continue to function as an historic monument. From a conventional museum viewpoint, the building is impossible. Its internal climate, particularly within the earth-walled core, is absolutely unsuitable, and ungovernable without extreme degradation of the place. The exposure of an 1840s-60s tannery in the earth floor of the lean-to offered the prospect of an accurate reconstruction of this historic feature in its entirety, and suggested a "living Museum" demonstrating the types of equipment and processes carried out there at that time. This concept eventually extrapolated over the whole place, it being felt that if the building were outfitted and (at purely demonstrative level) operated as originally intended, this would prevent its being progressively adapted to house continually changing interpretative demands, and save it from being subjected to modern stresses it was not designed to meet. From a conservation as well as a presentation viewpoint, the concept made sense, so it was decided to outfit the building as faithfully as possible as the 'working' mission printery, bindery and tannery and subsequent commercial leatherworks. This 'live' interpretation was to be augmented by a conventional museum display, housed upstairs in the lean-to (where climatic conditions are least atrocious) and backgrounding the overall history of the place.

Because it was intended as a 'living' interpretation, and because of dearth of original equipment, it was decided to replicate the necessary working gear, outfitting upon archaeological and documentary evidence, and, as in the reconstruction work on the building, studiously avoiding 'disneyfication'. The concept, if it was to be historically acceptable, depended upon close adherence to historical precedence.

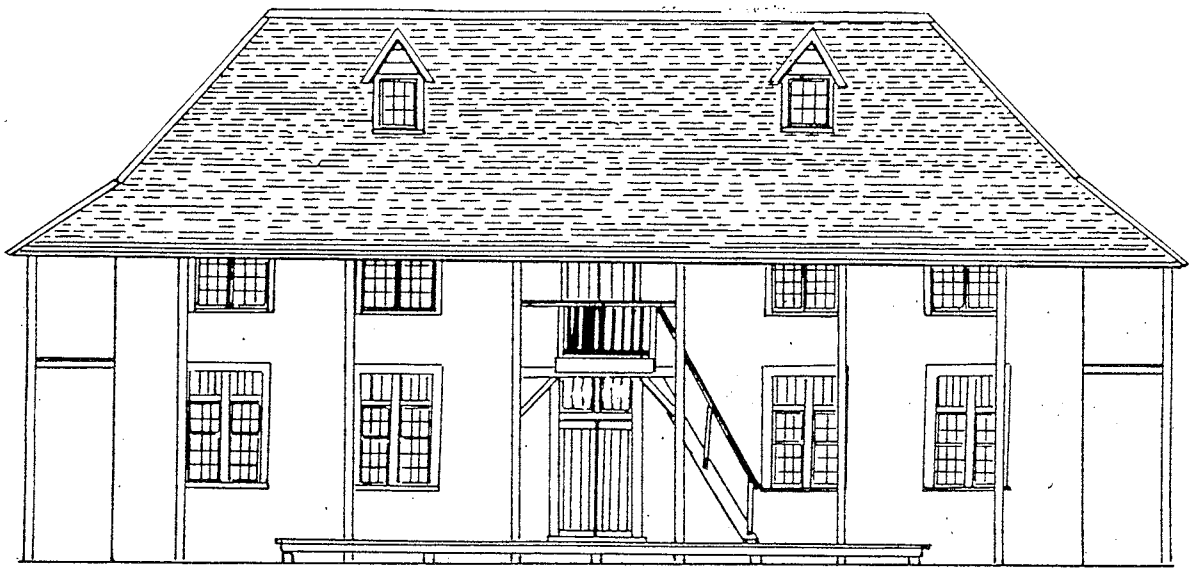
Given limited resources and the complexity of some of the equipment, this was an ambitious undertaking, but it was more or less achieved.

Providing the plant for a venture of this type is only a beginning, however. Operating it reputably and effectively thereafter is another matter. Unfortunately no commissioning period or quality setting and control system for the ongoing interpretation of Pompallier was instituted. Instead, the one person fully *au fait* with the

concept and with the historical and technical knowledge to ensure that the operation got off the ground was given no continuing authority, but was removed prematurely in favour of an intellectual void.

Although an inconsistent and unfinished interpretation subsequently proved halfway popular with a reasonable proportion of visitors, reputable presentation standards and adequate standards of historical accuracy had not and have not been attained. Rather than projecting the experience and function of the early building faithfully as was intended, the interpretation has drifted and (at such times as the 'living museum' concept actually operates) degenerated into an historically misleading, quasi-commercial, seventies-style craft fair, studded with anachronisms, and too often highlighting artsy-crafty activities which were not practised there historically.

The concept of the interpretation at Pompallier, as with that of the building conservation and reconstruction project which proceeded it, depends upon a faithful adherence to historical reality if it is to have integrity. Thus far the New Zealand Historic Places Trust has proved capable of providing the plant, but has failed to apply the intellectual discipline and rigour necessary for this place to be projected thereafter in honest keeping with its history. Every effort was made by the Trust to avoid grandification, falsification and disneyfication at Pompallier until December 1993. Unfortunately governing principles and standards of historical accuracy have since been foresaken in favour of short term expediency, quasi-commercial adventure and inadequately researched *ad hoc* initiatives. While so lax a regime is suffered to continue, it is difficult to see how Pompallier can do other than project its historical experience less and less convincingly, to the undeserved but real discredit of the place, and the ultimate embarrassment of those responsible for its operation.



A reconstruction drawing of the facade of the Marist mission printery, bindery and storehouse at Kororareka, Bay of Islands, as built in 1841-42. Details are based upon the recovery and positive identification of lost and displaced elements, both whole and fragmentary, and upon archaeological evidence.

Archaeological evidence indicates clearly that the building was meant to be fronted by a balcony reached by a stairway at each end of the verandah. Five pairs of doors were meant to open onto this. During construction the front balcony was aborted, however, in favour of a tiny central landing platform reached by a very steep ladder-like stair, the intended doorways to either side of the landing being converted into windows. There was no internal stair access between the two storeys. The change in plan may have stemmed from colonial frontier realities and the need to secure lead printer's type out of sight and out of mind, for fear it would be stolen and cast into musket balls. This is reinforced by evidence that composing and imposition of type and proof printing was done upstairs, only the corrected formes of type being lowered down to the press room downstairs - an awkward arrangement under normal circumstances.

The upper storey windows mounted pairs of typically French inward-swinging casement sash, vertically sliding guillotine sash without counterweights being fitted downstairs. Doors were planked. Door and window woodwork was painted grey-green, verandah posts dark green, the painted wood contrasting strongly with the whitewashed stucco wall finish. Kauri shingles covered the roof.

RESEARCH AT THE MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND TE PAPA TONGAREWA: VIEWS FROM AROUND THE WORLD
(1994 MAANZ-MEANZ Conference)

Margriet Theron, Manager, Special Projects, Ministry of Research, Science and Technology

Stuart Poss of the Gulf Coast Research Laboratory Museum in Ocean Springs, Mississippi stated in his submission to the Review of Scholarship and Research at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa that at the heart of every museum is its research collections. The strength of museums is largely determined by the quality and imagination that go into their use and display. We live in a world where modern man is increasingly and profoundly altering every corner of the biosphere. Museum programmes directed solely towards public education and amusement will not prepare us for the challenges we face in coming years, however important these are to competition with television and the entertainment industry for public attention. Collections are assuming an increasingly important role in science directed towards understanding the magnitude and direction of global environmental changes.

The remainder of this paper reviews comments from overseas scientists on five areas in which Te Papa Tongarewa has an international standing.

1. SEABIRDS

The first topic is seabirds. The Pacific Seabird Group is an international organisation in Washington. Its members include researchers and government officials from many countries who manage seabird populations and refuges. The Group believes that the Museum's work on seabirds is of high calibre and internationally significant. New Zealand is home to a biologically unique and important seabird fauna, and the Museum houses one of the largest collections of seabirds in the world. The collections are valuable to biologists throughout the world who need to study the southern hemisphere's seabirds. The staff of the Museum have successfully brought the interaction between seabirds and commercial fishery to the attention of the New Zealand Government and the United Nations.

The Collection Manager of Terrestial Vertebrates at the Australian Museum in Sydney praised the well-earned reputation of the staff of the ornithology section of the Museum of New Zealand for assisting other workers in the fields. The seabird collection at the Museum of New Zealand is the finest in Australasia. These birds are important for biological and cultural reasons, with particular value as environmental indicators. The size and coverage of the collection make it thus not only of importance to New Zealand, but also a valuable resource for workers elsewhere in the world.

From the Curator of Birds at the Museum of Victoria in Australia came the view that the southern oceans have an extensive and diverse avifauna with researchers in Australia and New Zealand best placed for its study. There is no comparable collection in Australia to the one at the Museum of New Zealand so that work at museums and other institutions relies heavily on this collection. It is an important research asset in the region and this is enhanced by the efforts of staff to computerise and document the collection. Important ecological research is being conducted; this is an area often neglected in museums, and the bird section has an enviable record in this field.

2. LICE OF SEABIRDS

Bernard Zonfrillo, a PhD student at the University of Glasbow, is studying the relationships of north Atlantic birds based on their host specific parasites. He is corresponding with staff at the Museum of New Zealand because expertise in this field is now centred at our museum, and nowhere else on the planet. There is simply no-one competent or expert enough in the northern hemisphere to provide the answers to the information he requires. The seabird ectoparasite collections held at the Museum are now regarded by most workers in this field as the world's best.

The reduction in resources at the British Museum has, according to Dr James Fowler of the David Attenborough Laboratories at the De Montford University in Leicester in the UK, made it virtually impossible to have specimens of the lice of seabirds identified there within a reasonable time. He has received enormous assistance from Ricardo Palma of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, who deals with his requests for identifications within a few weeks, if not days.

Professor Roger Price of the University of Minnesota has found Dr Palma's work impressive in the consistently high quality of his refereed papers. He expects Dr Palma to be the leading systematist in the ectoparasite group for the next few decades. He regards him as the only scientist today capable of leading systematic research of this group.

A multinational research team investigating the insect fauna of the Galapagos Islands also discovered the

skills and knowledge of Ricardo Palma. He joined one of the research trips to this internationally celebrated locality, and greatly extended the team's knowledge of bird lice.

3. FISHES

In some aspects of the study of fish, New Zealand has the unique opportunity to document natural conditions prior to human-induced change. George Burgess from the Florida Museum of Natural History, hopes that we will learn from the mistakes of Western European and North American societies and successfully curtail many deleterious changes. The Museum's collections will serve as national benchmarks in the baseline documentation of New Zealand's natural heritage and how its citizens choose to interact with it. The scientific staff should be on call to the exhibit staff to provide accurate information, suggest alternative approaches, and serve in scientific quality control; the exhibit staff should initiate and lead the development of exhibits. Museum collections become ever more valuable in time because they are irreplaceable snapshots of the environment at one place in time. Collections must continue to grow if they are to remain relevant to the needs of users. Change cannot be documented if only "before" or "after" is represented. The Museum's fish collection is actively documenting the present while curating part of the past; in the national interest, this activity must be maintained for future generations.

We have had too few exhibitions of fish, according to Professor Guy Duhamel of the Museum of Natural History in Paris. Possible themes for exhibitions of public interest are the diversity of New Zealand's ichthyofauna, the overfishing of orange roughy, competition between traditional and factory ship fishing methods, and the by-catch of birds.

Dr David Erwin, Keeper of Botany and Zoology at the Ulster Museum in Belfast, visited Te Papa Tongarewa in 1992 on a Churchill Fellowship. He found the fish research to be of the highest standard and of great international importance. He found it gratifying to see that relatively simple enquiries from schoolchildren received professional attention alongside complex scientific enquiries. Knowledge of the taxonomy and ecosystems in the areas in which the Museum is involved is pivotal to the understanding of planetary biodiversity, and central to the accomplishment of the decisions made at the Rio Conference on Sustainable Development. Until recently, knowledge of biodiversity in New Zealand, particularly in the marine environment, has remained at a low level. Recent development in the fish section of the Museum have begun to address this problem. The increase in known species from New Zealand waters in recent years, about 30 new species per year, bears witness to this. No other museum is in the position to fulfil this central museological task in the segment of the planet in which the Museum of New Zealand finds itself.

The economic importance of the Museum's fish research was emphasised in a submission from Nigel Merrett of the Natural History Museum in London. New Zealand is situated in a region of considerable oceanographic and geological dynamism. It is remote from other areas of detailed investigation and has led the world in the development of slope fishery exploitation. The type of strategic research undertaken by the Museum should be recognised as relevant to government fisheries priorities.

Te Papa Tongarewa is making a contribution to global identification guides for fisheries purposes which are being produced by the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. Kent Carpenter, the Fisheries Resource Officer, wrote that the Fish Section of the Museum has been a very important source of information. The Fish Section's work is also vital to the current efforts to understand and preserve the world's biodiversity. The very high quality of the papers being produced is a credit to New Zealand.

4. MOLLUSKS

The Museum also has an excellent reputation based on the work of its mollusk scientists.

The Zoological Museum of Bologna in Italy has strong ties with the Museum in mollusk systematics and biogeography. This year, the Museum in Bologna put on display a reference collection of New Zealand marine mollusks presented to them by Dr Bruce Marshall. Dr Antonio Bonfitto of the museum in Bologna called this collection one of the best of its kind stored in European museums. It has been used by Italian students as a guideline for studies on marine biogeography. Te Papa Tongarewa's reputation is so high that it has been added to Bologna's list of international institutions entitled to receive paratypes of new mollusk species described by Italian researchers. He rates the Museum of New Zealand as one of the few world leading institutions for systematic studies on marine mollusks.

From Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Professor Kenneth Boss wrote that, for a country of its size, New Zealand has been a bastion for the natural sciences, and at least one of its emeriti, Richard Dell, enjoys stellar prestige. Through his efforts, and that of the staff, the Museum has the largest, most easily accessed, and excellently curated, research collection of mollusks in the country. With the current world-wide interest in biodiversity and conservation, the maintenance of this collection should demand a high priority.

In the judgement of the Curator of Mollusks at the National History Museum in Noumea, New Caledonia, Dr Philippe Bouchet, the quality of the research papers by scientists in the mollusk section of the Museum of New Zealand meets the highest international standards. The molluscan library is one of the two best in the southern hemisphere, and one of the top twelve worldwide. He sees the role of a natural history museum as documenting, preserving, studying and

describing the diversity of life on this planet, and to provide expertise on the conservation of this diversity.

The Curator of the Zoological Museum in Copenhagen expressed concern about the erosion of taxonomic capabilities at the Museum of New Zealand over recent years. The Museum has had internationally respected research scientists; he named Drs Yaldwyn, Baker and Hicks. He questioned if a major natural history museum can function optimally if it lacks a fully functional research capability. All of the world's great museums have been supported by a research capability of top quality professional scientists. It is the ability of the research section, just as much as display and administration, that underpins the quality of the final product.

The Curator of Mollusks at the American Museum of Natural History, Dr William Emerson, called the mollusk collection at Te Papa Tongarewa a national and international resource for the primary data required for the study of the biodiversity of marine fauna in our region.

The head of the Department of Mollusks at the Natal Museum in Pietermaritzburg in South Africa, Dr Kilburn, said that research workers such as Richard Dell and Bruce Marshall have earned the respect of their peers throughout the world, and have succeeded in promoting the name of the Museum as a centre for scientific excellence. Their research collection is an essential resource for any malacologist seeking well-provenanced material from this part of the world. The work on the mollusks of Antarctica is a model for such research, and a major contribution to the understanding of the Antarctic benthic communities.

Professor Holthuis, emeritus curator of Crustacea at the National Museum of Natural History in Leiden in the Netherlands, regards taxonomic research as the most important longterm task of a national museum. He agrees that exhibits and educational programmes are important, but these are short term projects, leaving little of lasting value. Exhibits are forgotten within a few years, and today the illustrations of exhibits of the previous century seem rather ridiculous to us. According to Professor Holthuis, the help given to amateurs and specialists with questions of taxonomy is far more important. The taxonomists of the museum play a far more important role than the exhibition staff, to whom they have to act as advisers to prevent grave errors of scientific fact in the exhibits. Te Papa Tongarewa is well known for its scientific collections and research, but the fauna of New Zealand is so special and the number of species in habiting the islands so extensive, that there still remains very much to be done before one can consider the entire fauna to be well known.

The Senckenberg Museum in Frankfurt in Germany holds one of the scientifically most important collections of mollusks in the world. From there, the Curator of Malacology, Dr Ronald Janssen, wrote about the work being done on deep water mollusks at our National Museum. World-wide, deep water mollusks are researched at only five or six institutions, and systematical and taxonomical publications from New Zealand are therefore highly appreciated by the international community of malacologists.

David Pawson, senior research scientist at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington DC, mentioned the active international role played by the marine invertebrate researchers of the Museum of New Zealand. They are highly respected around the world for their collaboration with scientists in other countries, and their review of scientific proposals and manuscripts. Colleagues in the USA have watched with mounting horror the recent dramatic changes in staff at the Museum. It seems that the Museum is bent on sacrificing its formerly strong research in favour of a glitzy public face centred on the new building under construction. Dr Pawson regards this as a tragedy. It reflects developments in some major museums in other countries over the past five years. These changes seem to be cyclical in nature, and the pendulum seems to have completed its swing in one direction. Research is now being strengthened in some museums, including the Smithsonian.

Professor Akihiko Matsukuma, formerly Curator at the National Science Museum in Tokyo, said that the Museum of New Zealand has one of the most important mollusk collections of the Indo-West Pacific, and that the collection is very accessible. He added that almost all Asian countries lack museums with active investigators, excellent libraries and a huge reference collection, and expressed the sincere hope that Te Papa Tongarewa will provide a place for "any investigators for ever as before".

5. ANTHROPOLOGY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND ARCHAEOZOOLOGY

John Terrell, the Curator of Oceanic Archaeology and Ethnology at the Field Museum in Chicago, regards Janet Davidson and Foss Leach as world renowned archaeologists and internationally recognised authorities on the prehistory of New Zealand and the Pacific. Leach is a vital force in developing the subfield of archaeozoology, a specialisation that shows the strength of uniting the cultural and natural sciences. Dr Terrell constantly uses the Museum of New Zealand as an excellent illustration of new, creative approaches to museum organisation, management, exhibition, and object conservation. In the mid-1980s the Field Museum experimented with divorcing exhibitions and public education from research. The experiment failed. They have now brought curators and research specialists back into the collaborative mix leading to exhibits and public programmes. Good exhibitions and public programmes must be linked and supported by good research. The public deserves no less.

Dr Brian Durrans, Deputy Keeper at the Department of Ethnography at the British Museum, mentioned the excellent publications of the Museum of New Zealand, which have become classics of international standing. His examples were the exhibition catalogues for **Taonga Maori** and **Traditional Arts of Pacific Women.**

The President of the Society for Hawaiian Archaeology, Agnes Griffin, called Janet Davidson a masterful prehistorian whose representation of New Zealand's past brings honour to both Maori and Pakeha. Janet's expertise in the Pacific enables her to bring the lessons of New Zealand's past to a diverse audience, forging links that promote understanding across wide geographic and cultural gaps.

Professor Allen of La Trobe University in Australia coined the phrase "The Dunedin School" in referring to the unconventionally brilliant, individual approach which Foss Leach brings to his work in archaeozoology. Professor Atholl Anderson of the Australian National University also noted that the archaeological facilities that Foss had set up at Otago University were among the best in the world, and he suggested that the Museum of New Zealand should commission him to develop a plan for its own archaeological facility.

More praise for the contribution of Davidson and Leach came from Dr Ross Cordy of the Department of Land and Natural Resources of the State of Hawaii. Foss Leach, he said, provided the best aid in fish faunal analysis that he had found in the Pacific. Janet Davidson has provided support for a vast array of international researchers; her views are greatly respected; and these two quality researchers promote the Museum internationally.

CONCLUSION

The list of topics on which very positive comments were made by overseas participants in the review, goes on: lichens, marine algae, ferns and fern allies, moa and other subfossil birds, and others.

The examples quoted should be enough to demonstrate that the research of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa is held in high regard internationally, and that research is a critical element in the activities of any museum.

The submission of Stephen Jay Gould, Professor of Geology at Harvard University " notes: The research functions of natural history museums are both essential and paramount. Ironically, the general public often does not know that research goes on at museums at all - and conceives such institutions merely as places of display, and perhaps of collection. But without research, a museum must ultimately wither and die. Passive places of pure display simply cannot resist forces of entropy in the long run; active research not only validates the enterprise in the first place, but also keeps such institutions young and alive."

MAPPING THE TERRAIN: EVALUATION AND VISITOR RESEARCH IN MUSEUMS

(1994 MAANZ/MEANZ Conference)

Carol Scott, Evaluation and Visitor Research Coordinator/Power House Museum

INTRODUCTION

Evaluation and visitor research can be valuable tools for serving existing audiences and creating new ones, improving exhibitions, programmes, and services, positioning museums in the complex market place of the leisure industries and communicating the work of museums to sponsors, governments and major funding agencies.

This is what evaluation and visitor research can do. The extent to which it does provide this range of information and service depends greatly on our ability to use this tool wisely and strategically and correspondingly, our wise and strategic use of evaluation and visitor research depends on the understanding and clarity that we bring to the application of these processes.

To utilise these tools appropriately requires:

- clear definitions
- appropriate expectations of the types of data that can be obtained from different processes, and
- a willingness to explore some of the difficult issues that surround the field.

This paper is going to take a journey over the terrain of evaluation and visitor research in museums. It will consider the array of activity that falls under these generic terms and attempt some definitions and distinctions to help clarify our practice and assist our journey. It will raise a few key issues under each of the major headings.

BACKGROUND

I was appointed as Evaluation Coordinator at the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney in August 1991. This was the first position of this kind to be created by a museum in Australia and remains the only permanent position. The position works museum-wide and reports to the Director.

A few weeks ago, I was asked to give a presentation to our Board of Trustees about the range of evaluation and visitor research activities we were undertaking in the museum. In the course of putting together this presentation for the Board I became aware that I had "mapped" both the breadth and depth of activity in the museum that has occurred over a three year period and the continuum across which evaluation and visitor research activity currently falls in many contemporary museums.

DEFINITIONS

The "map" I will show you makes a distinction between evaluation and visitor research. Both processes are employed for the general aim of acquiring an understanding of museum audiences. However, while there are areas of overlap between the two processes (ultimately in terms of outcomes and initially in the types of methodology used; surveys, focus groups, tracking, behavioural observation, individual interviews, critical assessment, etc) the two processes reveal different sides of the visitor coin.

With evaluation we are asking people to "judge the worth, merit or value of something". In the museum context, this usually applies to judging the worth of an exhibition, service or programme against the criterion of audience attitudes, knowledge, perceptions, interests and response.

Research, on the other hand, focuses less on assessment and more on the identification of trends and patterns and the relationships between those trends and patterns. Research is often profitably employed in areas such as audience identification, patterns of participation or non-participation, etc. To reliably identify a major trend requires a statistically valid sample size, and therefore, research frequently deals with larger samples than evaluation.

Though in the museum context the outcomes of these processes ultimately overlap, making the distinction can help us to identify what kinds of information can be reasonably expected from activities within each category and organise our evaluation and visitor research programmes accordingly. Here then is the programme of evaluation and visitor research which I oversee.

ACTIVITIES

If research is about identifying trends, patterns and relationships among audiences, then this is a range of activities to fulfil these objectives. The category covers general visitor studies, targeted visitor studies, on-going monitoring of visitor information through a combination of admission, booking systems and research data from other sources and visitor counts of exhibitions. I'll descibe each of these activities briefly and raise issues associated with this area of audience inquiry.

Evaluation Programme	Visitor Research Programme
1. Exhibition evaluation * front-end evaluation * formative * remedial * summative	1. General visitor studies including barrier analyses
2. Programme evaluation for internal purposes	2. Identifying and researching target audiences
3. Programme evaluation for purposes of external reporting and accountability	3. Longitudinal statistical collection through: * admissions systems * schools, group and tourism booking systems
	4. Counts of visitors to exhibitions

INFORMATION RECEIVED

What kind of information can we reasonably expect to receive from visitor research?

- **General Visitor Studies**
  First of all, general visitor studies can provide us with a comprehensive profile of our *existing* audiences - where they come from, how often they visit, why they come, what they do when the come and what degree of satisfaction they experience with the museums. General visitor studies can also, depending on the questions we ask, locate visitor profiles within a context of leisure patterns and cultural participation.

  Large visitor studies give museums and galleries an overview of the general audience mix visiting the institution. But they have limitations. They are often conducted solely as exit surveys and this has implications for the number of questions and format of questions that can be reasonably included in the limited amount of time that visitors are willing to voluntarily devote to the exercise when they are already in "exit" mode. Surveys are frequently closed response in format for each statistical analysis and this can limit the amount of "qualitative" information received. Also because they are seeking general trends and patterns, the differences and nuances between groups are frequently not analysed or missed altogether.

  In addition, in multicultural societies they are almost always written in the official language (which in Australia is English). This factor precludes the participation of many overseas visitors with limited English skills and, among local residents, limits access to the study for those from non-English speaking backgrounds who, though they may have oral English skills, find that their literacy is inadequate for participation in these types of exercises. The profile that we obtain, therefore, while representative of English speaking sectors of the museum's audience will be skewered to some extent for other audiences.

- **Barrier Analyses and Target Audiences**
  For the reasons outlined above, it seems that most institutions eventually embark on a necessary second stage in their visitor research. This second stage tends to be more selective in its studies, is about *creating or increasing* audiences and targets specific groups in depth. It often begins with a barrier analysis to seek information about general patterns and reasons for non-participation and the identification of groups whose participation is low or nonexistent.

  Following the barrier analysis, a logical next phase is the targeting of specific audiences to identify their particular patterns of leisure and cultural participation, understand their interests and needs and either increase their level of involvement or encourage participation where it doesn't exist. These studies can focus on people from non-English speaking backgrounds, Indigenous people, tourists, people with disabilities, adolescents and gay and lesbian members of the community. We often seem to move from breadth to depth in visitor studies.

- **Longitudinal Monitoring**
  Visitor studies can be costly and often an institution can only afford to undertake them infrequently at best. But even when they are undertaken we can never rest with one-off information about our visitors. We need to implement systems for on-going, long-term and longitudinal monitoring in order to constantly upgrade and modify the picture that we have.

  Increasingly, museums are utilising admissions systems to take postcodes and country codes and so maintain a watching brief on changes to visitor demographics. For example visitor studies undertaken at the institution where I work in 1991 and 1993 seemed to reveal seasonal differences in patterns of visitation among overseas tourist related to the northern and southern summer holiday periods. It is the current admissions system collecting post codes and country codes that is assisting us to confirm or deny this information collected from visitor surveys.

  Similarly, group booking systems

reveal not only the exhibitions most often booked by groups but also signal underlying reasons for these patterns "Precinct" patterns among exhibition bookings, for example, can be the result of visitors perceiving that a group of exhibitions come in a package because of proximity. Syllabus changes and the development of new key learning areas are often reflected in school booking patterns. This is information that we need for planning and which is sometimes hard to keep abreast of when you are not employed full time in the education system.

- **Visitor Counts**
  Visitor counts are simple exercises that can also assist with monitoring patterns of visitor participation. They can be used to determine the percentage of visitors to a temporary exhibition over a period of time (useful information to give to sponsors); they can reveal preferred entrance and exit points; record gender interest in an exhibition; map percentages of visitation to different exhibition spaces throughout the museum; and identify peak visit times during the day. All of this information is practical and can assist with planning.

PURPOSES

Why do we undertake visitor research? Firstly, because of accountability. In an environment dominated by policies of micro-economic reform, public sector funding is a contract - governments give museums funds on the condition that we can demonstrate that the money is being used wisely and well. Wisely and well is often not very clearly defined. But Ministries and governments certainly require evidence that a museum's programmes are being used by an increasingly representative sample of all sectors of the public.

Allied to accountability, the general decrease in public sector funding and the need for many cultural institutions to raise a proportion of their operating budget, is the requirement for market extension. Part of the reason that we undertake these exercises is to determine whether we can encourage more repeat visits among existing visitors, convert potential audiences to actual visitors and find the "hooks" (if we haven't already) that we sell our product in an increasingly competitive leisure industry.

But we also do it for other reasons. And those other reasons are about equity and access. Museums and galleries are only custodians of cultural heritage. We manage and interpret collections - but we don't own them. Ownership resides with the community, and every member of the community has the right to interact with those collections. We undertake visitor research to discover if there are groups in the community who are denied access to this enjoyment, either because of structural inequalities or because of lack of awareness and we use the information obtained to undertake whatever action is necessary to remediate structural inequalities and raise awareness. We cannot force people to become museum visitors (and we must accept that many people prefer other leisure options to going to museums), but we have a responsibility to ensure that their non-participation is not because of our lack of awareness of them in our unwillingness to address issues of access and participation.

EVALUATION

Distinctions

In considering evaluation in museums, I again want to begin with making distinctions. Evaluation in museums covers two basis areas: exhibition evaluation and programme evaluation. Exhibition evaluation concerns itself with visitor responses to stages in the exhibition development process. Exhibition evaluation takes one phase of the exhibition development process at a time - content, design, occupied exhibition - and uses visitor needs and interests as the predominant criteria for judging the issue under consideration.

Programme evaluation tends to be more comprehensive. Programme evaluation is likely to assess the final result of a total programme. In this respect, it is to an extent more summative in nature in that it is assessing final outcomes. I want to begin this section on evaluation with discussing the characteristics and issues of programme evaluation and exhibition evaluation.

- **Programme Evaluation**
  Programme evaluation is often used for purposes of accountability and reporting to external agencies. Accordingly, programme evaluation is based on concerns for the efficient use of resources (inputs) as well as a concern for effectiveness of the results (outputs). To accommodate both these objectives, programme evaluation should include both quantitative and qualitative outcomes.

  For example, on the quantitative side we need to know:
  - the amount of resources put into a programme (effort); and
  - whether the same effect could have been achieved by different means at less cost (efficiency)

  On the qualitative side of the equation, we need to determine:
  - how far along the way to the target we got (adequacy)
  - how well we satisfied needs (effect).

  Though programme evaluation is often used for external accountability, it is in my opinion, a tool that we need to refine and use more at an internal level in museums because it provides information which could result in:
  * abandoning a particular programme or operation;
  * creating a new programme or procedure;
  * modifying an existing programme or operation.

We also need to be aware that a particular model of programme evaluation is being required by museums and galleries for purposes of accountability and reporting. This is *performance evaluation* and it is so called because it admits only demonstrable performance as evidence of having achieved target criteria or indicators. In this regard it has been criticised for being overly behaviourist in its orientation and for emphasising a particular management theory - "management for results". It is most definitely a behaviourist model and it does reflect a specific management model. However, the use of it in museums has been found to have positive outcomes including a clarification of the institution's mission, giving the institution a clearer sense of purpose and providing it with standards that indicate a commitment to excellence. In addition, when staff participate in the process of generating indicators for performance measurement, one of the indirect outcomes has been found to be a more collaborative working relationship in which each staff member identifies his/her role in working together to achieve a common goal.

- **Exhibition Evaluation**

Exhibition evaluation has been established as a mechanism to ensure that visitor needs, perceptions, interests and knowledge are incorporated into the interpretation of collections. This is a valid objective and is one step towards establishing a dialogue between the museum and the public that it serves. However, I would like to see us expand our thinking about the way in which we go about exhibition evaluation. There are two issues I want to explore:

* methodology; and
* clarifying and extending models of participation.

Methodology

In museums, we tend to repeat a few tried, test and true methods - questionnaires, focus groups, tracking and other forms of behavioural observation are the fare of evaluation and visitor research. Ghislaine Lawrence from the Science Museum in London in a paper presented at the 1993 Visitor Studies Conference held in England, traces the emergence of museum evaluation from a time when behaviourism and Tylerian approaches to educational assessment were pre-eminent. In the non-museum worlds the positivist, empirical and experimental approach of behaviourism was eventually challenged by alternative viewpoints that stressed the inappropriateness of methods modelled on the natural sciences for studying social phenomena.

Subsequently, a range of methods based in symbolic interactionism, phenomenology and ethnomethodology were put forth as more appropriate ways to elicit 'meanings'. However, this wide scale change in research and evaluation methods has not permeated the museum culture to the extent that it perhaps should.

While familiar methods are useful in identifying the attracting and holding power of exhibitions, determining whether visitors have understood key messages, and for establishing visitor profiles, we should consider expanding our repertoire of evaluation and visitor research methodologies so that we can better make clear how social meaning gets made in museums and other cultural institutions, so that we can identify the indirect as well as the direct outcomes of programmes and exhibitions and so that we can acknowledge the whole area of affective and attitudinal outcomes that often resist statistical analysis. The issue is not to my mind behavioural versus interactive methods. The issue is rather framed as a question: "which of an array of methods is the most appropriate to elicit the information that we require for the purposes that we need?"

Participation

The front-end, formative, remedial, summative model is an extremely useful framework around which to organise visitor input at key points in the exhibition development process. At the front-end stage, it provides exhibition developers with critical information about visitor attitudes, knowledge, attraction for, or sometimes revulsion to, a topic. It can offer visitors the opportunity to suggest what ideas they would like to see covered in an exhibition on a given topic. At the formative stage, we can learn very quickly which of an array of communication formats are going to attract and hold visitors and which configurations best communicate main messages. At the remedial stage, we are confronted with hard evidence of whether certain sections of the exhibition are working for visitors as intended.

However, visitor input is carefully controlled by the framework. Ultimately, the museum develops the exhibition brief, produces the design and selects from visitor feedback that which we can or want to incorporate in the final concept.

This is fine as long as we are clear about the assumptions underlying this model, its limits and its parameters. We engage in exhibition evaluation with visitors for a number of reasons. First, it is a procedural mechanism to check our assumptions about what will attract and interest visitors against actual visitors perceptions. This is good market research and it helps to sell our product in an increasingly competitive and resource - scarce environment.

Secondly, there is sufficient research available now to make us aware that visitors are not a blank slate on to which museums can write a message. Visitors bring

meaning to the museum experience and code that experience accordingly. We are often too concerned that visitors *take* the meaning that we intend when they visit our exhibitions, that we sometimes tend to forget that fact. Exhibition evaluation, especially front-end evaluation is a very powerful tool to probe and raise awareness of the meanings that visitors will *bring* to a given topic.

Thirdly, there is a genuine desire to "democratise culture". That is to give the public some participatory role in the interpretation of our joint cultural heritage. This is a worthy objective. However, it sometimes becomes somewhat confusing because, though "participation" is defined as "the act of taking part or having a share in an activity or event", we are not always clear how much of a share the public is going to get as the result of participating in consultative processes set up by museums.

Much of the contemporary tension that surrounds evaluation and visitor research in museums is about boundaries. Where does the influence of the museum end and that of the visitor begin?

When a role for the visitor input is discussed, there is often a real concern about the corresponding change in role that this might entail for the museum. There is a concern that exhibition and programme development may become "market-driven" to the exclusion of attention to the institution's existing collections and mission. Recognising this tension and finding a working relationship between mission and market is one of the major issues confronting museums today. I have found a discussion paper produced by the Royal Ontario Museum very helpful in this regard.

The ROM analysed the mission-market tension and suggested that we picture a collaborative model where both mission and market could be accommodated to produce exhibitions and programmes inclusive of the visitor and the institution's needs, interests and responsibilities.

I like the ROM model in many respects. It clarifies the traditional model of museum programme planning based on academic expertise and identifies the current market driven push. It presents a happy middle. As one museum director said to me "We're market oriented and mission driven - Carol". Increasingly, this is the case in museums where staff and management are sensitive and intelligent to the needs and interests of the audiences they serve.

However, I want to herald the future. The model I have just displayed may be reflective of where we are moving now in evaluation with the public, but as a model it may not serve us in perpetuity. Our countries are becoming more culturally diverse. The term "cultural diversity" in Australia now covers ethnicity, indigenous Australians, disability, and gay and lesbian communities. Museum professionals may find it increasingly difficult to understand and represent the needs, interests and culture of such diversity. We may, therefore, have to find ways of working jointly with greater participation from these and other groups in the interpretation of cultural heritage from many different points of view.

A few years ago, while undertaking work for the Australian Heritage Commission. I explored the tension be-

The Mandate Driven Approach to Exhibition Development

DEVELOPMENT OF KNOWLEDGE Research and collections	DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE THROUGH EXHIBITIONS Research and collections presented in accordance with scholarly disciplines

The Market Driven Approach to Exhibition Development

MARKET RESEARCH What are the audience's expectations, interests and needs	EXHIBITION DEVELOPMENT Research and collections are presented solely in accordance with audience's expectations, interests and needs

The Transaction Approach to Exhibition Development

KNOWLEDGE AND COLLECTIONS TO BE COMMUNICATED As defined by museum staff	POTENTIAL AUDIENCE'S UNDERSTANDING, NEEDS AND EXPECTATIONS CONCERNING COLLECTIONS AND KNOWLEDGE As defined by visitors and others

EXHIBITION DEVELOPMENT Defined by both Museum staff and audience

resulting in:

INSTITUTIONAL SATISFACTION VISITOR SATISFACTION

tween the role that the community often wants and that which authorities want the community to have in the process of heritage consultation. I suggested that our current models of heritage consultation are often top-down with definite termination points for public involvement and with the primary aim of ensuring that the professional is equipped with adequate and appropriate information on which to base decision-making.

I proffered the following description of the predominant model of heritage consultation at that time. I think that the assumptions underlying the evaluation process which we undertake in museums has some similarities. I further suggested that we begin to consider extending our current models to embrace collaboration and decision making at more levels than the consultative stage between the public and the custodians of cultural heritage.

I think that there are situations where it is becoming increasingly important to consider more active involvement of communities in the development of our exhibitions and programmes past the consultative stage that is now characteristic of much of museum exhibition evaluation. I suggest this because we must realise that everytime an artefact is selected or a particular interpretation of a topic chosen it is a political act with extensive implications. Particularly in the areas of cultural diversity the need to involve constituents beyond the consultative stage can be critical. Sometimes, consultation alone falls short of the mark.

CONCLUSIONS

We are living in an exciting time in museums. We are at the "cutting edge" of a new relationship between audiences and museums where the walls are becoming transparent and both parties are beginning to reach through to the other side. If we manage this relationship well and are clear about the issues and the parameters, we will, I think, have a richer and more exciting approach to collection interpretation and a more diverse and active public with whom to share the excitement. Evaluation and visitor research are mechanisms to effect this dialogue and sharing.

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Issues/Model	Model: Participation as Consultation	Model: Participation as Joint Interpreters of Cultural Heritage
Issue: who initiates the project?	Usually the professional	The community or the professional
Issue: what is the nature of community participation?	Community as informant	Community as co-collaborator in joint decision-making
Issue where is the expertise located?	Expertise resides with the professional	Expertise is recognised in both the community and the professional
Issue: how can the information flow be described?	In the majority of cases, from the community to the professional	All participants generate information and contribute to problem solving and decision making. Therefore, the information flow is between and among the participants
Issue: what is the extent of the community's involvement?	Usually terminates upon the professional receiving the requisite amount of information. Characterised by limitation to the consultative stage.	Community involvement is on-going and involves levels of participation at all stages of a project: planning, implementation, evaluation. Assumes a role for the community in joint decision-making.

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A STANDARDS SCHEME FOR MUSEUMS

Lynda Wallace, Liaison Officer, Canterbury Museum

INTRODUCTION

While in the United Kingdom last year studying sources of support and assistance for small museums, I became aware of the Museums and Galleries Commission's Registration Scheme for Museums. The Museums and Galleries Commission (MGC) is the British government's primary adviser on museum maters, and the channel for government funding to the Area Museum Councils (AMCs), which are essentially rather better developed equivalents of our own Museums Liaison Service, although with some significant structural and resourcing differencs.

During many hours spent with staff of six of the ten AMCs, and with people working in smaller museums in Scotland, Wales and parts of England, I heard only positive comments about the MGC's Registration Scheme. It was consistently praised as one of the most important factors in the raising of professional standards in museums throughout Britain in recent years.

Various accreditation or registration systems are well established now in many other countries. The schemes work upon the understanding that there is an accepted philosophy about the responsibilities a museum has to its collection and to its public, and that those responsibilities are common to all types of museums. However, in New Zealand we are still without a system for setting and maintaining standards in our museums. It could be time for this issue to be hauled out of the "too hard basket" and addressed at a national level by all the various organisations involved in operating, servicing and working with museums in this country.

In this article I will discuss the origins, requirements, implementation and perceived benefits of the MGC's Registration Scheme for Museums and Galleries in the United Kingdom, and look briefly at what might be involved in introducing a standards scheme for museums in New Zealand.

ORIGINS OF MUSEUM REGISTRATION IN THE UNITED KINGDOM

The Museums Association made the first attempt at defining and setting standards for museums in the United Kingdom. It introduced an accreditation scheme along the lines of the American model, involving peer assessment, but the whole scheme was found to be too expensive to be practical and was abandoned (*Museums Matter*, MGC, 1992: 24-25).

Impetus for the establishment of the museums registration scheme came in the first instance from the Museums and Galleries Commission and the Area Museum Councils, which shared the aim of improving standards in UK museums. However, because there were no objective standards already set, there was nothing against which museum operations could be judged. Local authorities, as the main funders of museums apart from central government, were also becoming increasingly interested in measuring the performance of the museums they funded.

Through a process of consultation with the museum community, the MGC developed guidelines for a registration system, using as a basis the Museums Association's 1977 *Code of Practice for Museum Authorities* and its 1983 *Code of Practice for Curators*. The guidelines grouped criteria which needed to be met under seven categories; constitution, statement of purpose, collections management, public services, staffing, financial management, and legal, planning and safety requirements.

The MGC's Registration Scheme was introduced in 1988, after it was trialed in the North of England during 1986. By the end of 1994, over 1,500 of the estimated 2,000 museums in the UK had attained either provisional or full registration. Phase Two of the scheme, which seeks to consolidate the progress made during Phase One, was due to be launched in April this year.

REQUIREMENTS OF THE SCHEME

The MGC describes its museums registration scheme as "a baseline for minimum common standards and objectives for all sizes and types of museums" (*Museums Matter*, MGC, 1992:30). Museums as large as the British Museum or as small as a volunteer operated village museum can apply for and achieve registration - a recognition of the fact that, despite wide variations in scale and resources, both are proper museums. The application form for registration sets out a series of guidelines, which are interpreted in the light of what is reasonable and appropriate for each institution. This inclusiveness is seen as a critical factor in the acceptance and success of the scheme.

In the first instance the applicant museum must fit the Museums Association's definition of a museum: an

institution which collects, documents, preserves, exhibits and interprets material evidence and associated information for the public benefit. Certain types of organisations which could be considered as operating at the edge of museum provision (such as science centres and planetaria, archaeological and historical sites without collections, zoos, aquaria and botanical gardens, temporary exhibition venues, record offices and libraries) are considered ineligible for registration unless they form part of a broader museum service.

The other requirements of registration relate to the fundamentals of the operation of a museum: its constitution and statement of purpose, collections management, public services, staffing, financial management, and legal, planning and safety requirements.

Constitutionally, a museum must be legally set up as a charitable organisation acting in the public good, or be based on an Act of Parliament, be covered by the Local Government Act, or other constitution acceptable to the MGC. It must not distribute profits to shareholders, and must safeguard the ownership of the collections.

In the area of collections management, a museum needs to provide details about its existing collection, a copy of its acquisition and disposal policy, and information about its documentation system. As a minimum, entry and exit records, movement records, accession records, permanent identification of objects, appropriate indexes for retrieval of information about objects, and loan records are required. The collections management section also requests information about a museum's conservation plans and priorities (including security, risk management and disaster planning) and its access to specialist conservation advice.

Details about services provided to the public are sought, and a museum must demonstrate that it is communicating and interpreting its collections to the public. Encompassed in this are its education and interpretation roles, exhibition plans, other services it might offer to the public (such as enquiry or identification services), the facilities it provides for visitors, the museum's arrangements for public access (including opening hours), and its marketing strategy.

Staffing of a museum needs to be "sufficient in both number and kind to ensure that the museum is able to meet its responsibilities" (*Second Phase Draft*, MGC, 1993:17). This does not imply only paid, professionally qualified staff. Museums staffed entirely by volunteers are still able to meet the staffing requirements of registration. However, for museums which do not employ professionally trained and/or experienced staff, the governing body of the museum needs to make arrangements to have access to regular curatorial advice. This is achieved either by appointing a museum professional as a full member of the museum's governing body, or by appointing a museum professional to be "curatorial advisor" to the governing body. A curatorial advisor's role is to "observe and appraise the general performance of the museum and to point the paths to more efficient development, or to the solution of more specific problems ... not to be asked or tempted to carry out the work themselves." *Second Phase Draft*, MGC, 1993:25).

In the area of financial management, a museum must be able to show that it has a sound financial basis, and is financially viable apart from any valuation placed upon its collection. Copies of budgets and audited accounts are required to be submitted with the registration application.

Finally, museums must demonstrate that they comply with all of the relevant legal, safety and planning requirements.

Provisional registration may be granted to museums which have plans in place to address any shortcomings in its policies and procedures as they relate to the registration application. Many museums have found this a helpful status to have, as it can be used as a lever to gain extra funds or resources from its funding body.

IMPLEMENTATION

To implement its registration scheme the MGC relied heavily on the regionally based Area Museums Councils and their staff. The MGC made special funding available to allow AMCs to employ registration officers, staff whose time would be devoted entirely to helping museums work through the requirements of the registration application. This was essential, given that AMC staff already had heavy work loads.

The Area Museum Councils were the critical organisations in the implementation of the registration scheme. The MGC lacked the staff, the regional presence (and therefore the local knowledge), and the face to face contact with museums to be able to do it alone. This is typical of the partnership that has developed between the AMCs and the MGC - neither would be as effective without the other.

In certain areas, usually where the registration officer employed by the AMC was not so easily accessible to museums working towards registration, local authority museum staff tended to take on a pastoral role towards independent museums, helping them through the process by providing free advice and assistance.

Application and assessment procedures are handled by the MGC's Registration Committee. This is a group of museum professionals appointed in consultation with the President of the Museums Association, and the Chairman of the Association of Independent Museums. The Registration Committee has the power to co-opt specialist advisors. Applicant museums do not have to pay any administrative charges associated with registration.

PERCEIVED BENEFITS

The aim of registration, one which it has demonstrably achieved, is to improve professional standards in museums. This is of interest to museums, their funders, their donors, and their communities. In the UK, the MGC scheme has become the benchmark by which central and local government, the museum profession, and the public, measure the performance of museums.

The scheme has the backing of the Local Authority Associations, the Government, numerous funding bodies, the Museums Association, and the Association of Independent Museums (AIM). The Audit Commission for example, uses registration as one of its recommended criteria for auditing local authority museums services, and for local authority support for independent museums (*Second Phase Draft*, MGC, 1993:2). Provisional or full registration is now a requirement for eligibility for funding from the MGC or AMCs grant aid or subsidised services.

As a spin-off, the annual returns which museums make to comply with registration provide statistical information about museums throughout the country. This is of great benefit to the museum community, since reliable up-to-date data about museums had previously been very difficult to gether and access.

The registration scheme has provided a means for museums to improve their credibility, encourage public confidence in their management, and demonstrate their responsibility to their communities.

Of the many volunteer run and community museums I visited, none had negative comments to make about registration, although many admitted to some initial apprehension about the scheme's requirements. Always, the attainment of registration represented a milestone for the museum, and the process of working towards it provided the museum with the spur to improve its systems and performance. Framed certificates of registration were prominent in museum foyers, obviously displayed with a sense of pride and achievement.

A STANDARDS SCHEME FOR NEW ZEALAND MUSEUMS?

It would be difficult for anyone to argue that a standards scheme for museums in New Zealand is not desirable. Serious consideration of the features and mechanics of implementing such a scheme is overdue.

Demands for objective and consistent performance measures are increasingly coming from bodies outside the museum community such as the Lottery Board and local authorities, motivated by a very valid desire to protect their financial investment. A registration scheme similar to the one operating so successfully in the United Kingdom would help to satisfy these demands.

Within the museum profession in this country we are still debating some basic issues, such as the definition of a museum; are zoos, aquaria, exhibition venues, archaeological sites and archives "museums"?. We have no agreed criteria for assessing whether a museum is doing a good job of being a museum, and tend to be diverted by issues of size, staffing, resources, and the local/regional/national status of collections.

However, compared to the United Kingdom, we have only a fragile and small museum infrastructure, and there is no obvious single organisation which might be capable of gaining a mandate for the introduction of a registration scheme, developing its criteria, and implementing and operating it. We lack an organisation with the strategic overview, range, impartiality, independence, national focus, and track record of the MGC.

In New Zealand we have a variety of organisations which represent different sections of the museum community. Among these are the Museums Association (MAANZTRHKT), the Museum Directors Federation (MDF), Taonga o Aotearoa National Services (ToANS), specialist organisations such as the Professional Conservators Group (NZPCG, MEANZ, and registrars' and exhibition officers' organisations. All of these organisations have an interest in improving professional standards in museums and would have valid contributions to make to this discussion. If the concept of a standards scheme for museums in New Zealand is to proceed, discussion and consultation must begin now. MAANZ has identified the issue as one which will be aired at its extended AGM in Wellington in September. This forum will provide the starting point for what is potentially a critical process for museums in this country, one which will lead us towards establishing some baseline standards for the fundamental work of museums.

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Lynda Wallace is Museums Liaison Officer for the Canterbury Marlborough and West Coast Region in the South Island. She has previ-

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Last year she undertook a two month study tour of the United Kingdom, looking particularly at the type of support provided to small community museums and their relationships with local authorities.

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