Museological Review:
The Global Microphone

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Museological Review

Cover Image: *Rudy Ricciotti's Mémorial du Camp de Rivesaltes stretches to the horizon. The entry path frames the memorial, creating a favoured establishing shot for visitors to the site; photographic evidence of the pasts and presents of the camp landscape.* Image and text by Ian Cantoni, Mémorial du Camp de Rivesaltes, 2015 © Ian Cantoni.

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Note from the Editors

Museological Review: The Global Microphone celebrates the 50th anniversary of the School of Museum Studies and the 20th edition of this journal. The new editorial team felt these events offered the perfect opportunity to explore criticality and discourse in museums. Staying within *Museological Review* tradition by presenting cutting-edge research undertaken by a new generation of museum scholars, this issue is an open microphone for people eager to unpick different global understandings of contemporary museums.

Museological Review: The Global Microphone strives for worldwide participation in order to contribute to the international field of museum studies. Professional and academic voices from every continent are included – contributors touch on over 20 countries. Their voices are distinct through the different writing styles, visions and contexts they present. However, it is not difference that characterises this issue, but a web of relationships that so clearly indicates that the contemporary museum exists in a contingent context of knowledge-exchange and interrelatedness between and with museum visitors, technology, curators, practitioners, academics and objects.

Building on the work by former editorial teams to incorporate alternative platforms that acknowledge both social practice and intellectual inquiry, this issue again embraces the 'Visual Submissions' introduced two years ago. *The Global Microphone* also includes another new alternative format; through 'Question and Answer' we asked contributors to respond to the most urgent topics affecting cultural institutions and professionals around the globe. Together, their words form a critical dialogue that is provoking and passionate. Their statements, along with all other contributions, amplify questions that a rapidly changing world will demand professionals respond to in years to come.

Loosely arranged into three messages, each section includes a range of Academic Articles, Visual Submissions, Question and Answers and Exhibition Reviews. The first looks at innovative ways in which museums move towards broadcasting their messages beyond boundaries of language, place and time. The authors **John Kannenberg, Benjamin Doty,** and **Davina Kuh Jacobi and Glen Smith** each discuss how institutions and individuals find new ways to make sense of and share knowledge with peers and audiences. **Jennifer Durrant's** image and accompanying text provide a critical note – knowledge production inevitably generates a contentious process of appointing other objects and information for disposal. From four different parts of the globe, **Othman Tawfeeq Fattah, Sipei Lu, Geoff Giglierano,** and **Natasha Barrett's** short pieces explore the challenges and opportunities afforded by technology as well as its role in today's museum.

Conversely, the next three authors reframe more established practices in ways that ask readers to rethink them in terms of democracy, hierarchy and inclusion. **Laura Gibson and Rebecca Kahn,** and **Kelsey Wrightson** critique our most pivotal practices**,** such as documenting, cataloguing and making objects accessible to those most affected by their legacies. Adding to a section of works that illustrate the museums' ability to cultivate change and foster activist practice, **Linda Aloysius** unpicks longstanding gender inequalities through a review of the exhibition 'The Fallen Woman' at the Foundling Museum. **Jennifer Bergevin's** visual submission addresses social activism and its seemingly illusive, though increasingly evident, impact. Each in their own way, two short works by **Anneta Sundieva** and **Claire Whitbread's** look at the people behind the exhibitions – who gets to work in an ever-competitive field and what role does education play?

The last group of submissions considers how museums survive, thrive and build communities in demographics scarred by conflict. Within each of their unique contexts – the global and the local – museums are often brought to negotiate the slippery politics of an ever changing world stage, as **Kristina Dziedzic Wright** and **Melina Sadiković's** articles on South-Korea and Bosnia-Herzegovina, respectively, illustrate. **Ian Cantoni's** review on the French Mémorial du Camp de Rivesaltes is a timely reflection in light of these articles; painful heritage remains centre stage in ever-changingnational, social and political contexts. **Yon Jai Kim's** image and label explore how a much broader political conflict unfolded at the construction site of the Korean National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art. Lastly, five short statements address the contingencies of place and time in which a museum can exist. **Kennedy Atsutse, Inês Ferreira, René Lommez Gomes and Carolina Vaz de Carvalho, Dr Inga Specht and Franziska Semrau, and Wycliffe Oloo** provide a mirror through which we are challenged to again reconsider the question of purpose.

We hope you enjoy this issue as much as we have collating it,

Ceciel Brouwer (Editor-in-Chief), Lesley Barker, Oonagh Quigley and Naomi Terry

Listening to Museums: Sound Mapping towards a Sonically Inclusive Museology

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Abstract

The multisensory experience of museums is becoming increasingly scrutinised, with many museums beginning to include participatory activities based on their own soundscapes in their public engagement programs. What are some possible strategies for engaging with a museum soundscape? Could listening to museums lead to the development of a sonically inclusive museology? In my artistic practice, I make sound maps of museums including the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, the Art Institute of Chicago, Tate Modern in London, and The Pitt Rivers at Oxford. These sound maps are immersive audio tours juxtaposing sounds in new contexts like museum curators juxtapose objects in exhibitions. I also make blind listening sketches of museum soundscapes using an evolving lexicon of museum sound symbols. In this paper, I contextualise my museum sound mapping strategies within practices of sound arts and other mapping practices, and provide documentation of my results, including sound compositions and drawings that map my acts of listening to museum soundscapes.

Keywords: Sound art, sound maps, drawing, multisensory experience

The Multisensory Museum: Looking Beyond the Visual

> 'Until recently, the museum or gallery was predominantly a unisensory visual experience.' (Candlin summarised in Lacey and Sathian 2014: 3)

Museologists have been urging museums to shift their focus from objects to experiences for at least more than a decade (Weil 1999: 229, Hein 2000: 1-16). However, it is only within recent years that museums have seriously begun to consider multisensory interaction's impact upon the visitor experience beyond the historical design focus on visual and textual display (Edwards et al. 2006, Levant et al. 2014). Curiously, this 21st century 'multisensory turn' within museology is, in fact, a return to the seventeenth and eighteenth century roots of museums as institutions of multisensory research, which aligned themselves with contemporary scientists such as Robert Hooke in the seventeenth century, who suggested, among other things, that an investigation of an object's 'Sonorousness or Dulness. Smell or Taste...' was essential in the quest for knowledge (Howes and Classen 2013: 18).

My own artistic practice explores sound within the tradition of artists who have long used non-musical sound as both an inspiration and a source material (Kahn 1999), hence the focus within my research on the sonic experience of museums – inclusive of their architecture, the objects on display, the visitors, and staff who occupy museum spaces. Having also studied museology (the graduate programme in Museum Studies at the University of Michigan, from 2010–2012), I see my research as a bridge between the worlds of contemporary sound studies and contemporary museology.

Collecting a Sonic Cartography: Listening, Recording, Drawing

The conscious interpretation of physical space is a vital skill, an essential component of human existence. 'We use the environmental image to orient us,' says Karen O'Rourke, 'both in the immediate physical sense but also as a general frame of reference. A highly differentiated landscape can structure activity and order knowledge' (2013: 103). Museums are spaces that are architecturally arranged for the purpose of organising knowledge and disseminating information, with exhibition design operating as a language through which to communicate curatorial intent (Hillier and Tzortzi 2006: 282-301). This paper will explore some of the artistic practices I have developed in order to locate connections between these two concepts: the process of using the senses, in my case listening, to understand meanings within the sonically spatial idiosyncrasies of museums, institutions which are constructed with the intent to convey knowledge by way of their physical organisation.

As an artist, I am inspired by, among other things, the acts of making and observing art. This preoccupation with making art about art is not intended to be an insular activity aimed only at the chosen few who operate within the so-called 'Art World,' but rather an attempt to demystify and open up the experience of art to an audience who may otherwise not feel that contemporary art is something they are meant to understand. As a result of this interest, a significant part of my practice has involved developing strategies for the sonic and visual mapping of museum soundscapes. Popularised by composer R. Murray Schafer, the term 'soundscape' can refer to, as he states, 'any acoustic field of study. We may speak of a musical composition as a soundscape, or a radio program as a soundscape or an acoustic environment as a soundscape. We can isolate an acoustic environment as a field of study just as we can study the characteristics of a given landscape' (Schafer 1993: 7). While useful as a catch-all term for the complex world of environmental sound, Schafer's notion of soundscape is deeply problematic for multiple reasons, not the least of which is its presupposition that certain sounds have more value than others – preferring the sounds of nature to the sounds made by humans (Eisenberg 2015: 193-207). However, for the purposes of this article, the term remains useful as shorthand to refer to the multitude of sounds present within the architectural spaces of various types of museums. As my ongoing research involves an attempt to more accurately define *museum soundscape* as a cultural concept, I am currently hesitant to make a claim towards a definitive description – yet I would suggest that the museum soundscape is unique in that it contains layers of ambiance that include highly specific sonic interactions between museum visitors and museum exhibitions, architecture, and staff. These sonic layers may be experienced in different proportions depending on the time, date, and operational state of the individual museum in question. I prefer to conduct my research during normal public access hours of operation, since researching visitor experience – i.e., the museum in action – is more interesting to me than any utopian ideas of what museum architecture sounds like on its own, in a state of inaction.

My soundscape mapping strategies involve collection but are not simply acts of cataloguing – they are acts of selection, as I do not merely hear sounds within the museum environment: I actively listen to them, and in doing so, seek to find meaning within the sonic experience of museums: 'If "to hear" is to understand the sense…to listen is to be straining toward a possible meaning, and consequently one that is not immediately accessible' (Nancy 2007: 6). I view my listening as an exploration of experience, since the act of listening is (to those with the ability to hear) an integral part of how humans experience the world. Audio engineer and acoustic theorist Brian Blesser describes listening as

> 'a means by which we sense the events of life, aurally visualise spatial geometry, propagate cultural symbols, stimulate emotions, communicate aural information, experience the movement of time, build social relationships, and retain a memory of experiences.' (Blesser and Salter 2007: 4)

Ultimately, I don't wish to map the *exact sounds* I hear inside museums, but instead to map my own *acts of listening*.

The mapping strategies I will describe below begin with a process of collection, a conscious decision to make the form of my activity a metaphor for the museum itself. After choosing a museum soundscape I wish to map, I undertake a series of soundwalks – '…excursion[s] whose main purpose is listening to the environment…exposing our ears to every sound around us no matter where we are' (Westerkamp 2007: 49-54). The audio recordings I collect while soundwalking are then used as source material for what I refer to as *sound maps*: linear audio compositions which lead the listener along my own listening paths through the museum's soundscape. While on a museum soundwalk, my acts of collection include not just audio recordings but visual documentation as well, particularly the drawings I refer to as *listening sketches*.

I have chosen mapping as the metaphor for my actions not only because of its obvious relationship to architecture, or the idea of walking as art, or even for the enticing notion of the wandering urban *flaneur* (Gros 2015: 175–181) as embraced by psychogeographers (Coverly 2010) – although there are undoubtedly connections and inspirations to be found within all of the above – but because of mapping's connections with drawing: with lines, with *time* lines, with conveying information through a series of points connected, of paths traveled, or about to be so. The act of drawing has long been a fundamental part of my work as an artist, and ever since sound became increasingly important within my practice I have always approached the manipulation of sound as an extension of my lifelong drawing practice. As I have discussed previously (Kannenberg et al. 2012), lines for me are a record of action, are recordings, much the same as the capturing of audio with a digital recorder. Drawing and listening are interchangeable and interconnected within my practice.

Mapping the Act of Listening to Museums: Soundwalking in Space and Time, Aural Architecture, & Performative Listening

The practice of artistic sound mapping has existed since the mid-twentieth century, beginning within the practice of Annea Lockwood (Rodgers 2010: 114-27), whose sound maps of rivers most often take the form of linear compositions accompanied by visual maps presented either as commercially released recordings or sound installations. With the advent of the Internet, sound mapping has become nearly synonymous with visual maps, usually based on the Google Maps API, containing clickable areas where the user can listen to recordings (Rawes, 2015) or even live streams of microphones (Locus Sonus, 2006-2015). While these online maps are extremely useful for archival purposes and offer the user a certain kind of freedom of choice within their listening experience, they have also come under scrutiny for displaying the same tendencies towards hierarchy and cultural bias as early acoustic ecology projects (Waldock 2011). I have chosen instead to use the form of a linear audio composition in order to communicate an individual visitor's personal, poetic experience of the act of listening to specific museum spaces.

Soundwalking is often undertaken in natural or urban environments, with sound artists and composers listening to complex environments as a way to heighten perception of the everyday (Drever 2009: 163-192), while soundwalking in museums has been conducted as part of the MA Sound Arts course at the London College of Communication since 2012 and subsequently published by course leader Salomé Voegelin (2014, in Levent and Pascual-Leone: 119-130). In this case, soundwalking museums is proposed as a curatorial responsibility in order to better understand their visitors' experience of the museum, since Voegelin identifies the museum as 'not a visual place but an audiovisual environment' (2014, in Levent and Pascual-Leone: 120). Having actively listened to museum soundscapes for more than a decade, I can easily agree that most museum curators have yet to follow Voegelin's advice. From the perspective of a museum visitor, I believe it would be helpful for curators to become more actively engaged with the soundscape of the buildings their objects inhabit, as museums are multisensory experiences far beyond the visual and textual identity that many people ascribe to them. There is a growing movement within museology towards not only acknowledging the multisensory experience of museums, but also in developing museum displays that use senses beyond the visual in order to communicate information to museum visitors:

> 'To dignify and engage with the subjective experience of the senses is not to deny reality, nor is it a return to fetishism or romanticism. Rather it is a way better to appreciate human imagination and experience.' (Stoller summarised in Edwards, Gosden, and Philips 2006: 25)

In the past decade, museums have found themselves increasingly under the scrutiny of sound artists, especially field recordists. Projects such as sound artist residencies like Aleks Kolkowski's current project recording objects in the permanent collection of the Science Museum in London (personal communication, 11 December, 2014) and Matt Parker's 'Imitation Archive' at Bletchley Park (Parker 2016) have involved large-scale recording projects of sounds generated by objects within a museum's physical object collections. Other institutions have invited sound artists to make recordings of their soundscapes, such as Jez Riley French's *Audible Silence* after hours recordings of Tate Modern (French 2013). These projects share some of the same inspirations as my own work – recording the visual, the sounds of museum objects, etc. – yet they operate from a different conceptual space. While Kolkowski and Parker's projects create archives of the sounds of museum objects, they are archival efforts meant to preserve the sounds of the objects themselves, devoid of their context within the museum – they are sounds that, hopefully, the museums will someday display within their own soundscapes. French's project deals with the soundscape of the Tate Modern after hours, without the presence of visitors and staff; it is an act of sonic idealism, looking outside the realm of the missions that museums serve: to interact with and educate people. While engaging in its own right, I would suggest French's project lies more within the tradition of R. Murray Schafer's acoustic ecology idealism – it is an attempt to capture a purely architectural soundscape bereft of sounds made by interfering humans.

Within my museum listening practice there is an inherent contradiction between subject matter and process: I collect the sounds of specific moments in time that occur within institutions dedicated to timelessness. Museums are spaces that display objects taken out of context, out of time (Bal 2006: 269-288), and held in a kind of space/time limbo where time in effect stands still; time subsequently becomes animated as the visitor walks through the museum space, following paths, or lines, of time. Vision encourages the illusion that time is frozen, so that by looking at the paintings or sculptures or relics in museums, visitors might be tricked into

thinking their own perception of time has been frozen – while the timelines of sound might actually be able to embody museological truth: as time passes, culture develops. Time animates culture. Objects displayed within museums become points along a network of static timelines that visitors activate by walking through the space around them – museum objects 'carry the past into the present,' (Pearce, 1992: 15-35) as nodes of present reality connected to past events, and museum visitors create new connections, new timelines, as they walk from object to object – inspired by a combination of their own sensory input and the resonance generated by the juxtapositions within a curated display of objects (Greenblatt 1991: 42-56). Walking instinctively through a planned museum space can function even more directly as Tim Ingold (2011: 121-122) suggests when he states 'knowledge is grown along the myriad paths we take.'

My explorations of sonic cartography are heavily influenced by the notion of timelines. 'Our idea of time is so wrapped up in the metaphor of the line that taking them apart seems virtually impossible,' claim Rosenberg and Grafton (2012: 13), and so my sonic mapping via drawn lines feels like a logical choice for the representation of the time-based act of listening – yet the lines of time exist to be ruptured. As I walk through a museum, I blur the borders of time, mingle my present with the past of the objects on display. This blurring is often present in many forms within art based on mapping and walking: 'Walking blurs the borders between the arts, between artist and audience' (O'Rourke 2013: 43). While a detailed analysis of the complexity of the relationship between museum visitors and what, if anything, they perceive as an object within that space is beyond the scope of this paper, it can be said that the sensory experience of walking through museum space blurs the boundaries between the visitor and the collections on view, for 'vertiginous proximity prevents us both from apprehending ourselves as a pure intellect separate from things and from defining things as pure objects lacking in all human attributes' (Merleau-Ponty 2004: 51).

While actively listening to the sounds within the museum, I also capture sounds that I generate: my own footsteps, unintentional interactions with museum security, even my own clumsiness (such as falling off a bench in a gallery in Tate Modern while trying to simultaneously record audio and take a photograph). As I have undertaken more museum mapping projects, I have also found myself becoming more of an active participant – a performer – within the museum soundscape. My field recording practice has become a *performative listening*, an activity that seeks to find meaning in sounds heard while making meaning with sounds consciously performed. The practice of artistic field recording has been evolving to acknowledge the audible presence of the recordist over the past two decades as more artists have taken up field recording (Voegelin 2014), and some artists have begun to specifically identify their field recording practice as a performance (Anderson 2015). As my field recording practice within museums has evolved, I have begun to perform an increasing number of actions of sounding within the museums I record, and have also begun including more of these personal sonic events within the final edits of my sound map compositions (Figure 1).

Video excerpts:
A Sound Map of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo – https://vimeo.com/31091267

A Sound Map of the Art Institute of Chicago – https://vimeo.com/122428426

This performative instinct has become even more apparent in one of my most recent sound map projects, *A Sound Map of Tate Modern* (2015). As I walked through the museum, I noticed that some of the ventilation ducts in the gallery floors are a bit loose, and if you step on them in a certain way, they make a lovely banging sound; so I began methodically, repetitively stepping on every single ventilation duct inside the galleries at Tate Modern, collecting recordings of the sound of my feet 'playing' them. The resulting composition made from these recordings, *Montage (for Wobbly Ventilators)* (Figure 2) became one of the movements within the final sound map composition. This focused attention on one specific sonic repetition within the architecture of a single museum is one example of my intention to collect and present what Blesser and Salter have called *aural architecture:* 'The composite of numerous surfaces, objects, and geometries in a complicated environment…In each contrasting space, even if the sound sources were to remain unchanged, the aural architecture would change' (Blesser and Salter 2007: 2). The perception of aural architecture is capable of influencing the mood of those within an architectural space (Blesser and Salter 2007) and it is this aspect of the aural architecture of

EGYPTIAN MUSEUM
GROUND FLOOR
& EXTERIOR

EGYPTIAN MUSEUM
UPPER FLOOR

SOUND MAP TIMECODE KEY

01 00:00: Fountain outside main entrance
02 00:43: Sitting at the Tomb of Auguste Mariette, museum gardens
03 01:00: Guard ejecting me from the entrance to the museum basement
04 01:25: Walking past the library entrance, librarian sitting inside playing with keys
05 01:47: Walking in main entrance and standing in Room 48, Rotunda
06 04:30: Walking through Room 47, Old Kingdom
07 05:17: Sitting in Room 37, Old Kingdom
08 07:18: Walking through Rooms 36, 31, 26, 21, 16, 11, and 6 (Old to Middle Kingdom)
09 09:38: Room 3, Amarna Room, sitting on bench
10 10:45: Room 3, standing in Nefertiti apse looking back into gallery
11 11:38: Walking through Rooms 7 and 8, New Kingdom
12 13:20: Walking up stairs in Room 5 up to room 10, Tutankhamun
13 16:00: Room 4, Ancient Egyptian Jewelry
14 17:18: Approaching Tut galleries
15 17:30: Fan at entrance to Tut galleries, moving in to main Tut gallery
16 20:08: Room 3, main Tut gallery (creaking floor, security phone)
17 23:30: Walking through Rooms 10, 15, 20, 25, 30, 35, 40, and 45 (Tut)
18 25:15: Construction in Room 34 (ground floor) heard from room 34 (upper floor)
19 25:42: Sitting in Room 43, Yuya and Thuya
20 26:19: Walking in Room 43, maintenance workers watching TV on a mobile phone
21 27:44: Into the Animal Mummies gallery
22 29:37: Room 48, Pyramid model, under Rotunda
23 31:12: Purchasing ticket to Royal Mummies galleries
24 32:20: Room 56, Royal Mummies gallery 1
25 35:27: Room 52, Royal Mummies gallery 2
26 36:09: Room 51, dying flourescent light above mummy cases
27 39:28: Room 46, above toilets
28 43:21: Central court, outside room 27, Middle Kingdom Models
29 46:00: Room 49, New Kingdom, upper floor
30 47:36: Room 49, Late Period, ground floor
31 48:42: Room 34, Graeco-Roman, under repair
32 50:28: Room 44, Special Exhibition room
33 51:33: Room 18, Atrium
34 53:27: Room 38, Atrium
35 53:46: Beginning in Room 43, Pre-Dynastic, walking through Rotunda and security exit
36 56:40: Exit, gift shop 1
37 58:08: Exit hallway
38 58:27: Exit, gift shop 2
39 59:28: Exit staircase to outside
40 59:37: Fountain outside main entrance (reprise)

LOWER LEVEL   FLOOR 1   FLOOR 2   FLOOR 3
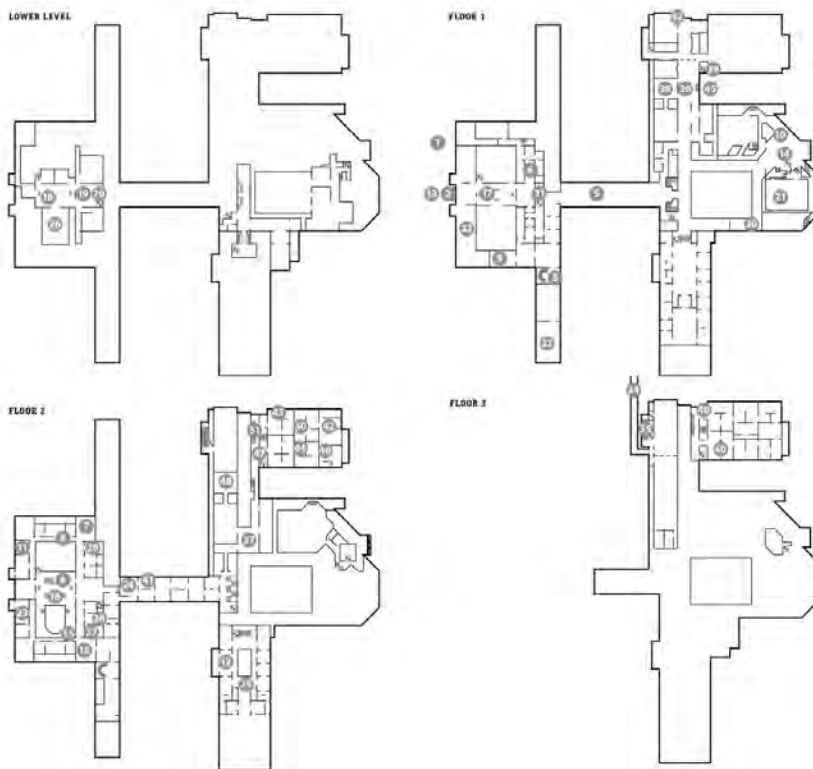
SOUND MAP TIMECODES

1 00:00 - 01:20 Bucket drummers outside the museum, Michigan Avenue
2 01:20 - 01:28 Michigan Avenue entrance
3 01:28 - 01:54 Walking upstairs to Gallery 235
4 01:54 - 02:26 Grand Staircase, Floor 2
5 02:08 - 03:16 Crowd and maintenance workers, Gallery 141
6 03:36 - 05:10 Drawing class lecture on David Hockney, Gallery 125
7 05:10 - 06:04 Woman walking with cane, Gallery 222
8 06:04 - 07:14 Exhaust Fan, Gallery 221a
9 07:14 - 08:50 Ando Gallery of Japanese art, Gallery 109
10 08:50 - 10:46 Chagall Windows, Gallery 144
11 10:30 - 10:31 Alarm, Gallery 217
12 10:40 - 11:34 American Gothic, Gallery 263
13 11:20 - 11:30 Serurity Guard, Gallery 206 ("No Drinking")
14 11:34 - 11:48 Me being told not to take an elevator, Gallery 144
15 11:49 - 13:54 Walking through American Folk Art, Gallery 227
16 13:54 - 15:04 Grand Staircase, Floor 2
17 15:04 - 16:20 Walking down Grand Staircase to Basement
18 16:20 - 17:22 Basement photo lecture on Ansel Adams
19 17:22 - 18:08 Basement Photography Gallery
20 18:08 - 18:30 Crowd disembarking from Photography Gallery elevator
21 18:30 - 19:37 My footsteps, Chicago Stock Exchange Trading Room
22 19:37 - 21:02 African art, Gallery 137
23 21:02 - 22:40 Dutch art - Father/Daughter conversation, Gallery 213
24 22:40 - 23:20 Drawing class drawing Seurat's "A Sunday Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte," Gallery 240
25 23:20 - 24:24 Outside the entrance to Regenstein Hall, Floor 2
26 24:24 - 25:10 Thorne Miniature Rooms, Basement Gallery 11
27 25:10 - 25:30 Room tone, Gallery 205
28 25:30 - 26:26 Room tone, Gallery 203
29 26:26 - 27:03 Orientalist paintings, Gallery 223
30 27:03 - 28:10 Ancient Art, Gallery 153
31 28:10 - 28:28 Elevator downstairs to Michigan Avenue entrance
32 28:28 - 29:13 Museum Bookstore, original building, Michigan Avenue entrance
33 29:13 - 30:22 Outside Michigan Avenue entrance
34 30:22 - 32:05 Crossing Nichols Bridgeway to Modern Wing entrance, Floor 3
35 32:05 - 33:34 Escalators from Floor 3 entrance to Ground Floor, Modern Wing
36 33:34 - 34:45 Griffin Court, Modern Wing
37 34:45 - 36:36 Lunch, Caffe Moderno
38 36:36 - 37:23 Exhaust fan in Zarina show, Modern Wing Gallery 182
39 37:23 - 38:40 Elevator to Modern Wing Floor 2
40 38:40 - 42:08 Kandinsky synesthesia lecture, Modern Wing Galleries 391-393
41 42:05 - 42:09 Proximity alarm on Van Gogh room, Gallery 241
42 42:08 - 44:03 Buzzing Bruce Nauman fluorescent sign, Modern Wing Gallery 295
43 44:14 - 44:36 Observed by a security guard, Modern Wing Gallery 297
44 44:06 - 44:50 My footsteps, Modern Wing Gallery 292 (empty)
45 44:50 - 48:34 Pritzker Garden, Modern Wing Floor 1 (outdoors)
46 48:34 - 49:06 Kara Walker room, Modern Wing Gallery 293
47 49:06 - 52:11 Following a lift carrying artwork through Modern Wing Galleries 292, 291, and 288
48 52:11 - 53:46 Architecture, Modern Wing Gallery 283
49 53:46 - 55:28 Standing in front of Henry Moore sculpture, Lindsay Buckingham walks past, Modern Wing Gallery 399
50 55:28 - 57:14 Gerhard Richter room, Modern Wing Gallery 296
51 57:14 - 58:52 Sitting under a staircase, Modern Wing Floor 2
52 58:52 - End Modern Wing Ground Floor bookstore to street exit

Figure 1 Timecodes for events included in my works *A Sound Map of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo* – 2010 (top) and *A Sound Map of the Art Institute of Chicago* – 2013 (bottom). Events highlighted in yellow are sound events that include the author's own performative sound. Event highlighted in green is a performative event captured by American pop star Lindsay Buckingham of the band Fleetwood Mac, whose footsteps were captured when he walked past a Henry Moore sculpture in the museum's Modern Wing.
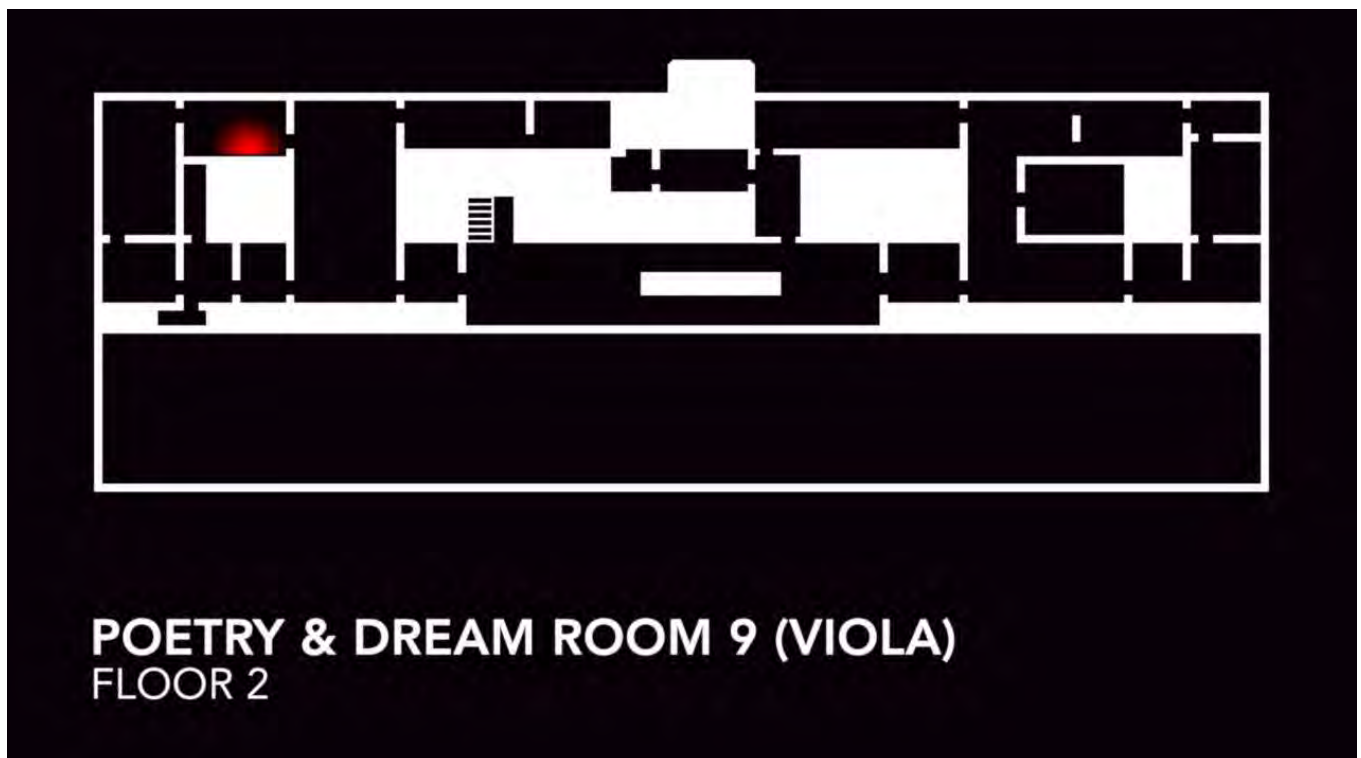
Figure 2 Screen capture of video version of *Montage (for wobbly ventilators)*, an excerpt from *A Sound Map of Tate Modern*. Video available at https://vimeo.com/131003131

museums that I am interested in exploring, in the hope of finding its connections to the essence of the museum experience.

Towards a Symbology of Listening: A Process-Oriented Drawing Practice

The idea of sounding timelines within museum space has led me, inevitably, to strategies related to the act of drawing itself. In developing a practice of drawing sound, I have sought to use the immediacy of line making to draw the indescribable – to collect the act of listening in visual form. This practice began in 2010 after making a series of binaural sound recordings – using microphones designed to reproduce the human ear's three-dimensional reception of sounds – at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo; upon returning to my studio (at that point in the United States of America), I listened to these recordings through headphones while blindfolded, and ambidextrously made marks on paper to represent the sounds as I heard them in space (Figure 3) – with no other conscious visual inspirations in mind, other than a previous interest in the synaesthetic paintings of Wasily Kandinsky (Fischer, Rainbird, and Behr 2006). Although the results were aesthetically pleasing, I was disappointed that the visual marks were merely random physical responses, and subsequently abandoned the practice. Upon beginning my current work towards a PhD thesis on the sonic experience of museums, I have returned to my sound drawing practice, this time attempting to construct a symbology of listening: a group of marks that represent different sounds I hear within museum space (Figure 4). This lexicon of symbols, while still evolving, seeks to act as both a communicator of information and a conveyor of visual aesthetics – a hybrid of writing and visual representation inspired in part by the multilayered aspects of meaning within ancient Egyptian artworks, which were often constructed out of hieroglyphs which allowed a sculpture, painting, or other object to literally be read as a text as well as serve a function as an object or a purely aesthetic work (Wilkinson 1992).

Instead of collecting a large amount of source material and then selecting precise moments to curate into a map, as I do with the field recording and sound map strategy, the listening sketches I make with my symbology are records of specific segments of time, which, because of their visual nature, can be experienced more quickly than the real-time of listening back to an audio recording. As a visual record, these sketches present pre-determined lengths of time within a visual format capable of being experienced as quickly (and aesthetically) as any other visual image, but when analysed along with a knowledge of their symbology, contain data about the sounds within specific museum spaces and how those sounds affect the experience of those spaces over time. Much like figurative drawing's attempts to translate the three-dimensional world into two dimensions, these sketches are an attempt to translate the four-dimensional world to the flat picture plane.
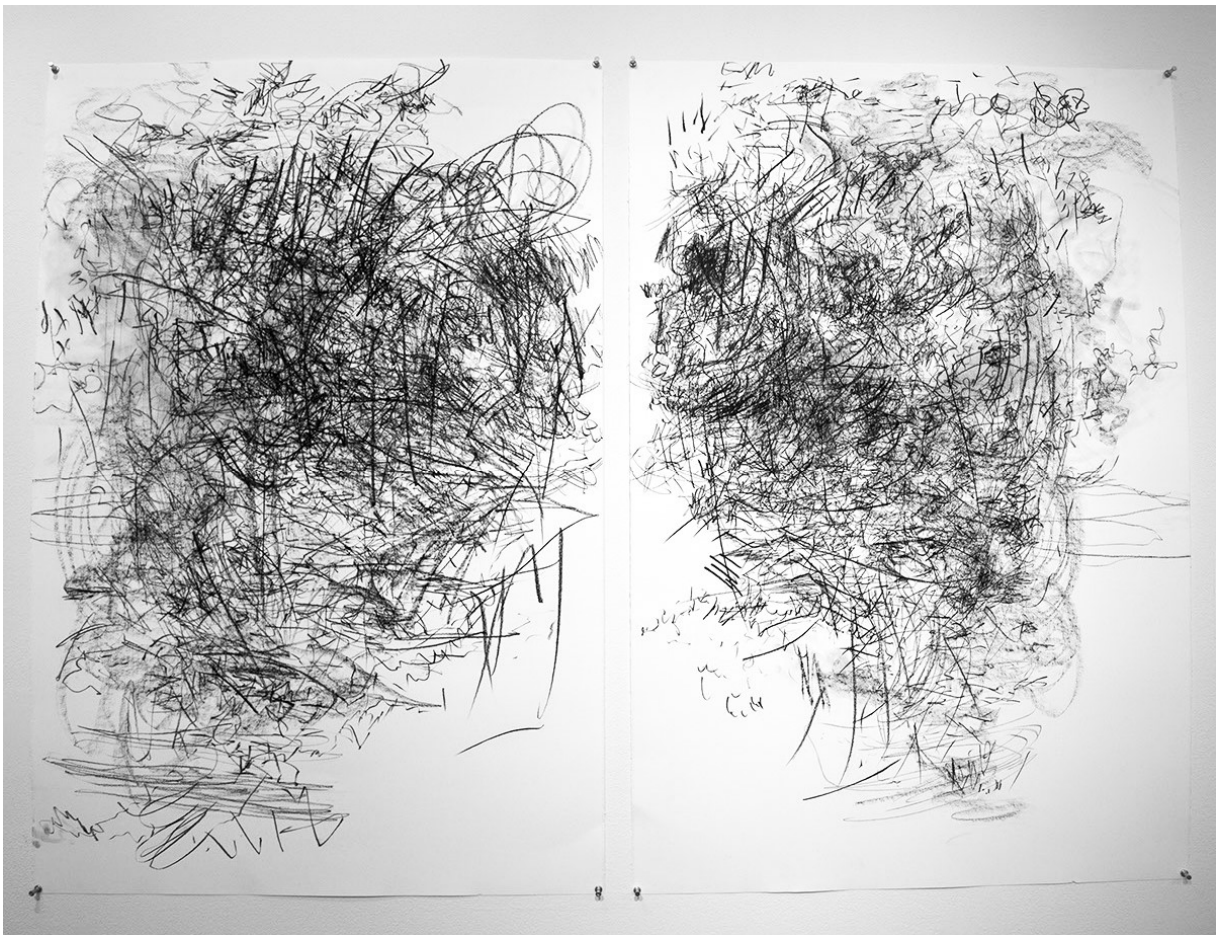
Figure 3 *Stereo Sound Drawing, Egyptian Museum, Cairo, 60 Minutes*, 2010. Blind conté crayon drawing on paper, 152.4cm x 81.28cm.
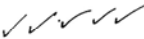
⌒	SPEECH	/ / / /	FOOTSTEPS
▱	RECORDED SPEECH	✓✓✓✓	SHUFFLING FOOTSTEPS
✗	CAMERA SHUTTER		PASSING SIREN
⊗	COUGH / SNEEZE		METAL DRAGGED ON FLOOR
⊠	SUDDEN BEEP		METALLIC TINKLING (SHAPE DRAWN CONTINUOUSLY FOR DURATION OF PLAYBACK)
⊗	BELL	e	PAPER
✓	NON-CAMERA CLICK, DOOR SLAM, OR CLUNK		CREAKY FLOOR (SHAPE DRAWN CONTINUOUSLY FOR DURATION OF EVENT)
|	SUSTAINED BEEP / TONE		SYNTHESISED DRONE (SHAPE DRAWN CONTINUOUSLY FOR DURATION OF PLAYBACK)
	PLAYBACK OF RECORDED SOUND (SHAPE DRAWN CONTINUOUSLY FOR DURATION OF PLAYBACK)		VACUUM / HYDRAULICS (SHAPE DRAWN CONTINUOUSLY FOR DURATION OF EVENT)
			SQUEAK

Figure 4 *A Symbology for Museum Listening Sketches*, in progress 2016

I begin each sketch by selecting a museum location based on the sounds occurring there while on a soundwalk. As with any other artistic activity that involves the sampling or abstraction of real-life experience, the selection process has many influences: the ability to physically complete the work in situ with minimal disruption to other museum visitors or staff; the aesthetics of the sounds heard (i.e. is there enough variety to hear individual sounds without any loud continuous noises masking them?); the presence of any museum objects making sounds themselves; the subject matter of the objects on view, etc. Once I select a location, I choose the duration for the drawing, usually between ten and thirty minutes. With my eyes closed, I concentrate on the act of listening, but also make a physical response by drawing the sounds I hear around me. While drawing, I use my symbology to record specific sonic events, using size and pressure of line to approximate the volume of the sound, while also (heavily) approximating the sounds' physical distances from me by the placement of the marks on the page, and stop drawing only when my timer goes off. I am continuing to experiment with durations in order to achieve a better balance between aesthetically interesting drawings and readable maps of sonic spaces (Figures 5, 6 and 7). More examples available at:
https://www.flickr.com/photos/jkannenberg/albums/72157658930712172

Cognitive Maps in Sound and Vision

The two mapping strategies I have presented in this paper are personal, subjective constructions; I organise the audio compositions of the sound maps according to the sounds I find to be the most 'important' within my soundwalks, and although I attempt to draw every sound I hear while making the listening sketches, this is impossible – so I am forced to choose sounds to focus on. These are maps that I embody, maps that are results of my own perceptions and decisions, rather than attempts to preserve every single sonic event I experience. As embodied maps, they can be classified as *cognitive maps* (O'Rourke 2013: 112). Cognitive mapping has been defined as a 'process composed of a series of psychological transformations by which an individual acquires, stores, recalls, and decodes information about the relative locations and attributes of the phenomena of everyday life' (Roger Downs and David Stea 1973, quoted in Blesser and Salter 2007: 46). Blesser goes on to assign specifically auditory attributes to the process:

An internal spatial image is a cognitive map of space – a private construction that includes a mental response to sensory stimuli modified by personal experience…A cognitive map of a space is a combination of the rules of geometry as well as knowledge about the physical world. It is this extra environmental knowledge that allows us to perceive a ball as moving away from us rather than as simply shrinking. This knowledge associates reverberation with enclosed space, echoes with remote surfaces, and high frequencies with hard objects. *These associations are learned*. (2007: 46, emphasis mine)

As I listen, I learn; I learn about the space, I learn about my relationship with that space, I learn about how others relate to the sounds of that space, and I learn about the objects in that space. Without visitors in museums, they might be the silent temples that some assume them to be – it is, in my opinion, the sounds performed by the people within them that complete the aural architecture of museums, and what I believe activates the museum soundscape. These sonic events, these collisions of sound and object, are what I refer to as *the active sounds of history*. They are the subjects of my acts of listening, and it is these sounds that have inspired me to attempt to rethink what museums are, or can be, based on their sounding.

Conclusions: Towards a Sonically Inclusive Museology

Mapping is a traditionally visual activity, making its use within a practice of listening somewhat absurd. It is this absurdity that attracts me to this practice of listening to the (allegedly) visual; it is an upending of experience, a slightly uncomfortable place from within which to rethink the experience of the museum environment, or even to possibly rethink the museum as a whole.

Now far from the silent temples to contemplation they once might have been, museums have begun to actively encourage sound within their spaces, with events like late night DJ performances, gallery talks, and other social activities that introduce sound into their resonant galleries. Even with this self-acknowledgement, museums can't seem to give up their attempts to control their sonic environments: these auditory activities are routinely banished to after-hours 'late' events, outside of the 'normal' experience of the museum, still somehow unacknowledged as acceptable activity. Yet my own research into the sonic experience of museums, as well as the field recordings of others, during so-called 'normal' hours has already begun – and will continue – to unravel
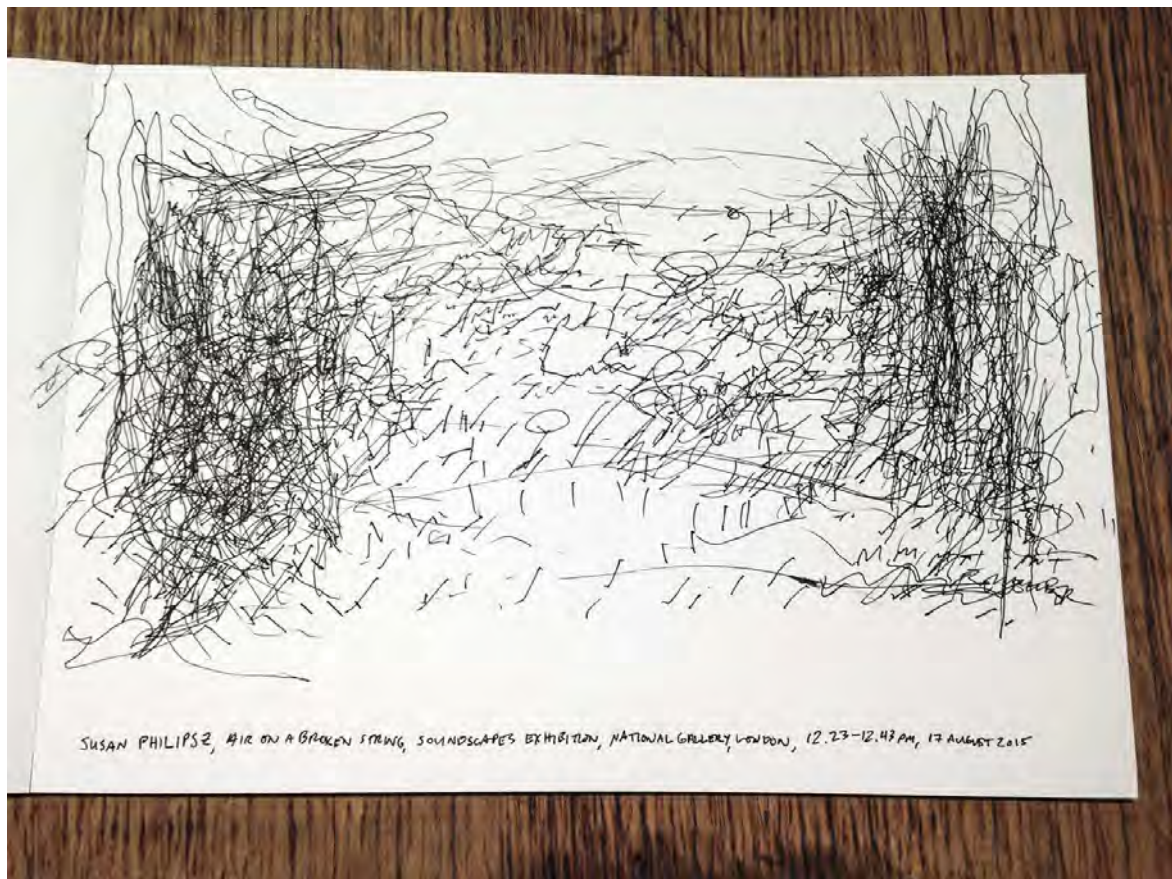
Figure 5 *Susan Philipsz, Air on a Broken String, Soundscapes Exhibition, National Gallery, London, 12.23 – 12.43pm, 17 August 2015*. Blind ink drawing on paper, 29.7cm x 21cm.
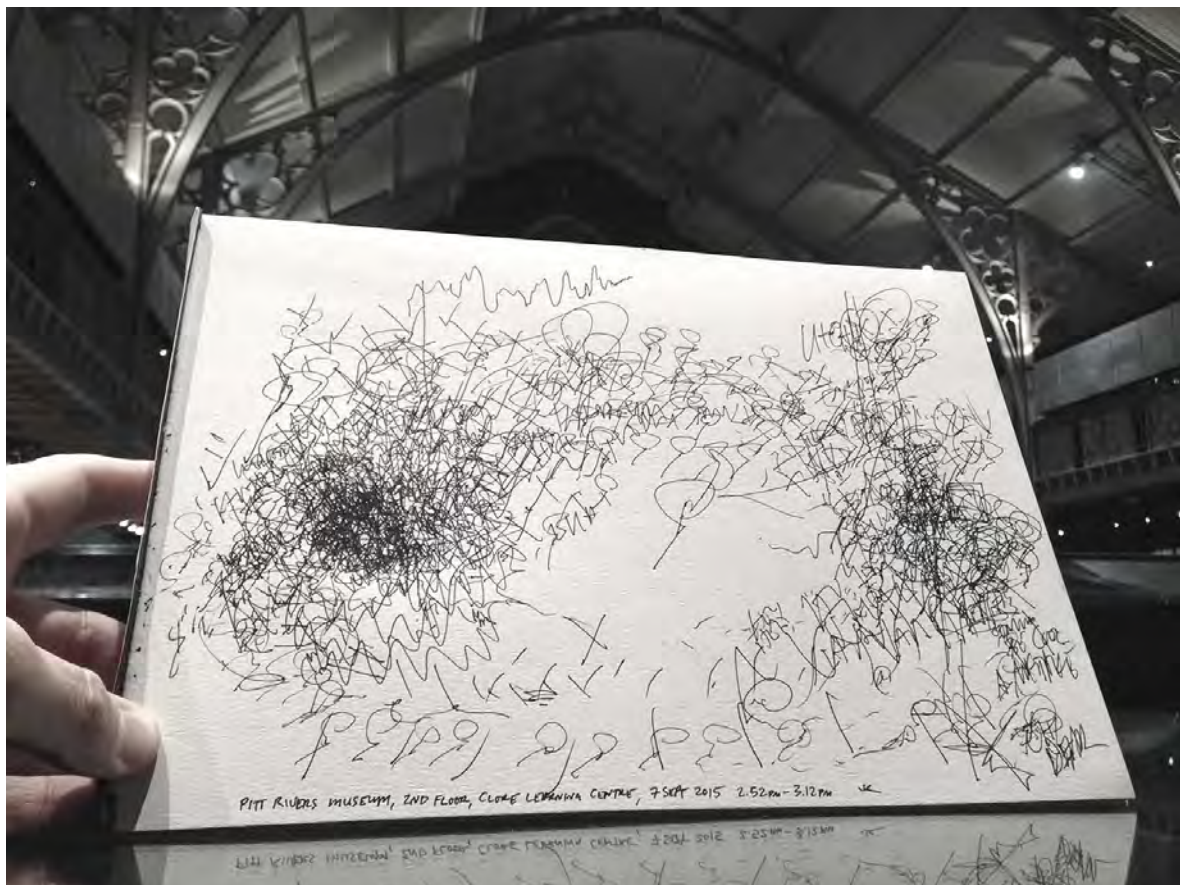
Figure 6 *Pitt Rivers Museum, Clore Learning Balcony, 2.52 – 3.12pm, 7 September 2015*. Blind ink drawing on paper, 29.7cm x 21cm.

Figure 7 *Staircase, National Portrait Gallery, London, 4.58 – 5.13pm, 4 September 2015*. Blind ink drawing on paper, 29.7cm x 21cm.

this idea of a 'typically silent' museum soundscape. No doubt there will be even more sonic conventions to be investigated and re-evaluated as my research continues. My relentless, repetitive attempts to listen to the museum, to collect the collector, to archive the archivist, are not just an attempt to preserve the sound of history for posterity's sake. As the experience of time within the museum is, as discussed above, a mingling of the past, present, and future, so the act of archiving is, according to Derrida's seminal lecture *Archive Fever*, as much about the future as it is about the past: '…the archive is never closed. It opens out of the future' (Derrida 1995: 68). My ongoing research, in its preoccupation with the archiving of the past, in its repetition, also points to Derrida's future:

How can we think about this fatal repetition, about repetition in general in its relationship to memory and the archive? It is easy to perceive, if not interpret, the necessity of such a relationship, at least if one associates the archive, as naturally one is always tempted to do, with repetition, and repetition with the past. But it is the future that is at issue here, and the archive as an irreducible experience of the future (Derrida 1995: 68).

The active sounds of history are not the past – they are past, present, and most importantly, future. I believe that, with time and further research, they might help point to a new future for museums, yet another possible solution for the seemingly perpetual crisis that museologists have long seemed to believe exists within their discipline (O'Doherty 1972). Perhaps by bringing attention to the museum soundscape within my work, it will help museum professionals regard the sonic experience of museums as an essential part of visitor experience, leading to more care placed upon the acoustic design of galleries and exhibition spaces. Museums begin and end with objects; perhaps the first step towards truly embracing multisensorial museology will be the display of sound as a museological object. As my practice continues to evolve, I see much potential for the further integration of curated sounds within the soundscapes of museums – for a more sonically inclusive museology.

Notes

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Exhibitions in the Dark: Event Cinema's Promise for Museums and Galleries

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Abstract

Event cinema is a very new medium that museums and galleries are only beginning to exploit. It offers new ways to present exhibitions and provides access to a new venue: the cinema. In an effort to understand the communication opportunities it can offer, this article assembles interviews with those who have worked on museum event cinema, detailed observations of the films themselves, and reviews in the press. In order to be clear about event cinema's innovations, the article arrives at a very narrow definition of event cinema: it is a way for museums to consistently get their content into cinemas. While narrow, this definition has wide implications. While this by no means forms a comprehensive study of museum event cinema, it provides a clearer way of looking at it and distils some of the lessons learned from this new way of presenting information.

Keywords: event cinema, alternative content, remote access, audience studies, new media

I arrived 15 minutes early to *Van Gogh: A New Way of Seeing* and picked up my pre-booked ticket. On the wall outside the screening room was a sign giving the times when the doors opened, when the film began, and when it ended. Shortly, the crowd—overwhelmingly older—began to make their way into the cinema, filling every seat. The film itself began, just as a fiction film would: over opening credits, there were clips of an artist at work. He came into focus: Vincent van Gogh (or, at least, a convincing look-alike). This was followed by a series of shots of the Van Gogh Museum's new re-hang as the narrative began. Tying the film together for its 90-minute runtime was a chronological recounting of van Gogh's life story. To tell the story, the film used interviews with experts (including the Van Gogh Museum's curator and a descendant of van Gogh's brother), photographs from van Gogh's time, more footage of the actor, modern-day video of places van Gogh lived, and his own words (read by an actor) from letters he wrote to his brother. Interspersed throughout this narrative were shots of the museum with visitors milling about, a segment where an artist demonstrated painting techniques similar to van Gogh's, and many close-up shots of van Gogh's paintings. The paintings stretched across the cinema screen, blown up many times past their original size, allowing us to see small details while experts discussed them. Sometimes, the paintings would dissolve into video of the real-world locations that were their subjects.

This is the experience promised by the new medium known as museum event cinema. It also happens to be the experience I had when seeing *Vincent van Gogh* (Bickerstaff 2015) at the Phoenix cinema in Leicester, UK on 14 April 2015. 'Event cinema' refers to the new ability of arts organisations to show their content in a cinema. It holds the promise of a large new revenue stream for cinema owners: in about a decade, it has grown to earn about 3% of the UK's total box-office revenue, and box-office takings for the medium increased by a third between just 2013 and 2014 (Hancock 2015). Opera and theatre, including *The Met Live in HD* and *National Theatre Live*, have been some of its most well-known success stories. Museums are just beginning to explore this form of distribution. Every aspect of my *Vincent van Gogh* experience was typical of event cinema, from the slightly elevated sense of ceremony when compared to a regular film (Wardle 2014: 138), the age of the attendees (Anon 2008: 6), and the sold-out cinema (1), to the type of content in the film, including behind-the-scenes-style material (Cochrane & Bonner 2014: 129). What, though, is actually new about this experience? It is certainly exciting to have content presented flashily in the cinema, but, past that hype, what can event cinema actually offer museums?

Event cinema has stimulated a great deal of excitement in the cultural sphere: excitement at the emergence of a new medium for amplifying the message of arts organisations. An example of how hyperbolic this excitement can become is *The Guardian*'s assessment of event cinema as 'a heartening example of things getting better and people becoming smarter, more cultured, more curious' (Jones 2013). The narrative is compelling—the young medium manages to be wildly successful despite being a new, 'more intelligent style' of museum event (Jones 2013)—but oversimplified. In many ways, event cinema is not new. Anyone who has seen an exhibition

catalogue knows that museums have ways for visitors to access the materials of an exhibition away from the physical location of the museum. Acknowledging this narrows the focus of this study on a wide and still very under-discussed new field. Presumably, the areas of most interest in studying museum event cinema are those which actually are new, either able to do something a museum has never been able to do before or to significantly improve something which museums have tried to do with little success. Looking at where exactly event cinema has pushed at the boundaries of museum possibilities should be helpful for museums attempting to further innovate in the realm of event cinema, and also for museums looking for other methods to push these same possibilities.

For that reason, this article will begin with a strict definition of what event cinema is. From there, it will move on to look at museum event cinema in light of its predecessors: other forms of event cinema and other ways for museums to reach audiences remotely. Event cinema has been examined in this fashion before (Wardle 2014), but in this case the analysis will use the antecedents to identify what is new in museum event cinema in order to narrow the scope of the examination. These antecedents include other forms of event cinema, which have had an effect on the type of live experience creators assumed would work for museum event cinema. This assumption, as seen below, has been challenged. Also explored later in this article is how rhetoric about the promise of museum event cinema has ignored previous ways audiences have been able to remotely access exhibitions. Whereas Wardle's study identified historical continuities, this article uses antecedents to identify discontinuities—where event cinema gives museums access to new techniques. Essentially, it explores the question 'what is new about event cinema?'

What is Event Cinema?

The term 'event cinema' is a vague one, and the variety of content it covers is wide. It is often easier to give examples of what products it refers to, rather than to define the phrase itself. Even the Event Cinema Association's official definition reflects some haziness in what exactly event cinema is:

'Any live or recorded non-fiction content shown in a cinema (including sports, music, theatrical, ballet, opera, rock concerts and any other stage performances) or any fiction content shown with additional non-fiction content such as a live Q&A or documentaries as part of its presentation. The low frequency of shows, such as a one-off live followed by a small number of encores, or in the case of recorded content, 1-4 shows over a month fior [sic] example, is what characterises and differentiates Event Cinema's model from mainstream content.' (Event Cinema Association 2015: 78, spelling error in original)

This passage shows that, due to the wide scope of event cinema material, any definition based on the type of content it presents is bound to be largely meaningless: the openness of this part of the definition ('live or recorded', 'non-fiction […] or any fiction') makes it so broad as to be of little help in pinning down distinctive qualities. It is when the definition comes to the method of distribution that it becomes clearer: 'The low frequency of shows […] is what characterises and differentiates Event Cinema's model'. Not only is this more specific, it actually addresses what 'characterises and differentiates' event cinema from other media.

While having a 'low frequency of shows' may seem like the least important aspect of event cinema, it is actually an indication that event cinema has a radically new type of business model to other forms of cinema. The way that a film is distributed can have an important effect on its content. Prior to the rise of digital cinemas—that is to say, cinemas which project films from high-definition computer files, rather than physical celluloid film—films were significantly more expensive and difficult to distribute. Distributors needed to print a 35mm copy of a film for every cinema showing it (in the early 2000s, this cost studios over $1 billion a year (Hanson 2007: 371)), whereas digital cinema can be written to a cheap hard drive or streamed to the cinema live (Crow 2015: 20). Before digital cinema, the only type of film reliably profitable enough to justify the up-front cost of a nation-wide opening was the blockbuster, which thrived on the hype created by advertising widely and opening in as many cinemas as possible (Gomery 2013: 75–76). The advertising would, of course, require an even larger outlay from the film's producers. Because of their enormous cost, blockbusters were heavily tested to appeal to the widest possible audience, leading to safe filmmaking choices like a reliance on sequels (Gomery 2013: 82). In this way, the economics of the method of distribution determined the type of content that made its way to cinemas.

The advent of digital cinema has shaken up this business model. Blockbusters are still financially viable, but a wide, simultaneous opening is now much more affordable for smaller filmmakers. This is because of the affordability of writing data to a hard drive compared to printing it on celluloid (one study estimated that for a

film shown on 120 screens simultaneously, the cost of digital distribution would be 5% that of analogue distribution (Inglis 2008: 15)). Many event films, in fact, are only shown for one day (the same day, nation- or world-wide), which would have been financially impossible before the advent of digital cinema. Just as blockbuster films are the type of film made under a system where a single film emerges in a flash of ubiquity, 'event cinema' denotes films made in a system where affordable distribution allows cinemas to accept films with narrower audiences. Any meaning applied to 'event cinema' beyond this is merely a summary of the type of content that succeeds under this business model.

At its core, this is a very technical point about the economics of film distribution. For this study of museum content, defining it is nevertheless important for two reasons. Firstly, knowing what event cinema is enables one to determine just which films about museums qualify. Table 1 is a comprehensive list of those films released, to date, which fit this definition.

Film Title	Participating Museum(s)	Released
Leonardo Live	National Gallery	2011
Manet: Portraying Life	Royal Academy of Arts	2013
Pompeii Live	British Museum	2013
Munch 150	National Museum of Oslo; Munch Museum	2013
David Bowie is Happening Now	Victoria & Albert Museum	2013
Vermeer and Music: The Art of Love and Leisure	National Gallery	2013
The Vatican Museums 3D	Vatican Museums	2013
Vikings Live	British Museum	2014
Hermitage Revealed	Hermitage Museum	2014
Matisse	Tate Modern; Museum of Modern Art	2014
Rembrandt	National Gallery; Rijksmuseum	2014
Girl with a Pearl Earring and Other Treasures from the Mauritshuis	Mauritshuis	2015
Vincent van Gogh: A New Way of Seeing	Van Gogh Museum	2015
The Impressionists	Musée du Luxembourg; National Gallery; Philadelphia Museum of Art	2015
Goya: Visions of Flesh and Blood	National Gallery	2015
Renoir: Revered and Reviled	Barnes Foundation	2016
Painting the Modern Garden: Monet to Matisse	Royal Academy of Arts	2016

Table 1 List of Museum Event Films

Secondly, understanding the extent of what is new about event cinema should give a better idea of what is new for museums: event cinema affords them consistent access to the cinema, that is, the opportunity to produce programs which have a reasonable chance of being included in cinema schedules. The word consistent does not mean that the British Museum, for example, can screen a film in cinemas every week. It means that, in the event that it stages an exhibition it judges worthy of filming, there is a reliable route by which that exhibition can make its way to the screen. It is that ability to be in the cinema (not just have content in a filmic form, but actually to be shown in a cinema) on a consistent basis (not just the subject of a rare museum-focused film, like *Russian Ark* (2002), which will be discussed later in the article) that is new for museums (2). A consistent way to get

museums' own content into cinemas constitutes the core innovation of museum event cinema; any new way of presenting content it offers must derive from this innovation.

The conversation on museum event cinema—and, in fact, the making of museum event cinema—is clouded by an inability to see the medium in and of itself. The next two sections will look at examples of this. The form of museum event cinema, especially with regard to its liveness, is affected by what has previously worked for event films in other genres. Meanwhile, the conversation about what is new in museum event cinema is so focussed on its newness that many previous museum efforts which were able to bring about the same effects—for example, in allowing visitors remote access to the galleries—are left out. Conversations of this nature ignore ways museums can get the same benefits of event cinema while saving themselves the tremendous cost and effort of making it. They similarly run the risk of making museum event cinema less special by obscuring elements of it that are truly unique which could be better supported. As shown above, the medium of museum event cinema is narrower in its uniqueness than it is given credit for. This insight will underpin the examination of its antecedents.

Event Cinema Antecedents: Live Broadcasts

Although the distribution of event cinema serves as the only concrete boundary for what it can be, there are certainly other forces shaping the genre. These forces have generally been antecedents, including both other event films and the ways museums distributed exhibitions beyond their own walls prior to the advent of event cinema. While they should not be understood as proscriptive of what event cinema should be, these prior examples can help to understand why museum event cinema looks the way it does and just what is unique about it.

Many of the characteristics that define event cinema in people's minds—live, arts-related content and a premium price—are associated with it because of previous successful examples of event cinema. Before the genre took off in 2006, it was common to see predictions like those holding that event cinema would include live streaming of 'corporate meetings' and focus heavily on 'interactive' showings like 'gaming events' (Husak 2004: 930, 922). Interactive elements have largely failed to take off and corporate meetings are rarely mentioned now, but one type of content which this prediction passed over has now virtually become the face of event cinema: opera. This followed the unexpectedly successful 2006 debut of the Metropolitan Opera's *Live in HD* series. In 2012, for example, one-third of all event films shown in European cinemas were operas (Hancock 2013: 4). Precedents which become well-known and well-attended, like *The Met Live in HD*, shift expectations about event cinema. These expectations are clearly felt by those working in the museum field.

One precedent that museum event cinema has been shaped by is the expectation that event cinema is live. Explaining the way he created the first piece of museum event cinema in 2011, *Leonardo Live*, Phil Grabsky said, 'there was a feeling that event cinema was live cinema' (Grabsky 2015). Consequently, the film included live segments in which presenters interviewed experts and introduced pre-recorded segments. The next museum event films which followed, by different museums and production companies, were also live films: *David Bowie Is Happening Now* at the Victoria & Albert Museum and *Pompeii Live* at the British Museum. The feeling identified by Grabsky predominated at the time: Steve Lewis, working on *David Bowie Is Happening Now*, felt 'pressure for a "live" event from the industry, the distributor and secondarily from the exhibitors' (Andrews 2013). It was bolstered by studies which found that when audiences were given the option of attending a performance delayed by as few as 24 hours, 'levels of interest fell by almost 50 per cent' (Barker 2013: 40). Another found that 84.3% of audience members agreed or strongly agreed with the statement 'I felt real excitement because I knew the performance was live' (Bakhshi et al. 2010: 9). It is unsurprising that the first attempts at museum event cinema would be broadcast live, given the consensus about liveness in the field they were entering.

As the medium developed, opinions—including Grabsky's—changed; he exclusively produces pre-recorded content now. His *Leonardo Live* is a strong example of how museum event cinema was done as a live broadcast. It is not entirely live. There are many pre-taped segments, including biographical ones about the artist, behind the scenes looks at the museum, and careful examinations of the objects. Holding all of these parts together, though, is the live footage. In the case of *Leonardo Live,* two presenters, Tim Marlow and Mariella Frostrup, shared the hosting duties. They were responsible for introducing the pre-taped footage and also interviewing guests live, including museum personnel and other people of note (among them a conductor, the Royal Opera

House's creative director, and an actress). Their hosting was fast-paced, imparting a sense of urgency to the event. Various critics compared it to '"Election Night Special"' or 'a high-art version of "New Year's Rockin' Eve"' (Hudson 2011; Smith 2012), emphasising the television-like feel of the live segments. Grabsky and his company Seventh Art Productions moved to pre-recorded content shortly after *Leonardo Live*. Compared to it, pre-recorded museum event cinema is much more like a documentary; his *Manet: Portraying Life* (Grabsky 2013) is even called such in reviews (Smith 2013). The pre-taped segments are still there, but the hosts of *Leonardo Live* who knit them together were replaced by a stronger narrative. In the case of *Vincent van Gogh*, that narrative was the artist's biography. Experts speak about the artist directly to the camera, instead of to an interviewer. Looking at the shift from live to pre-recorded content within the work of a single creator—Grabsky—shows the difference between the two to be one of tone: from a fast-paced television feel to a more structured documentary feel.

Tim Plyming, working on the British Museum's *Pompeii Live*, recalled that the major finding of their audience studies was 'the fact that it was live was not as important as I thought it was' (Plyming 2015). In addition to the audience reaction, another factor pushing the films away from live broadcast was technical difficulties: Grabsky's account of *Leonardo Live* on his blog makes clear just how much work a live broadcast takes (Grabsky 2011). Even though it takes all that extra work, Grabsky feels that 'live affects the quality', making a less polished film (Grabsky 2015). Practice also changed: none of the event films released in 2015 were live, and only one released in 2014 was. This is not to say museum event cinema can never be live—Clare Gough, who worked on the live productions *Leonardo Live* and *David Bowie Is Happening Now* is confident 'the excitement of it being some form of live event' is important to draw people to the cinema (Gough 2015)—but it does seem to imply that both creators and audiences have stopped seeing liveness as necessary.

A 'live' experience—of objects—has always been part of the museum experience, though. While a different type of experience, it is live nonetheless. Confusingly, the term 'live' can mean many things: a museum experience can be live because the audience is in the gallery, because the audience is watching a live transmission of experts in the gallery, because the audience is attending a nationwide premiere of a recorded film, or because the curator speaks in person following a screening of a recorded film about the gallery. Each of these experiences, ultimately, creates what Janice Wardle calls a '"community of perception"', united in 'a distinctive and performed public space' (Wardle 2014: 138). That is to say, rather than people viewing the performance at different times and in non-public locations (if, for example, it were released on DVD instead of in cinemas), they are required to join public events held simultaneously, creating a universal, 'community' experience. Audience studies reinforce that there is 'an appetite for cultural experiences that are live, going against the prevailing logic of "consumption on demand"' (Bakhshi et al. 2010: 2). Each type of liveness, therefore, allows the audience to be part of a group of people getting access to the gallery in one way or another, and is alike in that way.

While liveness is a significant feature of event cinema, it is clear that there are many possible definitions of liveness and that this concept has a long relationship with the museum. Focussing on whether a piece of museum event cinema is live or not may not be the central issue. It makes far more sense to follow Martin Barker's lead when he posits that '"Liveness" is not a descriptive or normative concept, but a *tool* and a *goal*. Its question appears to be [...] how can we make people *feel* that it is [live]?' (Barker 2013: 57; emphasis original). That is to say, the question becomes, which form of liveness is appropriate for this type of content and suitably excites the audience? From that perspective, what is happening here is that museum event cinema, which covers very different events than opera event cinema, is moving away from a form of liveness appropriate for opera and towards one appropriate for museums. Both audience expectation (as Plyming found) and the difficulties of live production (as Grabsky found) have pushed museums in this direction. The current style of museum event cinema, therefore, is trending towards a different form of liveness which allows audiences to simultaneously experience pre-recorded content, instead of one where the content itself is live.

Event Cinema Antecedents: Remote Access

As shown in the previous section, attempting to create museum event cinema in the mould of opera event cinema led creators to employ a form of liveness that both they and audiences later found was not necessary. This stemmed from a failure to appreciate the difference between the two forms of event cinema. Similarly, when evaluating what event cinema can offer museums looking to provide remote access to their collections, it is important to understand the medium for itself. Determining which touted benefits of museum event cinema

can actually be achieved in other ways can cut through the hype surrounding the medium, allowing museums to begin to exploit its truly unique features.

One of the most commonly cited advantages of event cinema is that it can give people worldwide access to an exhibition that is sold out, or thousands of miles away, or functionally inaccessible due to crowding in the exhibition (3). This sort of remote access, however, is not new. Museums using event cinema to show an exhibition's artworks alongside commentary from experts should be reminded that an exhibition catalogue could do this work. They have filled this role since at least the eighteenth century, when 'presentation volume[s]' were envisioned as 'art museums on paper' for the enthusiast who could not see the works in person (Waterfield 1995: 46). While many contemporary exhibition catalogues can be criticised for their tendency to ignore the common reader—written by 'specialists used to writing only for an audience of other specialists' (Plagens 2009)—it would be entirely possible to refocus them on attracting the casual enthusiast. There is also, of course, the Internet, which in many ways can provide a remote experience of the museum much closer to that of the physical one than a cinema can: audiences can move through at their leisure, examining artworks for however long they like and researching what interests them. Initiatives such as the Google Art Project, which integrated many larger galleries into the 'Street View' of Google Maps so that viewers can browse them as though they were there in person (Proctor 2011: 217), have enabled the online experience to mimic the in-person one. They even have the added advantage, over cinema, that a person perusing an exhibition catalogue or website can spend as long looking at a particular item as they want—something event cinema does not offer. That is not to say that any of these are perfect analogues of the actual exhibition, but they show that, if the museum is interested in giving visitors remote access, there are already ways to do so.

Museum event cinema is certainly more than this—it has the advantage of being a moving image, juxtaposing images of the exhibition with the commentary of experts. Even in this bringing of museums to the screen, event cinema is not new: museums have been on the television screen for a long time. Kenneth Clark's *Civilisation* series (1969) was a 'landmark' television production which filmed 'in 118 museums', among other places, using objects and paintings to tell the story of Western civilisation (Walker 1993: 77). In the years since, museum appearances on television have not been uncommon, and have shared many characteristics with museum event cinema. A programme like *The Search for Alexander the Great* (1981) anticipated museum event cinema in its close relationship to a blockbuster touring exhibition (Harris 2013: 278). Although the gallery itself was not featured, objects from the exhibition were filmed and actors played figures from Alexander's life. Other television programmes have been much more similar, in technique, to those of museum event cinema. One of these is the *Great Artists with Tim Marlow* (2001) series, which featured the same director (Phil Grabsky), presenter (Tim Marlow), and subjects (Leonardo, Rembrandt, Vermeer, van Gogh) as many event cinema productions (Grabsky 2007). Additionally, if the goal is purely to provide viewers convenient remote access, television programmes are arguably even more successful than cinema ones, as viewers are not even asked to leave their own home to view them. Museums are, then, quite well covered on the television screen, in many ways that are reminiscent of museum event cinema.

It is only in the cinema where museums have not seen the same amount of coverage, and therefore where event cinema can offer something new. The sorts of films which have traditionally been made about museums tend to take the museum itself as a subject, rather than the works in it or a particular exhibition. One of these, *National Gallery* (Wiseman 2014), turns the camera entirely on the behind-the-scenes running of the National Gallery, affording a fly-on-the-wall perspective of museum professionals at work. They also can tend toward the experimental rather than the strictly didactic, like *Russian Ark*, which was shot in one 96-minute take. That film, set in St Petersburg's Hermitage Museum, features actors playing out scenes from the sweep of Russian history inside the museum. Importantly, these films have been released at erratic intervals, at the instigation of a film producer rather than a museum: there was no consistency in their production. As defined above, consistency in event cinema has meant that museums have a distribution structure in place to have films made about their popular exhibitions at their instigation. Yes, museum content has been in the cinema before, but it has not been as regular or directed by museums as event cinema is. This form of remote access—consistent delivery to the cinema—is new, and therefore this is what museums can exploit when looking to make the most of event cinema.

What is New?

Museum event cinema represents a narrower innovation than the breathless hype would suggest. At its core, it is a new viable model for distributing content without wide blockbuster appeal in cinemas, brought on by a move to digital distribution. Event cinema offers museums consistent means of access to cinema distribution if they desire it: that is to say, it makes a pathway to the cinema available for museums in the event that they stage an exhibition they feel should be distributed more widely. This is a larger innovation than it seems at face value, one which opens the door to new ways of exhibiting museum content. Museums would do well to heed this, instead of using event cinema in ways already possible with different media. To a degree, they are beginning to recognise the medium's unique potential by moving away from one form of liveness, choosing one instead that preserves the excitement and buzz of a simultaneous event while allowing for a more polished film.

As museum event cinema assumes a form that works for museum content, it is important for its creators to focus on what separates it from other forms of remote access already available to museums: making use of the cinema space. While museum content has been seen in cinemas before, it was not at the instigation of the museum, so they would not have had the same control that is available now. Many of the possibilities event cinema holds for museums lies in finding ways to exploit this unique setting. Unlike audiences reading an exhibition catalogue or visiting a museum itself, an audience sitting in a cinema is in the dark, with no distractions, for 90 to 120 minutes. What sort of experience could a museum craft if it was given the undivided attention of hundreds or thousands of people? Furthermore, the type of liveness museum event cinema creators have moved toward—simultaneous presentation of pre-taped content—invites similar questions: what could a museum do if presenting the same message to thousands of people across the country simultaneously? These are the sorts of question that a creator of event cinema should be asking.

The medium has its challenges, too, but they are surmountable. The first is a perception that it only the largest museums can afford to participate. While it is an expensive proposition to create an event film, it is theoretically possible for a smaller institution to take part: in the realm of theatre, a small Cornish touring company was able to record and distribute a performance on their own (Scott 2013). The cost is not always footed by the museum, either: Grabsky notes his production company often 'self-finance[s]' the event films it works on (Grabsky 2015). Another challenge that hampers the development of the medium is a lack of hard data around it (Tuck & Abrahams 2016: 37): event cinema creators revealed that little has been done in the way of surveying audiences, although the British Museum was able to conduct some about the film's effect on audience attitudes toward the exhibition (Plyming 2015). Partly the problem is that these events take place far away from the museum, and are simultaneously broadcast across an entire country or more. Without visitors gathering in a single location, usual methods of data gathering for museums are not as suitable. For both museums and event cinema creators, it will be fruitful to follow the continued development of the medium of museum event cinema. A new medium, which features new ways of representing the museum experience, has much to teach museums about how to represent their own content.

Notes

(1) For example, days before its British premiere, 70% of the tickets for the British Museum's *Pompeii Live* had already been sold (Anon n.d.).

(2) Despite covering the same museum as the later event film *Hermitage Revealed*, *Russian Ark* does not qualify as museum event cinema because it followed a more traditional path in cinemas, playing on dozens of screens, each week, for nearly a year (Sokurov 2013; Anon 2015)

(3) See (Sherwin 2014; Anon 2014)

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We're all in the Same Boat: Using Ship Models to Promote Collaboration

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Abstract

As the theme for this issue of the *Museological Review* suggests, museums exist as part of a 'web of relationships'. Therefore, it is imperative that museum professionals embrace this interrelatedness and continue to cultivate inter-museum and multidisciplinary partnerships and programmes, especially on an international level. Although collaborative efforts surround particular collections within the museum, they may be of great benefit to the wider fields of conservation and museology. This is because they provide a means to share experiences and knowledge while offering each museum an opportunity to further refine their own research and conservation goals as well as promote their own collections and programmes. Using the collaboration between the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich regarding ship model conservation, this paper will illustrate the importance of initiating and developing collaborative programmes to amplify institutional messages regarding the importance of preservation, conservation, technical analysis, and professional development opportunities, which are among the fundamental aspects of good museum practice.

Keywords: Collaboration, ship models, professional development, conservation, educational outreach, museum practice, museum education

As the theme for this issue of the *Museological Review* suggests, museums exist within a 'web of relationships' where individual museums are part of and affected by a wider global community and international dialogue. Museums have evolved to encompass a diverse range of responsibilities: as such, they enlist various specialists to assist in their many functions. Especially in the fields of object-based research and analysis, conservation, educational outreach, and professional development, a collaborative approach is not only preferred, but often required. Such cooperative programmes and initiatives are beneficial for numerous reasons. They not only provide a means to share and develop experiences and knowledge, but also offer individual museums the opportunity to promote their own collections and programmes. Collaboration may result in institutional messages regarding the importance of preservation, conservation, research, and professional development being amplified and disseminated to the broader field. Even the prelude to the formation of these partnerships are important, as they allow institutions to define, develop, and further refine their own goals regarding research, conservation, and educational outreach.

Using the collaborative initiatives and programmes surrounding ship model conservation developed by the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich as the lens for this discussion, this paper will illustrate the importance of inter-museum and multidisciplinary collaboration, especially on an international level. To accomplish this, a brief overview of the complex issues surrounding the conservation of ship models will be provided. The ship model collections of both the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum will be introduced, as will the significance of technical analysis, preservation, and conservation within the museum setting. The importance of collaborations and the formation of new collaborative programmes between the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum surrounding the field of ship model conservation will be discussed. Finally, a reflection of the importance of these multidisciplinary and inter-museum partnerships will conclude that above all, it remains imperative that museum professionals continue to work together to share knowledge and advance practice within the fields of museology and conservation.

The Challenges Surrounding Ship Model Conservation

Despite continuing developments in the wider fields of museology and conservation, certain collections within museums may be isolated, struggle to maintain visibility, or develop at a slower rate. This problem is most prevalent within many social history collections, even within larger and national institutions (Paine, 2010). Ship models, often popularly considered toys, hobbies, or craft objects, are one particular example of the types of social history collections that pose a number of challenges within the museum setting. Because both the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum have a dedicated conservator and curator who work closely with their ship model collections, this has allowed both institutions to gain more comprehensive insight into and understanding of the particular needs and issues in the field of ship model conservation.

While highly enjoyable and engaging for the public, ship models are often difficult to interpret, research, and conserve due to the wide variety of materials used as well as the perceived complexities associated with mixed media objects. Ship models present additional complications if their object history is not fully understood or overlooked. For example, it is important to understand that models may not always be accurate to the ships they represent for a variety of reasons. Many technical models may not represent an actual ship at all, but rather new ideas, insights, and innovations. Miniature and other smaller scale ship models often do not display complete or accurate detail, meaning that it is likely that some components have never been included or have been depicted inaccurately (Davis, 1986). In addition, mistakes made by the model maker, ambiguity in the model's design, deterioration, and previous repairs and restorations may mean that the ship will vary greatly from the historical plan of its actual counterpart (Boyd, 2000; Hoving, 1998; Williams, 1975). Because of the aforementioned challenges associated with both materials and knowledge, there is a shortage of museum professionals able to comfortably understand and work on these particular collections. Additionally, there are limited opportunities for trained conservators and curators to familiarise themselves with these particular collections, as well as few internship opportunities, training, courses, and other objects-based educational prospects. Institutions with a relatively small number of ship models within their collection may not consider it necessary or economically feasible to hire a dedicated ship model conservator, curator, or researcher. This may further limit training opportunities as well as hinder development of the field, thereby exacerbating the issue.

There is also very little specialised literature and research directly relating to the conservation of ship models. Knowledge regarding the repair of ship models is often self-taught or verbalised rather than written and disseminated. Most literature published in English and Dutch over the past 30 years focuses primarily either on model making (written by and aimed at model makers) (Darch, 1988; Davis, 1986; Davis, 1989; Dressel, 1988; Julier, 2005; Mastini, 1990; McCaffery, 1988; McCarthy, 1994; Robertson, 1998; Roth, 1988), or collecting and cataloguing ship models (mostly written by curators and historians) (Boyd, 2000; Dessens and Spits, 1998; Jacobs, 2008, Kriegstein and Kriegstein, 2007; Lavery, 2014; Lemmers, 1995; Lemmers, 1999; Scarth, 1995; Stephens, 2009; Storer, 1985; Walker, 2015; Woods and Napier, 1992; Van der Poel, 1987). Only a handful of webpages and weblog entries on the Internet, and even fewer books and articles, discuss the conservation of ship models. This lack of conservation literature relating directly to ship models has profound implications on the current state of conservation surrounding ship model collections. Often, a general objects or furniture conservator either within the institution or in private practice, for example, will most likely be called upon to carry out any conservation required. This conservator will likely learn in preparation for or while the particular project progresses, applying their own conservation knowledge, experience, and techniques, and referring to general conservation literature. However, the intricate and complex nature of these objects might be intimidating and conservators who have not previously worked on ship models may not feel comfortable carrying out the complex work that these objects sometimes require. While this approach is completely acceptable, it represents a timely endeavour that requires familiarising oneself with the technical and historical aspects of ship models. For example, ship models often require specialised vocabulary and knowledge of sailing, navigation and ship building to best understand, appreciate, and communicate their design, construction, and historical significance. Ship model makers and restorers have traditionally carried out the research and restoration of ship models when required (and often still do), as they are likely to have more specific knowledge, experience, and confidence in their ability to restore a ship model than a general materials conservator.

In general, ship model conservation is a field that has developed out of model making and craft traditions and relies heavily on restoration techniques (Boyd, 2000; Hoving, 1998; Lavery and Stephens, 1995; Napier, 2008). Because of the technical nature of ship models, the greatest focus has been (and in many cases, still is) on intervention and restoration, which sometimes include physical modifications or aesthetic enhancement. At

times, the addition of expected components may help the model appear more complete, often resulting in the ship model more closely resembling the ship that it embodies (Hoving, 1998; Hoving, 2013; Napier, 2008). However, this highly interventive approach is now increasingly regarded as problematic. Within the realm of conservation ethics, it is important that conservation is not based on conjecture, uncertainty, or otherwise inaccurate designs and it must not be the intention of the conservator to change or otherwise attempt to 'improve' the design (Brooks, *et. al*, 1994). It is also important to realise that intervention and restoration will result in some degree of change and interpretation (Rivers and Umney, 2013). Today, museology and conservation have matured into acknowledged professions with rapidly-growing bodies of literature, specialised graduate degree programmes, professional organisations on the international, national, regional levels, and various journals (Dubuc, 2011; Hein, 2011; Welsh, 2013). Similarly, the field of ship model conservation must keep up or risk being left behind as specialised professionals move towards retirement and cannot be replaced. It is therefore of particular importance that conservators, curators, and researchers working with these particular collections create collaborative initiatives to emphasise developing object-based research, conservation, educational outreach, and professional development to advance and expand the field.

The Ship Model Collections and Tenets of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, and the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich

Ship models have been made since antiquity, and may be simple or even crude, consisting of one or two materials and utilising relatively simple construction techniques. Others may be complex, involving a wide variety of materials and intricate construction techniques. Ship models have been constructed for a wide range of purposes: while some were created as votive objects or for decoration, other models were created as part of the design and construction process to demonstrate how the full-sized ship would appear once built, to illustrate advancements in building techniques, to show prospective customers and financiers, or for educational and training purposes (Boyd, 2000; Lavery and Stephens, 1995; Lemmers, 1995). Ship models are not only collected by maritime museums, but may be found within a wide variety of institutional collections around the world, including museums with broad social history collections, private collections, and even commercial companies. Many national institutions are likely to have at least one ship model within their collections. In this, the Rijksmuseum, the national museum for the cultural heritage of the Netherlands, is no exception: it is home to the majority of the Dutch Navy model collection, and consists of more than 1,600 objects, of which around 1,100 are ship models (Lemmers, 1995; Hoving, 2013). Conversely, the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich (hereafter referred to as the National Maritime Museum), a museum dedicated to intrepid exploration and endeavour at sea, is the largest maritime museum in the world with a vast collection of maritime-related art and objects, including around 3,500 ship models (Lavery and Stephens, 1995).

For museums, research, preservation, conservation, and educational outreach programmes surrounding the objects within their collections are considered essential ongoing activities (Dubuc, 2011; ICOM, 2015a). Although the duties and definitions of museums have expanded over time, these facets remain among the core tenets of many museums; the Rijksmuseum and National Maritime Museum included. These activities are not only interconnected, frequently serving to inform each other, but also often require interdisciplinary cooperation by professionals across the museum. When conserving complex objects such as ship models, a willingness to collaborate amongst various conservation specialists is particularly beneficial. In general, there has previously been little collaboration between scientists, researchers, and conservators and little discussion regarding ethical considerations and procedures within the particular field of ship model research and conservation. However, as is the case within many museums, there is a strong intra-institutional cooperation between various conservators, curators, historians, and scientists within both the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum. Scientists may be able to suggest and provide analytical techniques, allowing further interrogation of the history, material, and condition of the object. Curators and historians, through archival research, may provide valuable information regarding the background and significance of the object. While multiple materials or a complicated conservation treatment does not necessarily mean that other conservators will handle or treat the object, advice and suggestions from conservators in other material specialisations will allow the primary conservator to ensure the most well-informed treatment option is carried out on the object. Such instances of multidisciplinary cooperation often ensure a more complete understanding of the objects within museum collections, as well as how to best preserve them. Aside from object-based work, museum professionals have an obligation to contribute to the advancement of their fields by developing and sharing personal skills, knowledge, and information (Curators Committee of the American Association of Museums, 2009; Ethics and Standards

Committee of the American Institute for Conservation, 1994). This commitment to knowledge-sharing and the continuing development of the profession, referred to within this paper as professional development or educational outreach, includes activities such as conferences, publications, and workshops, and may best be accomplished through inter-institutional collaborative efforts.

The Importance of Collaboration

Collaboration refers to a mutually beneficial cooperation between two organisations that are not immediately connected with each other for the purpose of achieving common goals (Martin, 2002; Mattessich and Honsey, 1992). There are a number of benefits in participating in collaborative initiatives, which have been widely discussed in various fields of study. Conventionally, the benefits of collaborative projects are the result of sheer practicality. In creating collaborations, multiple institutions are able to share responsibilities, as well as the burdens of time, money, and effort associated with planning, research, and execution of projects (Mattessich and Honsey, 1992). In addition, collaborations allow institutions to complement each other, providing skills and expertise that may not be available to the other (Tien, 2006). Before collaborative initiatives can be developed, participants must first define, develop, and further refine their own goals regarding research and outreach. This is of particular importance as it allows each institution to identify its own goals, giving the collaboration a shared purpose while increasing ownership of the results. This period also allows institutions to design research and conservation programmes that will advantageously utilise multidisciplinary and inter-institutional partnerships to benefit their own collections as well.

Collaborative efforts offer the opportunity to promote institutional collections and programmes, potentially resulting in an increased awareness and emphasising the significance of these collections to other institutions as well as the general public. For example, examining and researching objects within collections are not only valuable in increasing knowledge and understanding of the objects themselves, but also serve to increase visibility of collections amongst colleagues. Additionally, the cross-promotion of collections and relevant programmes by other institutions is beneficial as it allows for the dissemination of information to a broader audience. These endeavours also allow for objects to be examined and researched by a variety of specialists from multiple institutions. As a result, objects may be interrogated for new and different information, ultimately providing fuller understanding and appreciation. Collaboration provides a means to share experiences and information, and researchers associated with each institution are often exposed to new approaches, information, and networks. While teamwork and conversations among individuals within the same institution has not traditionally been termed collaboration, as previously mentioned, intra-institutional cooperation is beneficial not only for individuals, but for objects as well. The combined efforts of various specialists, even within the same institution, often result in an important exchange of knowledge and skills. Additionally, it ensures a more thorough interrogation and deeper understanding of the objects within the collection. This allows for the best conservation treatment to be carried out on the object. Although such conversations and partnerships are equally important, they may be underutilised. It is therefore important to emphasise intra-institutional cooperative working as well as inter-institutional collaboration.

The Way Forward: Collaboration and Outreach Programmes for Ship Model Conservation

Beginning in 2015, the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum have worked to define and develop partnerships and inter-museum collaborations to promote the analysis, conservation, educational outreach, and professional development programmes surrounding their ship model collections. The goals of this collaboration are not only to understand the concerns surrounding the research and conservation of ship models, but also to contribute to the growth of the field and encourage best practices. To best understand the current state of conservation practices, available specialists, and areas in need of further development within institutional ship model collections, the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum carried out a survey in 2015 of international museums and institutions with significant ship model collections. This survey has allowed for the gathering and quantification of valuable data, such as who is performing ship model conservation work within institutions, what prior experience this person had, and if the individual or institution had previously engaged in educational outreach programmes to disseminate skills and knowledge relating to ship model conservation.

This survey provided an additional opportunity by allowing participants to form the basis of an institutional network dedicated to developing relevant research and advancing conservation and preservation programmes. This international network of museums will be dedicated to promoting and sharing information regarding

conservation, preservation, research, and educational outreach of ship models. This aspect was considered to be of particular importance: despite the existence of museum, maritime institution, and conservation organisations at both the regional and international levels (AIC, 2015; CAMM, 2015; ICMM, 2015; ICOM, 2015b; Icon, 2015), there has been no particular professional group dedicated to the preservation and conservation of ship models. Ideally, this network will eventually expand the existing collaboration between the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum to other institutions, as well as provide an organised forum to inform the efforts of ship model conservators and encourage the exchange and dissemination of knowledge. Institutions such as the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum, may also use this network to announce and disseminate information regarding various conservation educational outreach programmes and literature surrounding ship model conservation. Educational outreach offered by museums, particularly that which provides training for future and current museum professionals, is considered to be of increasing importance (Dubuc, 2011; Hein, 2011; Walsh, 2013). Professional educational outreach programmes and activities may take the form of workshops, courses, conferences, lectures, internship placements, as well as publications. Educational outreach programmes and literature have been identified by curators and conservators at both the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum as in need of further development.

Both the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum have previously and singularly undertaken ship model conservation outreach in the past, including continuing education courses, internship programmes, research, and publication. Most notably, the National Maritime Museum has recently carried out numerous conservation outreach programmes relating to its ship model collection, including short-term graduate-level student placements and long-term post-graduate internship placements in ship model conservation. These internship placements have been sponsored by various funding bodies, such as the Heritage Lottery Fund: Skills for the Future initiative and The Clothworkers' Foundation's conservation grant initiative, which funds certain specialities that 'face significant challenges including the decline in specialist conservation skills' (The Clothworkers' Foundation, nd). These internship and training placements are particularly useful due to the lack of specialised training programmes in ship model conservation. It is precisely due to this lack of specialised training programmes that the National Maritime Museum has organised, with International Academic Projects Ltd., a three-day ship model preservation course at their Conservation Centre in Greenwich and stores at Chatham Historic Dockyard. Aimed at collections managers, curators, and conservators with ship model collections, it serves as a primer of ship model preservation, and examines various issues relating to handling and movement, display, and storage conditions.

In 2015 the collaboration between the National Maritime Museum and the Rijksmuseum enabled the three-day ship model conservation course to be extended, with plans to host a complementary short course in 2016 at the Rijksmuseum Atelier in Amsterdam. Aimed at a similar audience, it will examine a range of scientific and instrumental analysis techniques that may be of particular use for the research, examination, and conservation of ship models. However, while short courses and workshops provide a more structured opportunity for specialised learning as well as the dissemination and exchange of knowledge, conferences and lectures provide the opportunity to share current research and developments. Regularly scheduled conferences will reinforce and further develop the collaborative and multidisciplinary programmes designed to promote ship model conservation. Additionally, lectures presented at more general conferences will serve to introduce issues to a broader audience, and allow similar methods to be adopted for implementation within other specialised fields as well. Consistent publishing also serves to develop the wider field, providing valuable information that may be widely disseminated. For example, open-access publication allows for the wider distribution of the ideas and research presented. In addition, the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum share the goal of continuously publishing ship model conservation case studies and related research, and to create a literature review of the limited and scattered sources that relate to the specialised field of ship model conservation, which is considered to be an important step in furthering the field.

Ultimately, it is hoped that the continuing partnership between the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum will result in a greater international understanding of ship model conservation as well as continual conversations and developments within the field. So far, it has been possible to develop an initial network of institutional ship model conservators as well as a schedule of programmes surrounding ship model research, conservation, and educational outreach. As the network for ship model conservators grows, it is anticipated that other institutions will actively join this particular collaborative effort, identify their own goals, and create new

collaborations. Ideally, professionals across the group will be able to provide continuous support, not only for each other, but to researchers and conservators who work with ship models on a less regular basis.

Results and Reflections

As the fields of conservation and museology continue to develop, museums can greatly benefit from multidisciplinary and inter-museum collaborations, especially at an international level. Collaboration between the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum has shown that such efforts may result in a number of benefits, including amplifying institutional messages regarding the importance of preservation, conservation, research, and professional development. It also allows for museum professionals to better communicate the importance of specific collections and work cooperatively to share and disseminate valuable knowledge. This is especially beneficial within the specialised field of ship model conservation. Together, the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich have identified and acknowledged the challenges within the field of ship model conservation, including the complexities of understanding these specific objects and the various materials often found on ship models. In addition, outreach activities and long-term goals have been developed to address the lack of specialised training opportunities and limited literature. Existing programmes have been evaluated and refined. Further programmes have also been developed to promote educational outreach and research opportunities in the field of ship model conservation. Collaborative programming has allowed information regarding educational outreach and conservation to become more readily accessible, meaning that their institutional messages regarding the importance of preservation, conservation, technical research, and educational outreach may be amplified and disseminated to a broader professional audience.

Only long-term assessment will truly provide an accurate understanding of the benefit of the collaboration between the Rijksmuseum and the National Maritime Museum regarding ship model conservation. However, the value of this international, inter-institutional, and multidisciplinary collaboration is already becoming readily apparent. Professionals from both museums have begun working closely together, exchanging personal and institutional experience. Additionally, they have successfully created a structured survey of similar institutions to quantify the issues within the particular field of ship model conservation. This collaborative effort has resulted in the development of a network dedicated specifically to focusing on concerns related to the preservation and conservation of ship models within institutional collections. The initial developmental phase of this network must be fostered by the initiating organisations, and a regular schedule of programmes and continuing conversations dedicated specifically to the continuing preservation and conservation of ship models within institutional collections should be continuously offered to generate participation. The ease of communicating via listserv and email has been of paramount importance in this process. It is anticipated that this collaboration will not only continue to grow and develop, but also expand to include other institutions. Ideally, this network will lead to an increase in activities such as workshops, courses, conferences, lectures, multi-institutional internships, and publications. Furthermore, successful partnership between two European museums could potentially open up additional avenues to fund these educational outreach programmes and other training schemes. Multidisciplinary and inter-museum collaborations, especially at the international level, can be highly beneficial not only for the museums involved, but for the broader field of museology and conservation. However, to be successful, participating museums must remain actively involved, willing to continuously engage in conversations, and cultivate relationships.

Acknowledgements

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VISUAL SUBMISSION: Museum Skip: Object Stories

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While object disposal by "retention in the public sector" remains the ideal for UK museum ethics, the reality of museum practice is demonstrated here. The outcome from a museum's ethical disposal process, a discarded typewriter lies in a skip alongside other museum detritus including offcuts from the technician's workshops, modern office equipment and an interpretation panel from a temporary exhibition. This juxtaposition summarises the tensions contained within collections disposal: policy enacted as practice, changing object value and use, the legacy of historic practice, logistical practicalities, public transparency and visibility of the process, and the transience of museum knowledge.

QUESTION & ANSWER: The Impact of Digitalisation on Museum Practice

In developed countries, museums of different types have evolved and matured in recent years by opening their doors to a wider public, providing interactive activities to engage visitors, using emerging digital technologies, opening online exhibitions and improving care of the physical collections.

However, in conflict areas such as Iraq and Syria, many museums, archaeological sites, monuments, shrines and religious places have been destroyed in recent years. Fortunately, those treasures that were destroyed are not comparable with the wealth of those still to save. At Iraqi sites, dozens of archaeological museums are now filled with artifacts; the Slemani Museum in Kurdistan, for instance, holds 65,000 to 70,000 objects. Part of this collection comes from Hatra and Nineveh. The two famous sites were destroyed by ISIS militants.

The duties of local and international museum experts have become key in these cases. The documentation and digitalisation of museum objects from this area is a very urgent step. Those objects that were lost in both Bagdad and Mosul museums not long ago were not catalogued or photographed. Had they been documented, we would now still have at least some link with them. This makes the loss of these objects even more heartbreaking. More than ever, training courses and workshops are essential to encourage local museum authorities and staff to document and digitise their collections, so the hidden treasures in museums remain accessible for everyone.

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WeChat is a mobile messaging app widely used in China. It is similar to WhatsApp, the difference is that it has a 'Discover' section, where users can access both posts of their contacts and posts forwarded by their contacts. This has affected the communication strategies of museums in China greatly. Through being 'forwarded', posts with highlights of exhibitions, excerpts of discussions, useful tips and other information written by museums' accounts are exposed to a wide audience. Users can also use WeChat to purchase products from the museum directly. At the same time, some critics review the quality of museums' publishing in terms of article quality, number of reads in total/per article, the number of 'likes' and so on. Although these figures are not direct reflections of museums' performances, they are relatively reliable references to observe museums' popularity and seriousness in online-publishing. These review articles also guide readers in their museum visits and motivate reflexive practices amongst museums.

In addition, WeChat has become an integral part of the curatorial process and enhanced its efficiency. Curators, educators, and researchers usually set up a discussion group in WeChat when they start a project. They exchange ideas, share pictures, Word documents and other files with the other group members, and any response can be read by the whole group. The Windows version facilitates the work of museum professionals further as it enables them to receive files sent by other users in the computer terminal directly. It seems that WeChat has become a platform which combines the function of Emails, messaging tools and word processing programmes.

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Virtual world platforms – of which, Second Life (SL) has been the most successful so far – offer an intriguing set of possibilities for museums. Although the technology is still evolving, and many early users of products such as SL were disappointed with the results, we have seen some interesting experiments demonstrating that there are unique opportunities for museums in the collection of virtual worlds, augmented reality projects and online communities known as the metaverse. From 2007 to the present, successful virtual world museum projects have been executed in SL by a variety of institutions, such as the Exploratorium, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and Brown University.

In the effort sponsored by Brown (known as the Rocca Sorrentina Project), our exhibit teams, made up of participants from diverse locations and disciplines, created an engaging historical immersive learning environment set in the Kingdom of Naples during the 1780s, and multiple 3-D virtual interpretive exhibits on a variety of topics ranging from the history of the Jesuits to Shakespeare in the 18th century. During the course of

this work, I have come to appreciate how exhibits designers and museum staff who have acquired the skills needed to generate content on a platform such as SL do not need to limit themselves to simply replicating "real world" bricks, mortar facilities and traditional exhibits. Unhindered by factors such as cost, size, safety concerns, or the laws of physics, a museum project team working in a virtual world can give free rein to their creativity, and build exhibits that simply are not possible in the physical world.

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Digitalisation has generally had a positive impact on museums' operational functionality. This includes extending public reach and interactions through online collection resources and social media. It has transformed access to object and archival collections for global researchers, thereby enhancing research value and impact. Moreover, it has enabled digital research networks to be established, including opportunities for source communities to enhance object knowledge and interpretation. For example, the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology's (UK) Artefacts of Encounter project featured collaborative partnerships with Pacific communities.

However, the virtual has not replaced the analogue or the need for physical object-based encounters. This is particularly critical for indigenous source communities. For Māori, the wellbeing of their cultural objects, especially those in overseas collections including the UK, requires them to be 'warmed'/awakened and made spiritually safe through prayers, songs and handling. Such processes also facilitate ancestral connections and access to traditional techniques. Whilst for researchers who focus on objects' material or physical and sensory qualities, direct analysis can reveal information not captured in scans and how objects were actually used.

To conclude, focusing on the virtual/analogue debate has no real merit. Instead approaches should be on a case-by-case basis and whilst this may include digitalisation, they should primarily concentrate on enhancing object understanding and accessibility.

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Digital Museums in the 21st Century: Global Microphones or Universal Mufflers?

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Abstract

Drawing on arguments that classifications are constructed and unnatural, yet both invisible and powerful, this paper considers how increasingly standardised online catalogues and digitised databases allow museums to reach larger, more diverse audiences than ever while simultaneously silencing the voices and viewpoints these devices exclude. By exposing the constructed nature of schema using examples of digital museum objects, we begin thinking of online catalogues as boundary objects capable of incorporating hybridity and individuality that challenge universalising narratives without necessarily descending into a chimera of systems that meet only the needs of a localised few. We also consider the possibilities for hybrid records and schema, which include a multiplicity of voices and allow museum records to become contact zones in their own right.

Keywords: Cataloguing; Metadata Standards; Online collections; Digital databases; Contact zones

Writing a paper about standardised, online museum catalogues probably qualifies us for automatic membership to Martha Lampland and Susan Leigh Star's 'Society of People Interested in Boring Things' (Lampland and Star, 2009b). Yet, just as their cohort's work deconstructs seemingly innocuous classification systems and standards to demonstrate the dramatic impact they have on people's access to healthcare and other resources (Bowker and Star, 2000), our paper considers how digitised, online catalogues that appear to make museums more available 'warts and all' (Pickover, 2014: 7) can in fact further flatten the narratives they tell in their efforts to be interoperable and 'useful' to a global public.

Our interest is in how online catalogues reflect the human and selective ways of classifying and standardising knowledge that reinforce existing power structures while rarely acknowledging this fact. Instead, the online catalogues appear to be part of a natural strategy of 'moving toward universality' where comparisons may be made and communicated across vast distances (Bowker and Star, 2000: 241); they seem indeed to act as global microphones for museums to speak to the world. Drawing on various case study examples, we hope to reveal not only the limitations apparently inherent in many online catalogue records, but also the ways they in turn limit our understanding of the world if we always emphasise the global at the expense of the local. Moreover, that this notion of 'global' is so often constituted within a neo-colonial, Eurocentric framework.

We have chosen specific examples from online catalogues, not as critiques of these museums, but to demonstrate the ways online catalogues *can*, and in some cases do, function as boundary objects, as sites that reveal the constructed, changing nature of the knowledge-making process. If we recognise these spaces as flexible and permeable, as boundary infrastructures that 'retain traces of their construction' but are capable of being more inclusive (Bowker and Star, 2000: 326), they, in turn, offer interesting possibilities for facilitating contact zones that dissolve such entrenched dichotomies as 'museum vs. community' and 'global vs. local.' While both boundary objects and contact zones are explicitly concerned with power relations, our suggestion is that framing museum catalogues as the former allows us to recognise the way power is enmeshed in more formal structures, such as classification systems and standards. Representing catalogues as boundary objects-something we suggest is more possible in digital spaces – might, we argue, facilitate contact zones. This broader concept can be articulated in less structured, more polyvocal ways but likewise rests on an understanding that knowledge and narratives produced by museums in the past are neither natural nor neutral, and were

frequently harmful. Yet, the potential to give voice to communities whose artefacts have been languishing in museum stores since they were collected, museums, re-imagined as contact zones and based on postmodern assumptions, are places of great promise.

Making Meanings Local *and* Global

In researching museum catalogues, we find ourselves in good company: Boast (2007), Srinivasan (2006), Phillips (2011) and Turner (2015a) all call for a decolonising approach to museum cataloguing, arguing that 'documentation of objects in a catalogue of descriptions' is core museum work through which knowledge is produced and maintained, but that knowledge is always socially and historically constructed (Srinivasan et al., 2009: 166). As Susan Pearce (1994) discussed in detail in *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, the entire project of meaning making in museums depends on acts of selection, ranging from the channels through which the object first enters the collection, to the information included in the records. At each stage, new layers of meaning are added onto the object, and as much as these selection processes include certain things, they likewise exclude. When museum catalogue records are digitised and made available online, they do so as a result of further decision-making and selection processes, and have added impact thanks to the global reach of the Internet (1). Our concern is that an emphasis on achieving Internet interoperability creates an online environment that favours universalism and so influences decision makers to privilege global identifiers over the local, unwittingly or otherwise.

Heeding Bowker and Star's advice, however, what we do not suggest is that ambitions of interoperability be abandoned altogether in preference of descending into a 'chimera' of systems that meet only the needs of a localised few (Bowker and Star, 2000: 313). That said, we do respect that some Indigenous communities, such as the Zuni (USA) and Anangu (Australia), choose to develop digitised museum catalogues that use their own esoteric classification systems and purposefully limit access to them as a conscious effort to correct historical misappropriation of their people's culture and knowledge (Boast and Enote, 2013; Christen, 2006). But in most cases, the sentiment that 'work must get done, even if one size never fits all' persists (Lampland and Star, 2009a: 4). Our argument is that the 'chosen size' should give sufficient room to manoeuvre so that online catalogues can act as 'boundary objects,' described by Bowker and Star as being those

> '…that both inhabit several communities of practice and satisfy the informational requirements of each of them. Boundary objects are thus plastic enough to adapt to local needs and constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites. They are weakly structured in common use and become strongly structured in individual-site use. These objects may be abstract or concrete.'(Bowker and Star, 2000: 297)

What we are not suggesting is that communities enduring either European colonialism or globalisation have not absorbed the categories and classifications imposed on them during these periods to the extent there is ever a wholly distinct 'local' alternative (Keane, 2011; Millerand and Bowker, 2009) (2). Instead, we are suggesting that there are mechanisms and methods available to museums which enable them to represent digitised collections and catalogues as boundary objects so that users recognise the simultaneous possibility of constituting information objects in different ways but within a shared infrastructure (Bowker and Star, 2000: 314). Once this structural paradox is established, the museum can locate them as virtual contact zones, where the power relations that shape a museum collection can be thoroughly interrogated.

Museums as Contact Zone

Mary Louise Pratt introduced the notion of a contact zone as somewhere that 'cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in the contexts of hugely asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today' (Pratt, 1991: 34; Pratt, 1992) This concept was quickly embraced by theorists working in the fields of museum studies, notably by James Clifford (1997), who proposed that museums become places of contentious and collaborative conversations and of encounter, exchange and connection between people in a globalised world and, since then, by Tony Bennett (1998), Michael Ames (1999) and Robin Boast (2011).

Ruth Phillips argues that in the last thirty years 'the combined momentum of post-colonial and post-structuralist critiques in the academic community, and political pressures for decolonization outside it' have pushed museum practitioners towards reorienting museums and rethinking their daily practice to becoming places of inclusivity,

consultation, and innovation (Phillips, 2005: 84). Implicit in this broadening of scope is the notion that museums can have an influence on social practice by shifting their focus from being places where singular expertise and knowledge were collected and displayed, to places where public, and specifically educational engagement are prioritised as part of overall civic education.

At the core of this realignment in museum studies and the actualisation of museum practice are a series of assumptions about the social and political nature of how knowledge is produced and reproduced in museums (Boast, 2011, 58):

(i)   Knowledge is fundamentally relative, and the nature of reality is dependent on the perspective of the observer
(ii)   The way an individual comes to know something is an inherently social process, involving multiple discourses in overlapping networks
(iii)   Knowledge claims take the form of narratives by which the nature of objects may be understood, explained or accounted for
(iv)   Knowledge is knowledge of or about objects, and objects are things of or about which the knower knows.

Raymond Silverman (2015: 3), in his recent introduction to *Museum as Process*, a collection that builds upon Ivan Karp's seminal *Museum Studies* editions, expresses a growing preference for the term 'knowledges' since the plural form reflects an understanding that 'there are multiple epistemologies, multiple "ways of knowing," that often meet and coalesce in the objects upon which various meanings have been inscribed.' Considering 'objects of knowledge,' a category that potentially encompasses all 'things,' he suggests that they 'possess multiple layers of meaning' and 'an epistemological patina' that is not necessarily immediately available or accessible to everyone encountering and engaging with them (Silverman, 2015: 3). Knowledges, then, may be said to be both situated and embodied in objects.

The multiplicity of meanings which theorists have observed at the object-level can be extrapolated to the macro-level of the institution itself. For Boast, however, museums have failed to fully exploit their potential as contact zones because questions of reference, appropriateness, and legitimacy are framed by the point of view of the party in authority, usually a Eurocentric 'global' position, and in this case, that of the museum. Arguing that the four assumptions outlined above have, by and large, been co-opted and framed by the lenses of the educator and the marketing manager, he suggests museums now engage with narrower audiences, despite curatorial staff being well-aware of the implications of acquisition, preservation and public display of certain objects for the affirmation of certain identities. Ironically, as argued by Srinivasan et al. (2009), this expertise itself is being eroded by the professionalisation of museums, with the unintended consequence that the 'expert curator' is increasingly being replaced by professional collections managers, information officers, and displays artists, who use museum objects as illustrations for larger education objectives, rather than as specimens with individual value. This results in a loss of the cultural significance of the objects and a demotion of the value of the more local contexts in which the objects may be embedded. Some have argued that for contact zones to be successful, the zone itself must move out of the museum. Any contact which involves 'inreach', such as inviting communities into museums for discussion and debate, or allowing access to collection materials held in store will, by association, suffer from the institutionalisation of the zone itself (Brown and Nicholas, 2012: 310).

Global Information Management

Before delving into our specific examples, we wish to draw attention to the ways in which tools used in the day-to-day activities of museum cataloguing can illustrate how museums are moving (or being moved) towards adopting more universal standards when managing information. Used by more than 23,000 museums in 40 countries, global reach is certainly an aim of SPECTRUM, the museum standard that outlines eight *primary* procedures as the minimum set of processes required for a museum to manage its collections, one of which is Cataloguing (Collections Trust UK, 2015). If a museum wishes to be SPECTRUM compliant, it need only include the following information in its catalogue record: Object number; Object name; Number of items/parts; Brief physical description; Acquisition method, date and source; Location information; Reference to images (Collections Trust UK, 2011). Similarly, the Dublin Core Metadata Standard, a restricted vocabulary of terms devised to describe web resources and physical objects in heritage collections, comprises just fifteen basic elements: Title, Creator, Subject, Description, Publisher, Contributor Date, Type, Format, Identifier, Source,

Language, Relation, Coverage and Rights. While neither SPECTRUM nor Dublin Core categories preclude flexibility, they leave little room for granularity of description (Doerr, 2000). The implication of this is that interoperability comes at the cost of detail, or that the model would need to be used in conjunction with specialist vocabularies to capture more depth (Harper, 2010). Such universal tools can thus be seen as inherently constraining. More than this, they give no indication that the object is anything other than an inert physical entity, acted upon by human agents. As Strathern (1988), Gell (1998) and other anthropologists have exemplified, this ontological understanding of how objects function is distressingly Eurocentric.

The Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History: Tlingit Crest Hat

The Tlingit crest hat, or the replica version included in the Smithsonian's online catalogue, is a perfect example of an object that defies easy classification according to a universal standard. The original hat, representing a killer whale emerging from the ocean and repatriated to the *Tlingit Dakl'aweidi* clan, Alaska, by the National Museum of Natural History (NMNH) in 2005, no longer has a publicly accessible record in the online system (Hollinger et al., 2013). Hollinger, the NMNH Repatriation Case Officer who physically returned the original hat to the Tlingit, suggests that one of the limitations of cataloguing systems is that records are removed from the publicly available digital system when items are repatriated since the items are no longer present in the collections. To an outside researcher searching for information on kinds of objects it is as if it never existed. They would need to ask museum staff to search the digital records for all items in a particular category that are, or ever were, in the collections. Some museums go further and also destroy the corresponding accession records, even though this is not required by law under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) (Eric Hollinger, Smithsonian Repatriation Case Officer, personal communication, 22 October 2015). Although physically identical to the original hat – produced as it was through a sophisticated 3D digital milling project conducted by the Smithsonian and Tlingit post-repatriation – the replica is markedly different from the culturally and spiritually significant original *at.óow* that embodies '*Haa Shagóon*, clan ancestors, the present generation, and future generation' ((Hollinger et al., 2013: 202). Yet, the replica remains significant since it is still treated as regalia by the Tlingit, making it much more than a Western notion of a copy or replica. Unlike the original, however, the replica is not an *at.óow.* To become a sacred object it would need to be brought out formally by the *Dakl'aweidi* as a crest object during a ceremony witnessed or validated by the clan's opposite moiety (Hollinger et al., 2013: 202).

Nonetheless, this does not mean that the replica doesn't have the *potential* to become an *at.óow*, nor that it has accumulated no history of its own since being incorporated into the collection. Indeed, the replica hat has been danced alongside the original in Alaska and at the museum and the clan retains a right to check it out from exhibition and dance it as regalia. The community has itself expressed concern that the replica is so exact that it might be confused for an *at.óow*, which would fundamentally upset the clan's equilibrium if it were in fact treated as sacred (Hollinger, personal communication, 2015). Although the online records more than fulfil a required museum standard, details that attest to the item being something more than an inert object are absent from the online standard catalogue fields but are included in a lengthier notes section (3). Identified online as a hat, it can be universally understood as something worn on one's head, which indeed it is, and so comparable with hats listed in other online museum collections across the globe. Of utmost significance, however, is an understanding that this crest hat possesses unique agency that makes it a wholly different entity from, for example, a felt Bernstock and Speirs hat held in the Victoria and Albert (V & A) Museum collections. Certainly, the efforts that the Smithsonian makes to extend its online information beyond a standard catalogue record means the Tlingit and visitors now know more about both the Smithsonian and the objects developed through this digitisation project, which, in turn, opens an engaging dialogue between various audiences.

Cataloguing systems that reflect a more 'Western' understanding of museum objects as devoid of agency potentially muffle this difference in a standardised online space. Without accounting for the spiritual elements or agency embodied in museum objects, such as the crest hat, the online catalogue seems to persist, under a guise of neutrality and universality, in reinforcing a European way of ordering the world at the expense of already marginalised worldviews, including the Tlingit's. As Bowker and Star point out, 'the advantaged are those whose place in a set of classification systems is a powerful one and for whom powerful sets of classifications of knowledge appear natural' (Bowker and Star, 2000: 205). Without challenging the fundamental worldview inherent in the catalogue's structure, we arguably make it less likely that the catalogue can act as a genuine boundary object.

Naming and Renaming Objects in America, Africa and Europe

While not addressing the ontological underpinnings of the catalogue, a Smithsonian staff member suggests that changing the object names themselves is one solution in tackling the inequity inherent in many universal identifiers. His preference is that Native American artefacts be catalogued according to their Native names. Recognising, however, the issues this might cause in terms of interoperability, he argues that items such as *parfleche*, a historical name derived from the French language with which few Native Americans are familiar, should at least be catalogued in more familiar English as 'Native Rawhide Containers' (Smithsonian staff member, personal communication, 27 October, 2015).

With reference to the Smithsonian NMNH's ethnographic collections, Turner (2015b) also addresses the difficulties associated with balancing universalist public engagement interests with local historicity in terms of how objects are named and catalogued in ways that cause neither confusion nor offense (Turner, 2015b). Their South African collection poses several challenges to the Smithsonian in this respect. The majority of these items were collected in the colonial and apartheid period, with the earliest 'South African' item being donated in 1887 and the most recent accessioned in 1999. Interestingly, many of the names used to delineate objects or cultures in this collection are those used specifically in South Africa at the time of collecting, albeit not necessarily by those South Africans to whom they refer. In this sense, we can see that local terminologies have a long history of travelling beyond their immediate use and have indeed been inserted into and adopted by people and institutions for whom the terms are initially less familiar, demonstrating that cataloguing has always been an ongoing dialogue between localities. Yet, we do recognise that the 'local' terms entering 'universal' discourses likewise reflected severe power inequalities within the locality. Many of the South African items collected, for example, were originally catalogued by culture using 'the 'K' word,' ('Kaffir') a term that referred to black South Africans in colonial and apartheid times and became increasingly derogatory to the point that it would now cause great offense to any South African who encountered the term in an online database (Turner, 2015b: 251). Understandably, this word was included in the Smithsonian's 2012 list of 'Culture Terms Not in Use' in the digital database since they are offensive or confusing (Smithsonian, 2012).

There are, however, other colonial and apartheid era 'culture' categories that persist as searchable in the online catalogue, notably 'Bushman' and 'Bantu,' and not just at the Smithsonian (4). Bantu was first used as a classificatory name in South Africa by William Bleek in 1856; previously, it was a loose linguistic term referring to a heterogeneous group of Bantu-speaking peoples spread across central and southern Africa. In the 1960s, the apartheid government replaced 'Native' with 'Bantu' in official usage, later changing the name of 'The Department of Native Affairs' to the 'Department of Bantu Administration and Development'. Viewed by black South Africans as another despicable government attempt to isolate them, the term was quickly associated with inferior treatment and 'took on a skin of emotive meaning' as 'a symbol of the oppressors' (South African History Online, 2015). Similarly, Dutch settlers in the 1600s gave the term 'Bushman' to Indigenous South Africans who collected food from the land and kept no domestic animals; people the settlers considered 'low status.' This umbrella term is still mistakenly used today to refer to all Indigenous South Africans who continue struggling to be identified as distinct groups and by their own, distinct group names (IPACC, 2010).

Clearly, then, the online catalogues of even the most sensitive institutions still reflect the unequal power structures in which institutions originally collected. Yet, if the catalogue records are 'scrubbed clean' of all historically offensive terms, there's a risk of muffling testimony of the brutal, local circumstances in which the item was collected. The Smithsonian goes some way towards addressing this challenge by including digitised versions of the original catalogue cards in the online record. Although the text in these cards is not searchable, the public can still view them. The example given in Figures 2 and 3 below shows how traces of the historical record are present, with the K-word having being crossed through rather than completely erased on the original card (Figure 3). The term is, however, entirely absent from the searchable record (Figure 2).

Other museums, such as the V & A, have indeed made attempts in their online catalogue to show that there were power imbalances in the way items were collected. The summary description accompanying a nineteenth century glass bead necklace from South Africa does state, for example, that 'British people were able to collect examples of beadwork such as this necklace through their involvement in conflicts like the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 and the South African War of 1899-1902, or via their work as colonial agents' (V & A Museum, 2015). The language, however, is ambivalent to the point that the violence inherent in these events is somewhat silenced.

Ethnology : Drum

Catalog Number:	E418521-0
Specimen Count:	1
Division:	Ethnology
Object Name:	Drum
Index Term:	Drum : Musical
Culture:	Bantu
Continent:	Africa
Country:	South Africa
Collector(s):	Freeman, Ethel Cutler
Accession Number:	319549
Donor Name:	Mrs. Ethel C. Freeman

Other Numbers:

Type	Value
Field Number	10

Dimensions:

Of	Type	Modifier	Value	Unit
Object	Height		17	cm
Object	Diameter		16	cm

Notes:	WOODEN BODY WITH INCISED LINEAR DESIGNS. DOUBLE HEADS OF SKIN PEGGED ONTO BODY. HIDE THONG TO PUT AROUND DRUMMER'S NECK. *AFRICAN TRIBAL NAMES ARE THE DONOR'S; CANNOT BE CONFIRMED BY CURATOR.
Record Last Modified:	28 Nov 2014 16:00:00
EZID:	http://n2t.net/ark:/65665/35311bf6e-c58c-4d3b-bd7d-641bb559cf74

Figure 1 Searchable online catalogue record for 'Bantu' Drum. Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution (E418521).

Ethnology : Bead Ornaments 2

Catalog Number:	E150425-0
Specimen Count:	1
Division:	Ethnology
Object Name:	Bead Ornaments 2
Index Term:	Bead Ornament
Culture:	Pondo
Continent:	Africa
Country:	South Africa
Accession Number:	023040
Donor Name:	Edward Lovett
Record Last Modified:	28 Nov 2014 16:12:00
EZID:	http://n2t.net/ark:/65665/3a67c7bdc-a03c-40fa-a3e5-e924f9dcdd7f

Figure 2 Searchable online record for Pondo Bead Ornament. Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution (E150425).

Figure 3 Digitised original catalogue card for Pondo Bead Ornament. Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution (E150425).

In terms of being changing spaces, other museums do include statements in their online catalogues to this effect; for example, underneath the online record, the British Museum includes a statement that 'The British Museum collection database is a work in progress. New records, updates and images are added every week' (The British Museum, 2015). However, such efforts are, we argue, less visible statements than those made by the Smithsonian's inclusion of old, edited catalogue records. As such, the Smithsonian online catalogue, albeit imperfect, can be read more easily as an evolving, constructed work, subject to change as 'good' boundary objects are. Moreover, recognising it as a dynamic entity opens it up as a possible contact zone since revealing these power inequalities is a first step towards creating spaces for people to meet, grapple and clash, hopefully in a way that both decolonises and enriches the narratives the museum and its catalogues then tell.

The Powerhouse Museum, Sydney: Possum-Skin Cloak

The Powerhouse Museum in Sydney is the major branch of the Museum of Applied Arts & Sciences in Australia. While its official designation is as a science museum, the collection includes a diverse range of objects related to the decorative arts, transport, furniture, photography and other media, computer technology, sport and communication.

Some objects are accompanied by lengthy object statements, statements of significance, production and history notes, such as a Breville Juice Fountain Juice Extractor (5). Others, such as a one gulden coin (6), have only a brief object statement accompanying the formal record. These notes are included as supplementary or in addition to the object's catalogue entry, which is also available on the page. As such, the supplementary notes are provided in a narrative format, and do not follow a prescribed or restricted vocabulary of terms. For the casual browser of the Museum's website, the value of the longer descriptions is in their contextual information. In the case of ethnographic materials, the extensive notes add a much deeper layer of understanding to the objects, as well as providing information about the makers, where possible, and the contexts within which they were created. For example, a possum-skin cloak (7), which was made by Aboriginal women in 2007 using traditional methods as a response to seeing other cloaks in the collections of another museum, is accompanied by the following statement of significance – the length of the statement alone makes it worthy of inclusion here. By allowing room in the informal record for added information, the Powerhouse have managed to exercise and enact the idea of the digital contact zone within their online spaces, as well as re-presenting the catalogue as a boundary object, since it reveals different information objects and their content within a shared knowledge infrastructure, as is visible in Figure 4.

Figure 4 Digital Image, Object Statement and Statement of Significance for Possum Skin Cloak in Powerhouse Museum Collection Online.

This extra detail does not simply add object-specific information to the digital record. By including the additional information, the Powerhouse offers one possible example of how a digital contact zone may be established in the online representation of a museum collection.

The Powerhouse also uses technical mechanisms to strengthen and develop the digital contact zones, moving beyond the objects represented online. The Museum has successfully managed to encourage dialogue with their online users through the information architecture of their website, thus extending the contact zone beyond their online collection and the viewer, and into the greater space of the Web. Firstly, and critically, through their provision of short, persistent URLs for every object, which ensures that the URL remains stable and the object locatable. Linkrot, – the inaccessibility of digital resources as a result of the removal of their websites, redirection or content change is an ongoing source of concern for scholars (8). A persistent URL will always point to the content it is associated with, even if that content were to move location on the Web.

Secondly, on every digitised object's page on the site, the Powerhouse has included a block of wiki-markup language, which includes the object's URL, its title or name, the name of creator (where applicable) and a link back to the Museum. This makes it simple for anyone to create and embed a link between the object's page on the Powerhouse website into a wiki-based website, such as Wikipedia. By encouraging this type of reuse, the Museum is able to ensure longevity of the objects online, and wider access to their collection, outside the boundaries of their own site.

Thirdly, the museum has made concerted efforts to open up their records to the public by sharing an API which provides direct access to the entire database and providing downloadable ZIP files containing 3-dimensional, printable scans of objects. The museum also allows the embedding of images and the associated records into personal blogs via plugins, as well as a simplified dataset of the basic metadata for the Museum's collection. As well as inviting users to use the museum's information resources, the Powerhouse also encourages them to contribute to object records through user-generated tags which are associated with the objects. While these mechanisms provide users of the museum's website an unusual level of access to the collection documentation, it is worth noting that having an Internet connection is a prerequisite for access – and while 87% of Australia's population has broadband access, low-income households and those in rural areas are less connected (Ewing and Thomas, 2012: 3). In a paper explaining the process of developing the Museum's website, Sebastian Chan (2007) notes that the inclusion of user-generated tags was an attempt by the museum to crowd-source tags for much of the collection which, once digitised, was under-described. An unintended consequence of this was the emergence of new user-generated terms for objects, which were unlikely to be included in any formal vocabulary, but which add to the discoverability of the objects. Another outcome has been the relatively high number of tags added to objects which are not on display in the Museum and are rather kept in storage, but can be seen online. By opening the collection to users and inviting them to add tags the Museum has managed to locate the contact zone outside the physical space of the institution, while embedding it within a larger framework of knowledge, which includes these objects, and therefore the Museum as the repository. Indeed, in this context the Museum's model of knowledge organisation can be seen to indirectly mirror the characterisation of Indigenous knowledge organisation as 'dynamic, heterogeneous, social, and distributed; experimental, collective, and in the process of continuous adaptation and negotiation' (van der Velden, 2010: 6).

By making objects in their collection open to search via interfaces such as Google and programming the objects into larger, online collection aggregations such as Flickr and Wikipedia, the Powerhouse has managed to insert their objects into the global flows of information. The connections between the objects and the wider Web enable them to transcend their immediate location (both online and offline) and situates them in wider interactions and flows of interconnected cultural, political, economic and technological ideas, agendas and resources (Cameron, 2008: 230). By taking up a position within public spaces, the objects and collections invite the development of different meanings within wider cultural and social contexts. If we refer back to the original definition of the contact zone as a 'social space[s] where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other' (Pratt, 1991) we can see that the Powerhouse has managed, via its collections, to both invite the types of discussions that mark the contact zone into its webspace by allowing user-tagging and new interpretations of certain objects, but also, and possibly more significantly, it has inserted its collection into the wider contact zone of the Web. Powerhouse objects are able to be included in the greater online collections because they are accessible, and fluid enough to move across platforms in the global flows of information and content that Cameron describes.

Conclusion

In this short paper, we have attempted to problematise the tension we see museums experiencing between wanting to exploit the technological possibilities of the globalising Web while fulfilling a need to re-evaluate traditional forms of classifying and cataloguing. To simply replicate existing catalogues and databases in digital form does allow the museum to use the Web as a microphone to broadcast its collections, at least to those communities who have access to the Web. However, the inherent risk is that they further entrench 'Western' and colonial ontologies and narratives that have too long muffled source communities' worldviews. As projects such as the Smithsonian's Recovering Voices Program (Smithsonian Institution, 2016) demonstrate, museums *are* committed to shaping their institutions as contact zones where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other. We argue this sentiment can be similarly expressed in an online context that is more fluid and flexible than museum databases often are. Revealing the problem at hand is not, in itself, a solution, but is an important first step towards developing one. Visibly exposing the constructed and changing nature of knowledge through their online collections is one way museums allow their catalogues to better function as boundary objects whereby new modes of knowledge arrangement and transfer are possible without fundamentally compromising the integrity or interoperability of the record. Carefully developed digital museums in the twenty-first century might indeed act as global microphones broadcasting at different pitches and volumes so that they don't muffle through universalism.

Notes

(1) Online catalogues rarely give access to the museum's entire collection. For example, Smithsonian has identified that it has standard electronic records for 18% of its 37 million object collection, and below-standard electronic records for 14% (Günter Waibel, Director, Smithsonian Digitization Program Office, personal communication, 29 October 2015) while The Powerhouse Museum, Sydney, estimates that 70% of its collections are available online, albeit with varying levels of accompanying information.

(2) Interrogating how 'universal' terms are employed in different communities and contexts can reveal just how localised these terms become over time. For example, as Webb Keane's (2011) exploration of semiotic ideology highlights, converted Sumbanese in Indonesia certainly identify themselves as belonging to a 'global' 'Christian' category and check this box during census surveys. Our mistake, however, is to assume too quickly that we know exactly what they mean by 'Christian' since shared language alone is no guarantee of this. Similarly, as Millerand and Bowker (2009) point out, while for some the label 'democracy' does mean 'rule of the people', for others it is merely a euphemism for capitalism; without calibrating such details – and often it is difficult to imagine how localised 'universal' terms are – it becomes very difficult to communicate them, especially in a decontextualised online space.

(3) There are three online records for this replica: one in the Smithsonian EMu database, another that is available online at the Q?rius web site, and one more on the Smithsonian X-3D site. These incorporate more sections than discrete, standard catalogue fields permit, for example details about the repatriation of the original hat, the making of the hat and the significance of it *not* being *at.oow*.

(4) See also The British Museum Collection Online for examples of items classified by culture as 'Bantu:' https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx

(5) Powerhouse Museum Object registration number 2002/71/1 persistent URL: http://from.ph/11554

(6) Powerhouse Museum Object Registration number 2008/203/1-53 persistent URL: http://from.ph/380576

(7) Object registration number 2011/60/1 Persistent URL http://from.ph/416687

(8) For an overview of the risks posed by linkrot to scholarly communication and research, see Parker, A. (2007) Linkrot: how the inaccessibility of electronic citations affects the quality of New Zealand scholarly literature in *New Zealand Library & Information Management Journal* 50.2 (2007): 172-192 and Koehler, W. (2004) A longitudinal study of Web pages continued: a report after six years. fallen*Information Research*, 9(2) paper 174 [Available at http://InformationR.net/ir/9-2/paper174.html]

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Shifting Colonialisms, Shifting Resistance: Locating Indigenous Political Resistance through Canadian and Scottish Collaboration

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Abstract

Focusing on the particular context of Canadian settler colonialism, this paper examines the use of museums and material culture histories to support Indigenous peoples' political movements towards decolonisation. This paper focuses on two forms of protest; one accessible to the public and the second less so. The first example is the 1988 exhibition *The Spirit Sings* at the Glenbow Museum in Canada, the second example is the collaborative Scottish Project that took place in the Northwest Territories, Canada and Edinburgh Scotland. While *The Spirit Sings* is an example of the public form of protest, using the work of Métis artist David Garneau, this paper argues that other forms of protest are private and challenge Western epistemological privilege through processes of refusal to disclose. Through these two examples the paper shows that the forms that colonial domination takes over Indigenous peoples has shifted, but so has the forms of protest that can occur within museum spaces.

Keywords: Colonialism, Indigenous Peoples, Decolonisation, Museum Practice, Canada, Scotland

Bolstered by a history of collecting that was instrumentally tied to the active material and ideational practices of colonisation, the museum as an institution of both memory and education maintains a colonial legacy (1). Foucault argues, 'history has never been anything more than the history of power as told by power itself, or the history of power that power had made people tell' (1994: 133). Centring this reading of power and knowledge reveals the ways that public displays, including museums, are 'intended to promote a shared vision of history, identity and heritage' (Thompson, 2002: 38). These practices of public display become particularly politically fraught in the context of the continued imperialism and colonialism, especially in the settler colonial state of Canada. Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues 'this collective memory of imperialism has been perpetuated through the ways in which knowledge about indigenous peoples was collected, classified and then represented in various ways back to the West' (1999: 1).

Contemporary analysis of the history of collection and display no longer depoliticises the history of museums as institutions of *a priori* knowledge production, but instead highlights the myriad of ways that museums as institutions, and the individuals working within and for them, took an active role in the process of colonisation. The historic depoliticisation of collecting projects translated into curatorial displays that were, and sometimes remain, read as reflections of the contemporary known world. This visual literacy offered a platform for the projection of racial categories and evolutionary teleology that congratulated the West for its' self-proclaimed civilisation, while condemning the non-Western world to inferior barbarism (Ames, 1992; Teslow, 1998). When museums collected objects to be held in trust for future generations, the ostensible intent was to preserve 'vanishing' cultures from the 'inevitable' disappearance that history would impose. But this ignored the violence that this preservation was itself perpetuating (2). The physical removal of some objects from still living peoples facilitated the intentional destruction of their lives. Further, the redisplay of the objects in Western, often racist and colonial, presentations, reveals museums as more than apolitical reflections of value neutral knowledge, but a stage upon which domination was performed. Many founding collections in museums were taken from source communities (3) that continue to have cultural presence despite the ongoing effects of colonialism that are enacted against them. This is especially salient in the cases of the active structures and processes of *settler colonial violence* in states such as Canada, the United States, New Zealand and Australia.

Yet, according to the late Chippewa scholar, Gail Guthrie Valaskakis, museums are not solely seats of colonial power, but liminal zones of transformation.

> 'In the borderzones that reclaim, transform, and create heritage, Native people are asserting their cultural ownership of art and artifacts in expressions of transmutable form, undeclared context, and concealed knowledge. This challenge to the power and privilege of outsiders who claim and name Native

art and artifacts is unsettling to the institutions that display or sell representations of non-Native history and Indian heritage' (Valaskakis, 2005: 84).

Given the legacy of museums in the performance and reproduction of colonial violence, the choice to engage within these spaces may seem fraught. But as much as the museum carries a legacy of colonial domination, the objects themselves and the histories and practices the collections represent, continue to offer means of thinking around and against colonialism.

> 'For peoples whose way of life has changed dramatically but whose identity rests on historical cultural knowledge, artefacts offer the possibility of recovering a broad range of cultural knowledge for use in the present and future. Some of that knowledge may have been deliberately suppressed by policies of assimilation, or lost as a result of dislocation from familiar landscapes' (Peers & Brown, 2003: 5).

For example, the term "object" carries a particular set of meanings that has been critiqued for perpetuating the violence of removal from communities (Dangeli, 2015). The 2015 exhibition c̓əsnaʔəm; the city before the city at the University of British Columbia's Museum of Anthropology, Museum of Vancouver and Musqueam (4), intentionally chose the word "belongings" to describe the historic and continuing relationship between Musqeaum people and their material culture (5). Thus, museums are paradoxical. They hold a power recognised by Indigenous peoples, who have found archives filled with material culture, history and objects that were systematically destroyed outside of the glass boxes. While the act of preservation in itself may reflect the imposition of Western cultural values, negotiating the tension between historic (and contemporary) epistemological and material violence, epistemological privilege, and shifting obligations to source communities remains central in many debates over the role and responsibilities that museums have towards changing these legacies.

It remains to be seen where and how the 'unsettling' of institutions can occur and what the implications may be, both for communities who are engaging in these practices and those within museums who take the time and care to listen. Viewing the museum as a shifting zone, tricky, but nonetheless flexible, opens the possibility for reading productive paradoxes within colonial logics and centres the agency of those who have been actively 'subalternised' by the power/knowledge matrix within the museum space. Engagements within the museum take place there not *despite* the legacy of colonial operations of power, but *because* of that legacy. Given this history and contemporary perspectives on museological practices, the questions asked of museums are no longer whether museums should engage in protest, but more, how could they not? When colonial and imperial collections were created in a political context, when they continue to be displayed in a manner that is contiguous with the normative nation building stories outside of the walls of the institution, is it possible for curatorial practices to be depoliticised? This paper engages with these questions in the particular context of colonialism in Canada, and by examining the 'Scottish Project,' a collaboration between the Tłı̨chǫ Nation in the Northwest Territories, Canada and the National Museums Scotland in Edinburgh, Scotland. This international collaboration offers key insights into the obligations that international museums have to source communities, especially in the shifting context of contemporary settler colonialism in Canada.

Museum Based Protest

This paper examines the particular practices of museum-based protest through a collaborative exhibition between the Tłı̨chǫ Nation and National Museum Scotland (NMS). The Tłı̨chǫ are one of the Indigenous peoples who have found themselves in what is now known as Canada and have been variously described as 'Athapaskan,' 'Dene,' 'Tłı̨chǫ,' and 'Dogrib.' There is a long and complex political history of nomenclature. 'Athapaskan and Athabaskan, have been used interchangeably in museum collections to describe the Tłı̨chǫ language group. Dene means 'the people' and refers to five language sub-groups and their political organisations. The Dene Nation as a political organisation continues to represents five political regions that generally map onto the political, historic, and language distribution. These are Gwich'in, Sahtu, Dehcho, Tłı̨chǫ, Akaitcho. Over the course of the exhibition the Canadian state changed the official recognition from Dogrib to Tłı̨chǫ as a result of the ratification of the Land Claims Agreement. Analysis of the particularities of the relationship between the Tłı̨chǫ Nation and the NMS begins with some context and an assertion: Canada is a settler colonial state. Patrick Wolfe is often credited with the description of contemporary settler colonialism as 'a structure, not an event' (1999) but this argument was also made by many others who refuse to accept the 'post' of post-colonial studies (Alfred, 2005; Pitts, 2010; A. Simpson 2011; L. B. Simpson 2008; Smith 2012;

Thomas 1999, 2000; Tully 2008a, 2008b; Veracini 2010, 2011; Wolfe 1999, 2006). As a contemporary structure, settler colonialism is oriented towards the ongoing obfuscation of the violence that is at the generative roots of settler colonial relations of power (Tully, 2008a). Dene scholar Glen Coulthard argues that this shifting nature of colonial domination means that colonialism in Canada has shifted from 'a structure that was once primarily reinforced by policies, techniques, and ideologies explicitly oriented around the genocidal exclusions/assimilation double, to one that is now reproduced through a seemingly more conciliatory set of discourses and institutional practices' (2014: 6). In Canada, the relationship between the Crown, and later the Canadian Federal Government, has been defined, regulated and institutionalised in the form of the Indian Act. The Indian Act exemplifies not only the asymmetric relationship between political institutions and Indigenous peoples in Canada, but reveals the pervasiveness of that relationship in a disciplinary control of Indigenous lands, bodies, identities and ways of being and knowing (Lawrence, 2003). Acknowledging the underpinning racism built into the Indian Act in 1969 Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau tabled the appropriately named "White Paper" proposing to abolish the Indian Act and consequently the elimination of Indigenous peoples' distinct legal and political identities. Despite the widespread acknowledgement of the limits of the Indian Act, Indigenous peoples across Canada rallied in protest at the proposed elimination of their unique status and the overt attempt at legal and cultural assimilation that it represented. Coulthard argues that following the protests that condemned the 1969 White Paper in Canada and in direct response to Indigenous peoples' actions in the decades following, it has become untenable for settler colonial government policies to be explicitly assimilationist, even if policies maintain the aim of settler colonial domination. Limited recognition and accommodation of rights reconciles Indigenous peoples' presence with the presumed status quo of Canadian state sovereignty. In short, the practices of Canadian colonialism are often both subtle and pervasive.

This shift in Canadian colonial practice is not constrained in the formal institutions of the Canadian state that Coulthard identifies, but exist in other places and cultural institutions. Canada has a history of understanding museums as deeply political spaces. Prominent scholar and museum curator Ruth B Phillips argues that museums and public monuments are reflective of political ideologies beyond their walls. 'Museums and public monuments, it seems, have come to serve as primary barometers of the manner in which public institutions- and, by association, their governmental sponsors- interpret laws and policies related to cultural diversity' (Phillips, 2011: 4).

In 1988 the Canadian museum community was polarised by the Lubicon Cree protest and boycott of the exhibition *The Spirit Sings*. This exhibition is a crucial moment in the history of Canadian, and arguably global, museum practice, and continues to have repercussions for understanding contemporary museum practice in Canada. According to Phillips, 'virtually all writers on museums and Indigenous peoples have positioned *The Spirit Sings*: *Artistic Traditions of Canada's First Peoples* as the point of departure for the postcolonial project of museum reform' (Phillips, 2006: 48). The legacy of the exhibition continues to inform the framework of Canadian museum relations with Indigenous peoples as predominantly defined by inclusion and recognition.

The Spirit Sings opened at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary in 1988 to coincide with the Winter Olympics. The stated intention was to celebrate the richness of Aboriginal cultures and educate the public by presenting more than 650 objects from ninety national and international collections. Collection materials, the bulk of which are held by museums outside of Canada, included items from First Nations across Canada (6). As such, the aim of *The Spirit Sings* was framed as inviting 'travellers' to return home after 300 years away. While the objects ostensibly declared 'resilience of the Indian and Inuit cultures of Canada' (JD Harrison, 1988a: 7) the exhibition was critiqued for the homogenising presentation of diverse nations that ultimately placed Indigenous peoples as part of a historic community rather than contemporary presence. Moira McLoughlin argues that the lack of presence of Indigenous voices resulted in

> 'painful silences, powerful absences. They were not asked to speak of the disruption and extinction, the change or the loss, that was evident on their return' (McLoughlin, 1999: 3).

The deep dissent aimed towards the exhibition made these 'painful silences' impossible to ignore. Especially effective was the international boycott sponsored by the Lubicon Cree First Nation. The boycott struck a rift within the museum community, with many colleagues falling on opposite sides of the debate. The Canadian Ethnology Society (now the Canadian Anthropological Society), organisations such as the World Council of Churches, and the European Parliament supported the boycott. Twelve of the lending institutions out of 110

rescinded their loan agreements. Although the exhibition was not cancelled, the protest was successful in enacting significant change in museological practice. Cherokee museologist Karen Coody Cooper states

> 'the exhibition was a watershed for North American Indian/museum relationships. Had it not been for the Lubicon boycott which drew worldwide attention and created a call for action to which Canada responded in an enlightening fashion while the world watched, positive changes in policy and practice regarding First Nations (and, quite likely, indigenous people throughout the world) would have been, I believe, slower to come and not as extensive' (Cooper, 2007: 27).

While the 1988 *Spirit Sings* boycott was an effective response to the manifestation of colonialism at that particular time, colonialism in Canada, and the forms that it takes, has shifted. Just as Coulthard has identified shifts in the forms that colonialism takes in the political institutions of the Canadian state, there have also been corresponding shifts in museological practice. Looking to the 2002 to 2008 collaborative exhibition *The Scottish Project* reveals that, just as colonialism manifests differently over time and space, so does the form of protest that can be generated by and practiced within museum spaces.

Locating Protest Forms

In contrast to the very public approach to protest and effecting change exemplified in *The Spirit Sings*, museum spaces have also been spaces for practices of protest that exist outside of the purview of the public eye. This turn towards the private is no less effective, but offers a crucial turn against what some have argued to be the colonial desire to consume and know. David Garneau, a Metis artist, has argued 'the colonial attitude, including its academic branch, is characterised by a drive to see, to traverse, to know, to translate (to make equivalent), to own, and to exploit' (2012: 29). This desire to know recalls many of the critiques levelled at 19th and 20th century museums as disregarding the needs and practices of source communities in order to create museums that served the 'West.' His response to this colonial desire is the theory and practice of 'irreconcilable spaces of Aboriginality' which are 'gatherings, ceremony, Cree-only discussions, kitchen-table conversations, email exchanges, etc. in which Blackfootness, Métisness, Indianness, Aboriginal, and/or Indigeneity is performed apart from a Settler audience' (Garneau, 2012: 33). Garneau uses objects and spaces that are 'beyond trade' to argue that the colonial attitude to know and 'assume control over the space, bodies and trade of other' is predicated on either the historical colonial refusal of 'the sacred character of the object or site,' or materialist scholarship's recognition of 'sociological and instrumental value for the 'believers' but not for themselves' (Garneau, 2012: 32).

To predicate inter-cultural respect on access to knowledge that necessitates that *everything* be accessible to a non-Indigenous audience creates Western epistemological privilege over cultural incommensurability. To this end, Garneau argues that primary sites of resistance to colonialism are not in 'open battles' but 'the perpetual, active refusal of complete engagement' (Garneau, 2012: 29) as a form of resistance to settler colonialism. For Garneau the refusal of complete engagement is not analogous to complete disengagement. He says, 'sharing in a discourse about histories, responsibility, and transformation among artworks with other human beings is a corrective to the colonial desire for settlement' (Garneau, 2012: 38). However, building and maintaining the irreconcilable spaces is an important initial point from which to build good relationships with 'others.' Townsend-Gault similarly argues that

> 'cultural difference is expressed not by attempting to find common ground, common words, common symbols across cultures. It is finally dignified by protecting all sides from zealous over-simplification, by acknowledging a final untranslatability of certain concepts and subtleties from one culture to another.' (Townsend-Gault, 2006: 540)

In centring Garneau's 'irreconcilable spaces' as a response to the colonial desire to know and settle, offers a focus on 'irreconcilable spaces of aboriginality' as narratives, spaces, practices and objects that exist outside of the purview of the settler colonial gaze and epistemological privilege. Protest is often imagined as a public act. In 1988, the effectiveness of the Lubicon boycott was partially because of its visibility. The international implications made resonate because of the global attention that was being paid to the Calgary Olympics that took place concurrently with the exhibition. However, because Garneau offers a way of explicitly thinking of narratives, practices and materiality that exist outside of Western epistemological purview, the location and form that protest takes shifts.

The following section examines the role that museums can play in affecting protest and change for Indigenous communities still experiencing the effects of colonialism. This role reveals the ways that protest can occur in quiet and intimate, but no less effective ways. The collaborative exhibition, affectionately known as *The Scottish Project*, is the case study revealing the ways that protest against Canadian settler colonial domination is taking place in international spaces, in collaboration with international museums, and against domestic colonialism. This shifted contexts offers insight into the ways that, while removed from the geographic proximity to the communities affected by colonialism, international museums remain places for effective and innovative protest that remains responsive to the shifted practice of settler colonial control that Coulthard identifies. Indeed, this protest is practiced in schools, away from museum storerooms and outside of the institutional walls.

The Scottish Project

The Scottish Project, was a multi-institutional collaboration between three key institutions: the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (Yellowknife), the National Museums Scotland (Edinburgh), and the Tłı̨chǫ Government. The project centred a collection of pieces purchased between 1859 and 1862 by Hudson's Bay Traders and sent to Edinburgh. This collaborative exhibition was organised between 2002 and 2008, and included the temporary return of 40 Dene objects to Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, and Ottawa, Ontario, a five-month exhibition in Edinburgh, and the transformation the permanent display in the NMS to include contemporary Tłı̨chǫ voices and political perspectives. During the exhibition in Yellowknife there was also an educational outreach program that took place in schools in Tłı̨chǫ territory (7).

This relationship began in 2002, when seven members of the Tłı̨chǫ (then known as Dogrib) Nation visited the NMS. Two groups of Dene visitors came to Edinburgh, including Elders, teachers, cultural workers, and translators from both Tłı̨chǫ and Gwich'in communities (8). Over several days, thirty-seven objects were examined at the NMS. This was the first time that Tłı̨chǫ community members had interacted with the objects since they had left Tłı̨chǫ territory. This initial visit was an important introduction for Chantal Knowles, who, in her role as assistant curator, was tasked with providing the Tłı̨chǫ parties access to the objects. Knowles recounted that the experience was very informative for her, both in how the Dene visitors regarded these objects, but also how they engaged with them (9). Knowles recalled that,

> 'I think I quite naïvely expected people to start telling me about objects and knowing about objects when in fact these objects were 150 plus years old and so they were as unfamiliar as I was. I was familiar with the museum documentation, and they were familiar with the stories, but connecting all that information was not just going to happen in an afternoon' (10).

When 'visiting' with the pieces, some people described manufacturing techniques or told stories, others phoned home to share with their relatives what they were looking at. Knowles recalled that this museum interaction 'was about being with something that your ancestors lived, worked on, made, traded and it always felt a bit about connections' (11).

In addition to the delegation visiting the objects in private, a group asked to be able to present themselves and their history to museum visitors. Over the course of two days, Tłı̨chǫ people set up a table in the museum and took part in storytelling, craft demonstrations, discussions and a small display. Knowles recalled this as a success, with some museum visitors returning for a second day just to continue conversations with the Dene guests. However, this outreach was not undertaken without trepidation, at least on the part of the Knowles:

> 'I was really nervous about that because I come from a background in education where I had done loads of researching on world fairs and the person as objects in a museum. So I was really uncomfortable with it. But that was what they wanted to do. They wanted to present themselves within the museum's space to other people… What I was concerned being a 'live exhibit' became an interaction that was really positive and people really wanted to meet them and people really wanted to talk about their lives and their concerns' (12).

Although informally organised, these presentations and the relationships they engendered reveal an important role that museums can have in support Indigenous political actions. Centring on the agency of the local Dene visitors to disclose and share offered an opportunity to, at least temporarily, counter the institutionalised museological practices oriented towards public education predicated on complete disclosure. Unlike *The Spirit Sings*, Indigenous peoples were actively present within the NMS in both public and private spaces. Offering the choice to share *particular* histories of Dene relationships to the NMS, counters the epistemological privilege to

disclose everything, and instead recalls Garneau's assertion that Indigenous political practices can both reveal, or refuse complete engagement.

In addition to the public face of the exhibitions and their emphasis on public learning, a major component of *The Scottish Project* was a school outreach program, bringing museum objects to each of the Tłıchǫ communities. The outreach program was a chance for children and Elders to experience the histories embodied in the pieces together, and potentially affect political change over time. Andrews and Knowles both recognised the importance of the tactile handling of the objects to facilitate meaningful memory making and intergenerational knowledge exchange. Andrews said, 'just to see those kids excited and gather tightly around an object so they could see it and smell it and with careful gloved hands hold it and appreciate it in different ways' (13). For Knowles, the future legacy of the exhibition was important, and she felt that the greatest chances for such meaningful legacy was through the experiences of the youth. She stated that the outreach project was one of the most important legacies of the project, creating the chance that 'someone will remember someone coming to school and getting a bit engaged with it' (14). It is not that intergenerational learning was an innovation for Tłıchǫ communities, but rather that the use of museum objects to generate and support the knowledge exchange was an important use of the museum collections, and the first time that any such project had been undertaken with the Athapaskan Dene objects at the NMS. While the exhibition funding and proposal materials centred the object exchange as a chance for the NMS to deepen the institutional knowledge about their own collections, through the development of the project, the exhibition instead centred the knowledge exchange between generations of Tłıchǫ people.

The pieces themselves also carried particular histories that were outside the purview of the state. Knowles recounts, 'I was really interested in the agency of the objects within this space, to be Tłıchǫ. They weren't representing, they were being Tłıchǫ' (15). One example of this power of the pieces themselves was the willow bark net. A willow bark net was an important fishing tool for generations of Dene people. Made, owned and used collectively, the nets were important for summer diet but could also be used in winter if the ice opened for fishing. The first mention of the use of these nets in imperial archives was by Samuel Hearne, an HBC employee observed Dene use of willow bark netting in 1772. His journal tells the story of a lone Dogrib [Tłıchǫ] woman who had survived an entire winter by herself by making and using a willow bark net (16). The conversations surrounding the willow bark net countered the narratives of settler colonialism that would enrobe Indigenous peoples in primitiveness or 'disappearance' while also engendering a discussion that largely transcended the conversation around colonial encounter. As a communally owned and made item, the willow bark net revealed a history of adaptability and innovation of Dene people and was a mnemonic device; inspiring the telling and retelling of important Dene histories. For John B Zoe, Chief Negotiator of the 2003 Tłıchǫ Comprehensive Land Claim and representative of the Tłıchǫ Government during the Scottish Project, the connections between generations, especially connection between generations that take place on and with the land, are important for the continuation of the political and cultural vitality of the Tłıchǫ. 'It's very important for us to get youth and Elders back on the land, to give meaning to the agreement. That's what it's about. Revisiting where they've been and come from. If you need to expand there, you are doing it from strength rather than theory' (17). Thus, the exhibition became a site of generation; offering the chance for Tłıchǫ people to share stories, generating the chance to make connections to land. While there was the potential for these conversations to educate museum visitors, this was a secondary effect. The primary goal was Tłıchǫ interests and Tłıchǫ practice.

Through the exhibition with the NMS, both in the temporary exhibition in Yellowknife and Scotland, and the permanent presence of Dene made objects in Scotland, the Tłıchǫ have actively reclaimed ownership over the objects and the histories that they present. Stories told on the land, objects made through relationships to the land, the trading ties that resonated with the ceremony of the past, and the treaty relationships that embodied Tłıchǫ sovereignty over land and nation, were read and practiced through this museum exhibition. This follows the argument Valaskakis and many others make regarding the importance of relationships to land and connections to culture as a means to counter contemporary colonialism. Valaskakis argues that 'the struggle over land is not only experienced, it is told and retold in the stories of dominance and survival that reconstruct, imagine and, most of all, assert Indian spirituality and empowerment in the memoried past and the politicised future' (Valaskakis, 2005: 103). In interviews with John B Zoe it became clear that the short-term relationship with the NMS was not detached from the longer history of collection and trade on Tłıchǫ territory. Although it may not take the form of the international boycott that inspired the significant change in museological practice

in 1988, museums can provide a place for these quiet forms of protest that engender and support robust connections to material histories, cultural practices and political resistance to the Canadian colonial state.

Returning to Garneau's irreconcilable spaces of Aboriginality, the outreach program and the multiple exhibitions in all of their forms, were not 'Aboriginal only' spaces, but 'Aboriginal priority' spaces. Thus, *the Scottish Project* is an example of a museum collaboration that privileged the desires and intentions of the Dene communities over the priorities of museological authority. This offered both a space for public learning, as well as the chance for source communities to selectively disclose. In this manner, the collaborative nature of the exhibition counters the epistemological authority of the museum and instead centres the possibility and actuality of smaller, intimate forms of protest and the role of the museum to support both.

Conclusion

The political process of collecting objects from Indigenous communities continues to affect the ways that museums are understood and the institutional and philosophical limits of working within them. Through the considered efforts of curators and Indigenous individuals and communities who choose to engage within museums, including, but not limited to, the Lubicon and the Tłı̨chǫ, museums and the collaborative relationships engendered within them, have changed. Further, there have been significant shifts in understanding the responsibilities that museums have to support the political efforts and cultural resurgence of Indigenous communities. *The Scottish Project* and the Lubicon Boycott of *The Spirit Sings* are two examples the very particular and contextual potential for museums to support Indigenous communities. Although not universal, these analyses offer varying normative trajectories and means to think about the ways in which international institutions can help support the political resilience of Indigenous communities who continue to be affected by the settler colonial present.

While many Indigenous communities continue to be subject to colonial, especially settler colonial, forms of violence, the history offered in and through these pieces, and others held in storerooms around the globe, offer histories that are not *inherently* or *solely* iterative of settler colonialism. Centring on resurgence and agency of Indigenous peoples, Garneau finds that irreconcilable spaces carry the potential for countering contemporary colonialism in Canada. The actions of individuals and groups in telling stories, learning and relearning, and enacting agency, remain important resilient acts that continue to centre on the refusal to see colonialism as the only story of Indigenous peoples (Alfred & Corntassel, 2005). Opening museum store rooms, gallery spaces and bringing objects back to communities, in schools and small institutions, is a critical means to think through new relationships between Indigenous peoples and museums.

Notes

(1) Throughout this dissertation I use the term "Indigenous" to refer to the descendants of the peoples and Nations who originally occupied the territories prior to colonisation. When specifically referencing the Canadian context I use the term Indigenous peoples to reference those who originally occupied territory in what is now known as Canada. Canadian nomenclature uses the terms "First Nations" "Metis" and "Inuit" to refer to Indigenous peoples in Canada. Where ever possible I use the names of particular nations. I use "settler" to refer to peoples who do not have ancestral and ongoing connections to the land.

(2) The documentary film 'Totem: The Return of the G'psgolox Pole'(Cardinal, 2003) illustrates the tensions between preservation and dispossession.

(3) This is a term that is common in material culture studies and museum studies. While contentious, I use it simply to mean the community from which an object was originally purchased, traded or stolen. Because the definition of these communities has shifted over time within the museum records and after further research into collection origins this could mean a specific townsite or geographic area, or a First Nation, political group or language group. For example, the objects that were exhibited as part of the "Scottish Project" are classified in the NMS collections as Athapaskan (a language group), Dogrib (the pre-2005 term for the Tłı̨chǫ Nation) or Tłı̨chǫ. I have tried to specify where appropriate.

(4) The Musqueam are the First Nation whose traditional, ancestral and unceded territory includes the University of British Columbia.

(5) I chose the term "object" as that is the language used by those I worked with.

(6) One reviewer in the Edmonton Journal described this painful inclusion by asking 'What manner of pride can be taken from this? It is as though the Berlin Olympics had put on a display of Jewish religious objects to celebrate the diversity and pluralism of German culture' (Hume, 1988, p B1 cited in McLoughlin, 1999, 9).

(7) The key participants representing their respective institutions were Tom Andrews, the Territorial Archaeologist of the NWT working at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC), Chantal Knowles, curator at the NMS, and John B Zoe, Chief Negotiator of the Tłįchǫ Land Claims Agreement and Gavin Renwick, then a PhD student at the University of Dundee who was carrying out his PhD research in the NWT in collaboration with the Tłįchǫ. The 40 Dene objects chosen for the exhibition were displayed at the PWNHC and Carelton University Art Gallery under the title 'Dè T'a Hoti Ts'eeda: We Live Securely by the Land.' The final exhibition was in Edinburgh at the National Museums Scotland (NMS). This exhibit was retitled 'Extremes: Life in Subarctic Canada' and included only Tłįchǫ objects, including items that were collected while Knowles was in the NWT to conduct research trips.

(8) The participants were: Georgina Chocolate, Madeline Chocolate, Joe Mackenzie, Rosa Mantla, Dora Nitsiza, Charlie Tailbone, and Lianne Mantla. Allice Legatt (Project Director, Traditional Knowledge Project), and Tom Andrews (PWNHC) were also part of the group traveling with the Tłįchǫ members. This initial visit corresponded with the 9th International Conference on Hunting and Gathering Societies in Edinburgh, September 9th-13th 2002, and was a significant moment for both the NMS and the Tłįchǫ community.

(9) Chantal Knowles, Interview with Kelsey Wrightson, November 6th 2013, Edinburgh UK

(10) Chantal Knowles, Interview with Kelsey Wrightson, November 6th 2013, Edinburgh UK

(11) Chantal Knowles, Interview with Kelsey Wrightson, November 6th 2013, Edinburgh UK

(12) Chantal Knowles, Interview with Kelsey Wrightson, November 6th 2013, Edinburgh UK

(13) Tom Andrews, Interview with Kelsey Wrightson, October 14th 2013, Yellowknife, Canada

(14) Chantal Knowles, Interview with Kelsey Wrightson, November 6th 2013, Edinburgh UK

(15) Chantal Knowles, Interview with Kelsey Wrightson, November 6th 2013, Edinburgh UK

(16) In Knowles' travels to the NWT three different families, inspired by the image and presence of the willow bark net, told her a similar story. In my research, John B Zoe told me a similar story as he recounted import events in Tłįchǫ history.

(17) John B Zoe, Interview with Kelsey Wrightson, October

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EXHIBITION REVIEW: Not Fallen but Felled

Review of The Fallen Woman, The Foundling Museum, 25th September 2015 – 3rd January 2016, Curated by Professor Lynda Nead, Birkbeck College

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Abstract

The review addresses the role of the museum in illuminating patriarchal politics surrounding the plight of unmarried mothers in the Victorian era, as evoked in the exhibition *The Fallen Woman*, curated by Professor Lynda Nead of Birkbeck College. Issues such as longstanding gender inequalities in the representation of artists' works and in regard to employment options for working parents are related to questions of the role(s) and responsibilities museums now have for directing museological agency to encourage unprecedented political change.

Keywords: Fallen Woman, motherhood, equality, museological agency, capitalism

Introduction

The exhibition *The Fallen Woman* comprises objects and artefacts to form a representational context for the plight of Victorian, unmarried mothers. Due to their (often unwanted) sexual experience outside marriage, these women faced severely limited choices over their own and their children's futures. As the exhibition text explains, unmarried mothers could mitigate social shame by secretly applying to surrender their children to institutional care such as that provided by The Foundling Hospital (1). Women opting to keep their children faced social ostracism, possibly being shunned by their families and gravitating towards prostitution, alcoholism and suicide.

Figure 1 *The Fallen Woman* at The Foundling Museum, 2015 (lower gallery)

Non-Shock

On first viewing, there's nothing obviously shocking about the exhibition. With the exception of the subtle inclusion of a commissioned sound piece and one instance of film footage, it's traditional in format, rather politely poised in a central but quiet London square, and seeming to exert curatorial distance, rather than museological agency, by positioning material data as evidence of a time and morality long gone. Overall, the architecture of The Foundling Museum lends a sense of unimpeachable respectability to the exhibition. Originally named The Foundling Hospital, and designed and built to extend hospitality to the surrendered children of unmarried mothers, this Georgian building initially exudes an undeniable air of well-being that (almost) governs the exhibition's spatial and intellectual narratives. Inside the museum, an abundance of gilt frames, rich wall colourings, sumptuous textures and meticulously restored, period, architectural detail combine to suggest affluence, prosperity and fastidiously exerted decorum. Thus, upon entering the museum, unsavoury issues seem extinguished, or to have never existed at all. Even the title *The Fallen Woman* euphemistically indicates the rapid decline in a woman's social status, occluding the possibility - and reality - of moral judgement being weaponised as political violence, by patriarchal governments intent on *felling* women and their children, rather than innocently lamenting their *fall*. In this sense, the exhibition dangerously proximates normalised patriarchal condemnation of women's sexuality and single motherhood; more-so because only two exhibited artworks are by women artists (2). Moreover, given the gender politically sensitive nature of the exhibition, the decision to commission a sound piece composed by a *man*, but which majoratively includes the (directed) voices of female actresses and a female cellist, is questionable. The soundpiece, situated in one of two rooms (one upper and one lower) accommodating the exhibition, is so subtly invoked as to risk being easily overlooked - or, more correctly, *unheard*. This is perhaps due to the, admittedly challenging, paradoxical curatorial requirement to sonically (and unobtrusively) evoke the voices of mothers represented through the original, written petitions included in the exhibition *and*, simultaneously, index the historical absent(ing) of their agentive, political voice. Here, there has been a clear attempt to activate agency on behalf of many silenced women; to this end, the sound piece attempts to maximise the already hushed, intimate atmosphere of the lower (basement) gallery, drawing out its darkly secretive undertones. However, the power of the (potentially) unnerving voices that weave, airborne and elusive, through this space, is undercut by the moot question of why a male, rather than a female, composer was commissioned to compose this piece - or, more to the point, why an unmarried mother-composer was not *given the work* (3).

Feminist Critique

Under closer scrutiny, however, a doubled and dynamic feminist critique underpins the exhibition, often as much through what's not included as what is (4). This activates a potent, timely curatorial voice, challenging the larger politics running through and around the figure of *the Fallen Woman.*

For one thing - and read from an art-critical perspective - the exhibition enriches existing, though marginalised, feminist critique of historical representations of women by male artists and, relatedly, ongoing, unequal representation of women artists' works. For example, works such as the ongoing series by Guerilla Girls: *Naked Through the Ages* (1989, 2005, 2012) spans recent decades, each time assuming a billboard poster format and visually partitioning the female body by using a gorilla head/mask to protest against the shockingly disproportionate representation of the naked female body relative to the percentage of women artists' works shown in The Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Contrary to the compassionate paintings by women, the works by men negatively sensationalise woman's so-called *fall*; a small, but significant observation, here, is that in many cases the artistic approach involves woman's body being almost entirely covered by clothing. For example, in Frederick Walker's *The Lost Path* (1863) mother and child appear bundled into an isolated, shapeless baggage, implicitly de-humanised and debased.

In this respect, Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *The Gate of Memory* (1857) is less extreme. Nevertheless, woman's body is almost entirely obscured by her clothing which, in turn, very subtly inclines to visually merge with the surrounding stone building (5). Thus the artist symbolically indicates the erosion of woman's respectable presence in society, along with her subjective and sexual agency. Notably, in so doing, he enhances his reputation as skilled artist; as the exhibition text suggests, male artists exploited women considered *fallen*, as part of a larger cycle of women's exploitation by men.

Figure 2 Guerilla Girls, *Naked Through the Ages* (1989). Billboard design for Public Art Fund, New York
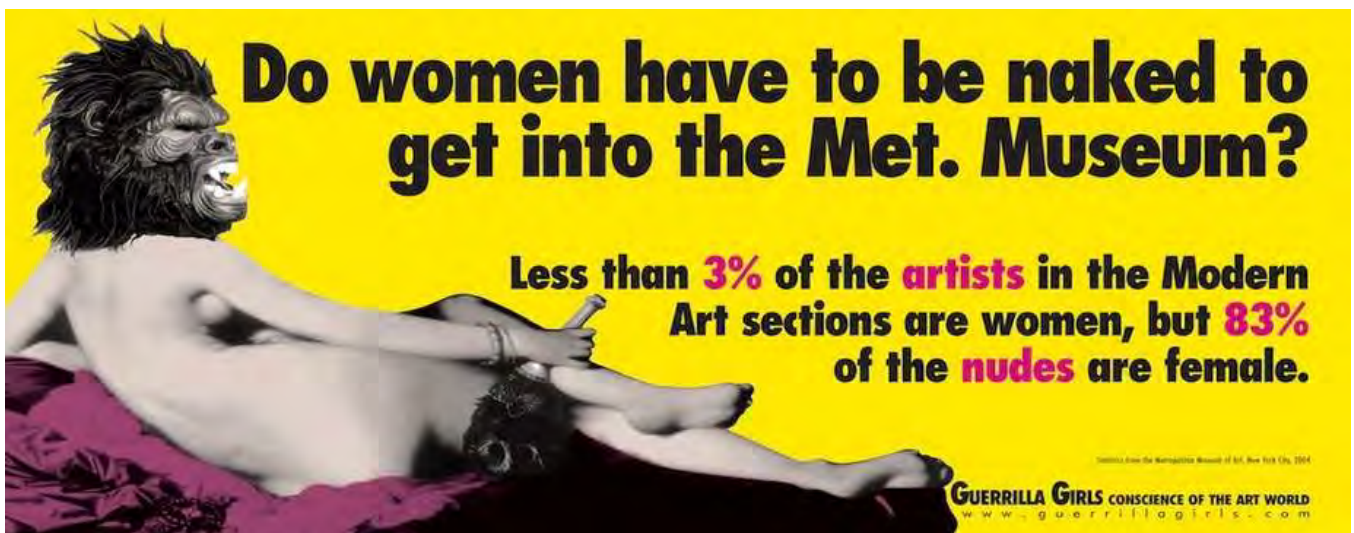

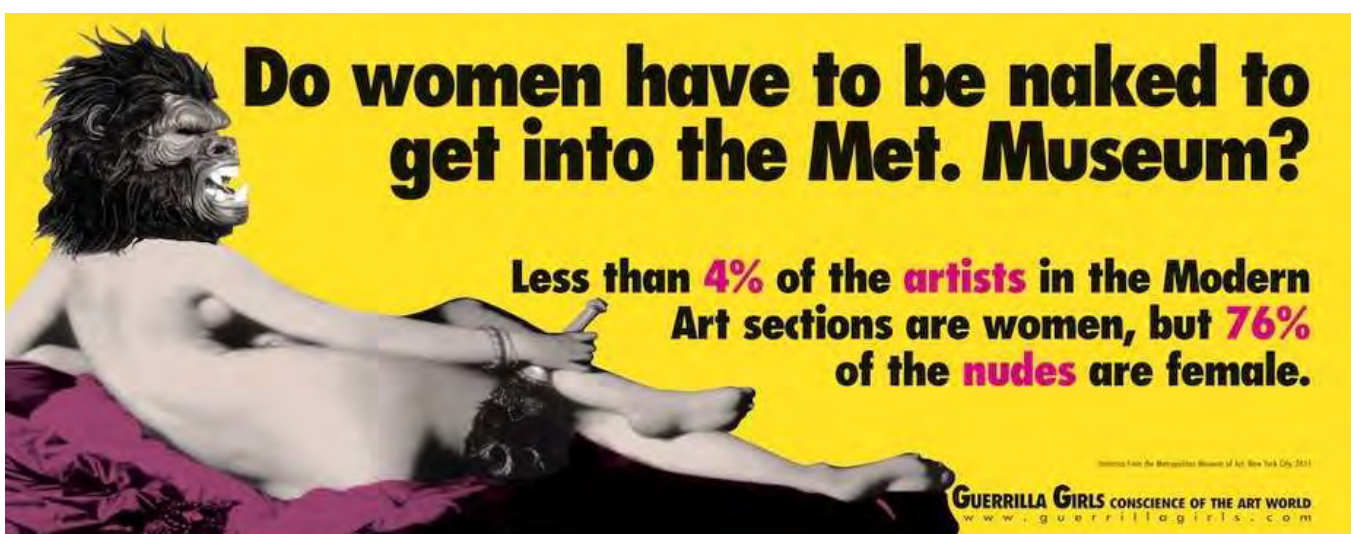Figure 3 Guerrilla Girls, *Naked Through the Ages* (2005). Billboard design for Public Art Fund, New York

Figure 4 Guerrilla Girls, *Naked Through the Ages* (2013). Billboard design for Public Art Fund, New York

Figure 5 Frederick Walker, *The Lost Path* (1863)

Figure 6 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *The Gate of Memory* (1857)

Curatorial vigilance here activates museological agency, illuminating how long-standing male dominance within art and creative industries can harm women; today, whilst exact figures are difficult to establish, *The East London Fawcett's* (The East London branch of the Fawcett Society) *The Great East London Art Audit* (2013) demonstrates women artists' ongoing difficulty in becoming represented (6) (7).

One key question arising, here, is: what responsibility do art and museums now have for newly representing motherhood - if not also, fatherhood - in ways that encourage equality in the arts? Another key question is: who should get to decide what these responsibilities are and how they might be mobilised? Although *The Fallen Woman* was supported by three talks (8) these questions remain up for discussion and, importantly, action; it would be great, for example, to have seen The Foundling Museum invite mothers from all cultural, socio-economic and religious backgrounds to discuss how they would like museums to represent motherhood in future.

For another thing, the exhibition prompts reconsideration of how long-overdue debates of motherhood, and the need to radically re-think this in connection with work, might be contemporaneously voiced within and beyond the museological context. Aspects of the exhibition suggest woman's moral *felling* under patriarchal regimes was a capitalist technology. As the exhibition text explains, governments regarded proto-feminism and emerging suffrage as direct threats, taking extreme measures to undermine rising female power. The ostensible message in the displayed art works is that women suffer in motherhood outside of the nuclear family format. But this message obscures patriarchal determination to keep women in their place; for capitalism to flourish along patriarchal lines, a majoratively male work force must be ensured and, far less obviously, this relies upon unpaid care-work (9) provided by wives. Under Nead's astute curation, works depicting women's gravitation into prostitution suggest that, given the option of employment that would fairly take into account their status as mothers, the women would take it; the problem was that choice, in its fullest sense and in regard to employment, was only given to men. The moot question embedded in the exhibition shifts, here, from one of how single mothers - past and present - navigate moral judgement of their sexuality, to one of why, notwithstanding increasingly diverse family structures (10), we allow governments to continue to ignore the practical concerns of working parents. Failure to realistically think parenthood and work in tandem blocks a post-work era in which radically revised forms of employment end the discrimination of mothers - and (less obviously) fathers - wishing to work under new and fair terms (11).

Related Exhibitions

The Fallen Woman underscores, expands and agentivises feminist critiques already embedded - and, conversely (and arguably), exploited - in recent exhibitions relating to the issue of motherhood. For example, works such as *We Are (Pro Choice)* (2007) in Cathy Wilkes' solo exhibition at Milton Keynes Gallery (12) lament the inner destitution women experience as a result of neo-liberalism's ruthless commodification of domestic motherhood.

Through the muted and immobile structure of the female mannequin, de-based by being seated on a toilet surrounded by a flotsam of gravity bound and impotent *stuff* (including an almost emptied jar bearing the brand label *Bonne Maman*), the work indirectly, but powerfully, lends weight to the argument that mothers remain oppressed by lack of choice in relation to employment beyond the home. This exhibition was followed in 2013 by Milton Keynes gallery hosting *Story of Mum: Mums Making an Exhibition of Ourselves*, a series of events which toured internationally, including to the Museum of Motherhood (New York) and involved mothers' engagement in creative acts - such as doodling the inside of a mother's head to directly represent their experiences as mothers, thus equipping (even temporarily) at least some mothers with political and artistic voice. Conversely, Martin Creed's *Mothers* (2011) (13) aims to generate poignancy in connection with audience experiences relating to that word. Since winning the Turner Prize in 2001, Creed has divided audiences, and it might be argued that his approach in *Mothers* is formulaic; the work is fed through familiar, commercial language and advertising techniques - the font's upscaled and capitalised, lighting's been added, textures are urbanised and a surprise element factored in; in regard to the latter, the immensely heavy sculpture swings above one's head, signalling a knowingness borrowed from psychoanalytical readings of the conflictual experience of being mothered and / or of being a mother. This generates a form of affectivity that speaks to the Foundling Museum's approach towards male artists' representation of mothers. Considered relative to these exhibition contexts, The Foundling Museum sends a potent message: if museological agency can encourage gender equality, the urgent question is of how museums might now generate and advance unprecedented gender political change.

Figure 7 Cathy Wilkes, *We Are (Pro Choice)* (2008)

Notes

(1) Petitions to The Foundling Museum were not always successful and the criteria for assessment was subject to change.

(2) The works are Emma Brownlow's painting entitled *The Foundling Restored to its Mother* (1858) and a print from a painting by Rebecca Solomon entitled *A Friend in Need (*1859).

(3) The composer commissioned is Steve Lewinson. Those involved in realising the piece are: Maxine Peake, Marianne Jean Baptiste, Ruth Jones, Renée Castle, Adrian Dunbar, Sarah Suckling. It would have been interesting - and may have increased public interest in the exhibition *and* heightened its gender political museological agency - if The Foundling Museum had made an Open Call for a mother-composer (particularly a single mother-composer) to apply for the commission for this creative work.

(4) For example, the poignant absence of any document or artwork representing the historical levying of an equivalent moral judgement against the men responsible for impregnating the women indexes the reality that those men were rarely held accountable for their actions.

(5) This approach to the use of clothing referents to negatively fetishise woman and her sexuality was to change with the onset of modernism, when artists increasingly depicted clothing in ways that revealed and fragmented woman's body. Linda Nochlin's text *The Body in Pieces: The Fragment as a Metaphor of Modernity* indicates the unconscious motives for this. My PhD thesis, examines how women artists formed subversive responses through their materalised instances of fragmented woman.

(6) ELF audited 134 commercial galleries (representing 3163 artists) in London, with some shocking statistics being established. They found, for example, that only 31% of the artists represented by these galleries are women and only 5% of these galleries equally represented male and female artists. Additionally, when auditing the top 100 auction performances (of art sales) during the year 2012, ELF found that there were no women artists on the auction lists. Moreover, when auditing 133 solo shows included in the programmes at non-commercial London galleries, only 31% of these shows were by female artists, nearly one third of the galleries

presented no female solo shows and over two thirds of the galleries exhibited more than 60% solo shows by men. A more extensive account of the ELF audit is available in Hilary Robinson's wonderful book *Feminist, Art Theory: An Anthology 1968 - 2014* (2015).

(7) Relatedly, the representation of women workers remains lower in the creative industries across the UK economy, recently declining from 38% to 27%. Interactive media and digital games production have seen the greatest dedline in women workers in all UK creative industries since the early 2000s, with only 4% - 6% of workers being women (Proctor-Thomson, 2013).

(8) One by the curator Professor Lynda Nead, another by Jessica Sheetz-Nguyen (author of *Victorian Women, Unwed mothers and the London Foundling Hospital*) and another by Dr Victoria Mills (Research Fellow at Darwin College, Cambridge and researcher for the exhibition *The Fallen Woman*).

(9) Silvia Federici, amongst many others, has written extensively on this subject since the 1970's. See, for example, her recent publication *Revolution at Point Zero* (2012).

(10) Professor Susan Golombok, psychologist and Director of University of Cambridge's Centre for Family Research has written on this issue. Her view is that:

> '...what matters for children is not so much the structure of the family - the gender or sexual orientation of their parents, the number of parents or whether the parents are biologically related to their children...What seems to be more important is the quality of the relationships within the family.'

For the full article see: http://www.cfr.cam.ac.uk/pdfs/2015-toronto-star-23-03-15.pdf.

(11) For further reading on this issue see, for example, Kathi Weeks' inspiring book *The Problem with Work: Feminism, Marxism, Antiwork Politics, and Postwork Imaginaries* (2011).

(12) The work was subsequently developed for inclusion in The Turner Prize (2008).

(13) The work was exhibited in his solo exhibitions at Hauser and Wirth (London, 2011) and more recently at The Hayward Gallery (2014).

Acknowledgements

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Kids thrive just as well in non-traditional families, new book says: A Cambridge University Psychologist Susan Golombok explores the upside of unconventional parenthood. By Andrea Gordon, Feature Writer. http://www.cfr.cam.ac.uk/pdfs/2015-toronto-star-23-03-15.pdf. Published on Friday March 20th, 2015 Available: 18.10.15

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Image Credits

Fig. 1 *The Fallen Woman* at The Foundling Museum, 2015 © Richard Murgatroyd

Fig.2 Guerilla Girls, *Naked Through the Ages* (1989). Billboard design for Public Art Fund, New York. Copyright © Guerrilla Girls, courtesy guerillagirls.com

Fig.3 Guerrilla Girls, *Naked Through the Ages* (2005). Billboard design for Public Art Fund, New York. Copyright © Guerrilla Girls, courtesy guerillagirls.com

Fig.4 Guerrilla Girls, *Naked Through the Ages* (2013). Billboard design for Public Art Fund, New York. Copyright © Guerrilla Girls, courtesy guerillagirls.com

Fig.5 Frederick Walker, *The Lost Path* (1863)

Fig.6 Dante Gabriel Rosetti, *The Gate of Memory* (1857)

Fig.7 Cathy Wilkes

> *We Are Pro Choice*, 2008
>
> Mixed media
>
> Dimensions Variable
>
> Tate: Purchased 2008
>
> Installation view Milton Keynes Gallery, 2008
>
> Courtesy of the Artist, Milton Keynes Gallery and The Modern Institute/Toby Webster Ltd., Glasgow
>
> Photo: Andy Keate

VISUAL SUBMISSION: Impact in Focus

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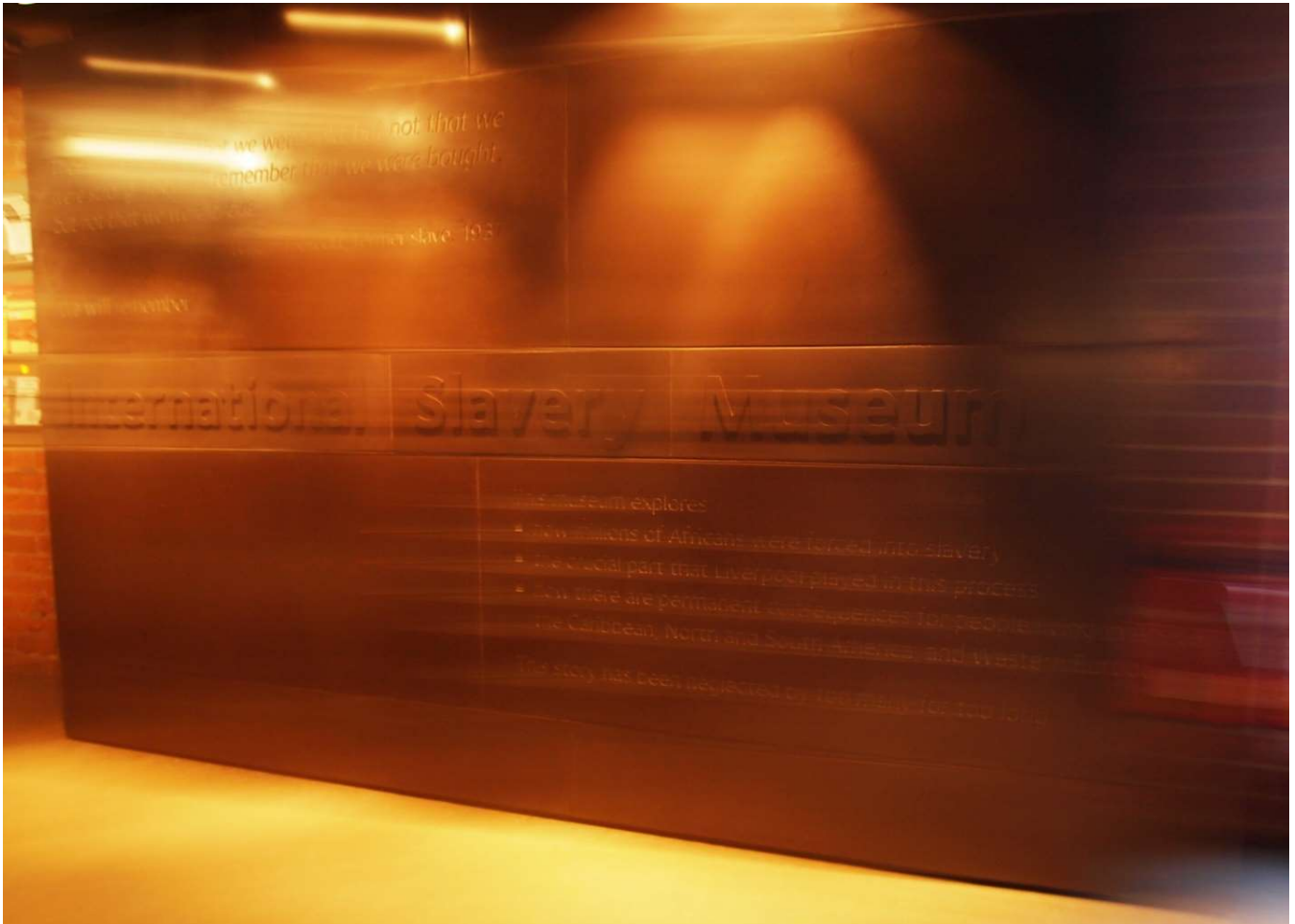
Understanding the impact of activist museum practice – a practice which seeks to engage visitors with themes relating to social justice and representation, thereby effecting positive socio-political change (Sandell and Dodd, 2010) – is not unlike taking a photograph with a slow shutter speed. Capturing fluid emotional states and shifting ideas within the visitor means taking a very qualitative approach; one relying on anecdotes, stories, and sometimes the unspoken gesture to build a picture of the impact such museums are having. The picture we build may be blurry but the nature of museum work and its impact is rarely, if ever, sharply defined.

Note

(1) This picture was taken at the International Slavery Museum, Liverpool, UK

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QUESTION & ANSWER: The Training of Museum Professionals

Training of museum personnel is a timely issue for the Russian museum community. There are about 80,000 employees in 3,000 museums in Russia; a third of them are research associates and museum educators.

Traditionally, museum professionals have completed training in History, Art, Science and other specific fields that reflect a museum's specialties, rather than museology courses.

The current system of academic training for museum professionals was established in the mid-1980s. Over the past 30 years educational standards, courses and many textbooks have gradually developed. In 2003 Russia joined the Bologna Process, which aims to harmonise academic degree standards. As of 2011 all universities of the country have shifted to two cycles of higher education – bachelor's and master's degree education.

As a result over 30 Museum Studies departments have opened. Specialists who have completed museological education have become research associates, managers, educators, heads of museum departments (curatorial, IT, etc.) and directors. Some graduates also teach at universities, work in journalism, tourism, or in cultural departments of ministries and cultural heritage protection.

The acquisition of primary (Bachelor) and advanced (Postgraduate) training is complemented by various forms of further professional development. The major museums of the country provide internships and workshops for staff of departmental and municipal museums. Graduates are also encouraged to improve their qualifications by attending skills workshops, conferences and participate in international programmes for the exchange of best practice.

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In the United Kingdom, there has been a great deal of debate about the lack of diversity in the makeup of the museum sector. The recent Panic! survey carried out by Create found that "an overwhelming majority of respondents working in the arts (76%) had at least one parent working in a managerial or professional (i.e. 'middle class') job whilst they were growing up and that over half had at least one parent with a degree whilst growing up." Alongside this a 2015 Arts Council commissioned report stated that "MPM boards are not representative of the communities museums serve." Having worked in both Birmingham and Wolverhampton, cities with highly diverse populations, the differences between museum staff and the communities they represent is clear.

Despite awareness of the huge impact that favouring candidates with postgraduate qualifications has on the diversity of the sector, the qualification still regularly appears on person specifications as, at the very least, a 'desirable qualification'.

Although traineeships and apprenticeships are being hailed as the solution to the diversity issue, they don't remove fundamental barriers to the sector. Offering training and experience on the job is a fabulous opportunity to get an understanding of the sector and to start developing the skills you need. But after a year, or perhaps two, are the young people engaged in this training not still in the position of many other hungry young professionals competing for a decreasing handful of jobs? Are they still not going to fall at the hurdle when competing with people who not only are able to have racked up a wealth of volunteering experience but have also a postgraduate qualification, ticking that extra box for shortlisting?

In order to achieve diversity in the sector we not only have to engage more diverse audiences with our front line services, but we have to let go of the belief that a postgraduate qualification is anything more than a luxury.

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North Korea on Display in Seoul: The *NK Project* and Imaginative Engagement through Art in the Twenty-First-Century Museum

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Abstract

This paper critiques a recent exhibit at the Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA) as a case study to explore the evolving role of museums in the twenty-first century. For the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Korea's liberation from Japan, the *NK Project* presented oil paintings, propaganda posters and postage stamps from North Korea; photographs of North Korea by non-Koreans; and art installations and videos by South Korean artists with North Korea as the main theme. Taking the celebration of Korean independence as a point of departure, the exhibit explored the contradictions and ambiguities of a divided nation in order to help visitors better understand South Korea's northern 'other'. Within the context of the current political environment in South Korea, the paper analyses the *NK Project*'s effectiveness in furthering SeMA's stated goals as a 'post-museum' and examines how art can foster cross-cultural conversations.

Keywords: North Korean visual culture, South Korean contemporary art, post-museum, new museology

The National Liberation Day of Korea, or *Gwangbokjeol*—literally 'the day the light returned'— is celebrated annually in South Korea on 15 August. Known as Victory Over Japan Day in the UK, this holiday to observe the conclusion of World War II is especially significant to Koreans because it ended Japan's 35-year colonial occupation. Throughout the summer of 2015, many major art venues in Seoul presented exhibits to commemorate the 70th anniversary of liberation. Of these, the *NK Project* at the Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA), on display from 21 July – 29 September, stood out for its inclusion of a large selection of works from North Korea and for its objective to cultivate greater understanding amongst people in the south about their 'other' in the north. This paper will situate the *NK Project* within the context of Korean politics and analyse the exhibit's efficacy in terms of twenty-first-century museology, arguing that the project exemplifies the dialogic potential of art and the capacity of museums to engage visitors in important social issues. First, current trends in museology are outlined and the need for more information about North Koreans in South Korea is explained. Then, using primarily formal and iconographical/iconological analysis, the *NK Project* is described, and the exhibit's significance is discussed within South Korea's current socio-political environment. The paper concludes with reflections on the dialogic nature of art, the 'post-museum' and how the *NK Project* provided an opportunity for visitors to learn more about North Korea from a variety of perspectives.

Current trends in museum practice and related scholarship focus on the ways in which cultural institutions are moving from their traditional roles as mere repositories for artefacts and knowledge to developing dynamic partnerships with their surrounding communities in ongoing dialectical processes of making meaning (e.g. Bishop 2013, Bruce 2006, Casey 2001, Clifford 1997, Clifford-Napoleone 2013, Deepwell 2006, Heinich and Pollak 1996, Hooper-Greenhill 2000, Marstine 2006, McLean 1999, Sandell 2007, Weil 2002). Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (2000) coined the term 'post-museum' to describe institutions that both acknowledge and seek to transform traditional power structures, utilise collaborative approaches to community outreach and develop more transparent methods of collections management and exhibit curation. SeMA is one of the few institutions in Korea with a stated goal to be a post-museum. Part of SeMA's approach to achieving this ideal is creating opportunities for dialogue amongst larger and more diverse audiences through interdisciplinary and transcultural exhibits and programming (Lee 2013). The *NK Project* exemplifies such an endeavour by addressing the 'taboo' of North Korea and confronting the contradictions and complacency that has come to typify South Korea's regard for its 'other' to the north (Yeo 2015). Since the armistice that halted the Korean War was signed in July 1953, over a thousand families have remained separated, and the two countries are still technically at war (Pratt 2006: 241-260). However, as the last generation of people who experienced the war is dying, the younger generations who have grown up in South Korea's hypercapitalist society find the topic of North Korea 'too heavy and bothersome to think of' (Yeo 2015). Yet it is a subject that looms like an ever-present white elephant in

South Korea today, and the *NK Project* attempted to have 'artistic/poetic, not direct' effects on society by raising awareness and stimulating conversations about North Korea (Kyung-hwan Yeo, SeMA Curator, personal communication, 23 February 2016).

Curatorial Strategies, Artworks and Contemporary Politics of the *NK Project*

To organise the *NK Project*, SeMA curator Kyung-hwan Yeo incorporated three perspectives: South Korean artists imagining North Korea, North Koreans portraying themselves and international photographers depicting North Korea. The seven South Korean artists in the exhibit—Ik-Joong Kang, Hayoun Kwon, Noh Suntag, Park Chan-kyong, Sun Mu, Lee Yongbaek, and Sojung Jun—all created new works or revised previous pieces for this occasion. The North Korean works consisted of an extensive collection of postage stamps, oil paintings and propaganda posters; it is the largest number of such works ever displayed at a major public art museum in South Korea. The three international photographers—Wang Guofeng, Nick Danziger, and Eddo Hartmann—offered rare glimpses of life in North Korea, one of the most inaccessible countries in the world. The juxtaposition of these different views provided a multivalent narrative about North Koreans that challenged visitors' preconceptions and encouraged them to form new understandings through the artworks on display.

Before visitors even entered the exhibition space, a self-playing 'piano of unification' commissioned for the 70th anniversary of liberation introduced the *NK Project*'s themes of division and reconciliation. Cheil Worldwide, a marketing company of the Samsung Group, initiated and designed the piano of unification. Working in collaboration with Cheil Worldwide, the renowned musical group GongMyoung created the piano using barbed wire collected from fences along the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) that separates North and South Korea. The rusty sharp-pointed wires, a potent symbol of the split between the two countries, produced an ethereal yet dissonant sound (Figure 1). While the *NK Project* was on display, the piano played the song 'Arirang', one of both North and South Korea's most well-known folk songs. This shared cultural reference established the unambiguously harmonious tone of the exhibit, which was reinforced immediately upon entering the gallery with *Beautiful Land of Korea* by Ik-Joong Kang. Dominating the space just inside the exhibit's entrance, Kang's installation abstractly portrayed a mountain scene with a seven-metre screen made from imbricated three-inch canvases surrounding a circular 'river' of water on which 70 moon jars floated around (Figure 2). In the centre of

Figure 1 (left) Detail of the piano of unification's barbed wire inner mechanisms. (right) A video display next to the piano shows how it was configured with barbed wire. Photos by author, published with permission from Seoul Museum of Art© and Cheil Worldwide©

Figure 2 *Geumsugangsan (Beautiful Land of Korea)*, Ik-Joong Kang, mixed media, variable size, 2015. Photo: Seoul Museum of Art©

the circle, a video monitor showed Kang's plan for a site-specific installation on the River Imjin where it crosses the DMZ. Moon jars are a symbol of unification because the top and bottom part of the jar are made separately and joined together. The title of the piece in Korean, *Geumsugangsan*, literally translates as 'beautiful rivers and mountains like silk embroidery' (Seoul Museum of Art 2015: 25). Korea is a land of mountains and rivers, and these geographical elements are historically significant in shaping the construction of temples and palaces, and they continue to be important for contemporary leisure activities and holiday rituals. Unlike the modern nation-state, there are no divisions in nature; rivers and mountain chains continue without interruption over the divided peninsula. Filling the initial space of the gallery, Kang's transcendence of demarcations introduces visitors to the exhibit's curatorial theme of questioning the divisive controversies and dichotomous attitudes towards North Korea which are prevalent in public discourse.

Other works by South Korean artists that especially furthered the exhibit's narrative and enabled visitors to make personal connections to the show's themes were Sun Mu's oil paintings and wooden floor installation and Hayoun Kwon's virtual reality piece. Sun Mu is a pseudonym that means 'no line'. The artist changed his name to this after he defected from North Korea in 1998 and settled in South Korea in 2001. Initially trained in one of North Korea's collective art studios to produce propaganda posters and murals, Sun Mu's style still incorporates some aspects of Socialist Realism while also incorporating elements of Pop Art and expressionism (Seoul Museum of Art 2015: 63). Predominantly painted in red, pink and blue, the images in the exhibit parody the North Korean regime and expose the trauma of a divided nation. For example, *Nothing to be Envious* portrays a smiling girl performing on a stage; the title references a popular propaganda slogan to convince North Koreans that they are well taken care of by a benign, paternal leader, but the girl's relentless smile is a mask to hide the realities of life under a totalitarian regime. Sun Mu describes his own experiences inhabiting just such a smile:

> 'In North Korea, he and his classmates smilingly sang hymns to Kim Jong-il, the North Korean leader, and would march out to perform for soldiers and farmers toiling in the fields. "They teach you how to smile that regimented smile — there's a certain way to shape your mouth," [Sun Mu] said. "We children thought we were happy. We didn't realize that our smile was fabricated and manufactured." (Choe Sang-hun 2009).

Sun Mu's overtly political work is controversial and frequently misinterpreted as pro-Communist by those who miss the subtlety of his critique and instead view his parodies as condoning the North Korea's totalitarianism. However, paintings such as *Together* unequivocally signify Sun Mu's desire for liberation of North Koreans and reunification of the divided nations. The large oil on canvas shows birds over a body of still water dotted with lotus flowers. The lotus is another cultural reference that is shared by both Koreas, and the pastel shades of blue, red and white are quieter, calmer versions of the colours in both Korean flags. The flock of birds, presumably doves, fly above a tranquil surface where some have landed in pairs of one red and one blue bird. In the exhibit, *Together* was hung above Sun Mu's floor installation of *Our Way to the Top and The Freedom of*

Pyongyang, which comprise wooden tiles engraved with propaganda phrases from both South Korea and North Korea (Figure 3). Tiles from the two pieces were interspersed with each other on the gallery's floor where visitors could walk over them, suggesting that both countries engage in almost identical forms of rhetoric to control public opinion and that these catchphrases of political ideology are worthwhile only to tread upon. Although Sun Mu created *Our Way to the Top and The Freedom of Pyongyang* as two distinct, albeit related, artworks, the exhibit curator displayed them together as one coherent installation to emphasise how the principle of control demonstrated by the two governments through their respective slogans resembles each other 'l ike the effect of [a] mirror or twins' (Kyung-hwan Yeo, SeMA Curator, personal communication, 19 November 2015).

An important part of Yeo's curatorial interpretation of art as a form of conversation was offering visitors an opportunity for direct, bodily experience with the subject of North Korea. To achieve this goal, Yeo selected Hayoun Kwon's *Year 489*, a 360˚ stereoscope virtual reality video that was the most participatory piece in the exhibition. The title refers to the number of years it would take to remove all the mines from the DMZ as reported in research conducted by the Ministry of Unification (Kyung-hwan Yeo, SeMA Curator, personal communication, 19 November 2015). Kwon based the piece on the memories of soldiers in the South Korean army whom she interviewed in 2014 while staying in Paju, a town just south of the DMZ. The 3D virtual reality format allows viewers to access, in a personal manner, the highly politicised and extremely restricted territory of the DMZ. SeMA presented *Year 489* in a circular area sectioned off from the rest of the gallery with a curtain; inside the viewing space an attendant assisted visitors in donning a VR headset at one of the five swivel chairs positioned around a table. There was ample space between the chairs, which also reclined in addition to

Figure 3 Installation view of *Together*, Sun Mu, oil on canvas, 190 x 130 cm, 2015 and *The Freedom of Pyongyang/Our Way to the Top*, Sun Mu, oil on wood, each tile 35 x 25 x 2 cm, 2011. Photo: Seoul Museum of Art©

swivelling, enabling viewers to rotate around a full 360° circumference, move in any direction and lean all the way back as stimulated by the video. Kwon's VR piece involves a corporeal experience that absorbs visitors in an immersive environment. As Kwon explains:

> 'Virtual reality supplies a very similar time and space to reality; it allows us to visit the DMZ in the memories of the soldiers with a subjective perspective. The project Year 489 is an artistic challenge to my political reality and it is an invitation to the place that [has become] a kind of myth' (Seoul Museum of Art 2015: 39).

To advance her curatorial goal of connecting visitors to the socio-political significance of the exhibition, Yeo situated the artworks within a historical context through a timeline noting important events from 1945-2013 painted along one wall of the gallery to the immediate left of its entrance. Three large tables of North Korean postage stamps were placed in front of the timeline. Both the wall text and the stamps required closer scrutiny of detailed minutiae, with magnifying glasses available for viewing the stamps (although, lamentably, there was no English translation of the timeline). Despite the fact that its citizenry is effectively cut off from the rest of the world, North Korea is a leading producer of postage stamps, which constitute a particular type of propaganda and are printed primarily as an export item with collectors and dealers all over the world (Seoul Museum of Art 2015: 331). Collector Shin Dong-hyun has acquired more than 4,000 of the 5,000 stamps issued by North Korea, and he lent a selection to the exhibit. The subjects portrayed on the stamps include the natural environment; historical events proclaiming North Korea's prowess and important accomplishments in the Soviet Union and China; North Korean leaders and other significant Communist figures; illustrations of *Juche* ideals, the North Korean political philosophy of self-reliance; achievements in sports and space exploration; and the occasional seemingly incongruous topic such as the Ferrari automobile and the Eurostar train that appeal to Western collectors.

Yeo juxtaposed the historical timeline and meticulous features of the stamps with a large-scale print of the 2012 Arirang celebration by Chinese photographer Wang Guofeng on the opposing gallery wall. Spanning seven and a half metres, the photograph depicts thousands of North Koreans standing in symmetrical formation as part of a 'mass games' festival that involves highly choreographed routines to venerate the government. Akin to the stamps, each person in the photo is a minute detail warranting closer scrutiny even as their individuality is lost in the conglomerate formation. Nearby, works by British photographer Nick Danziger offer a more personalised glimpse of life in North Korea and show the people to be not as different from their brethren to the south as the popular media and commonly held stereotypes may suggest. For example, the images of women getting their hair done in a salon, a newborn baby swaddled in a hospital crib, children riding the metro, a policewoman giving directions to a pedestrian and a man overseeing his grandchildren's homework could just as easily have been photographed in Seoul, or even London, as Pyongyang.

The other international photographer in the exhibit contributed a vastly different perspective from Danziger and Guofeng. Eddo Hartmann, from the Netherlands, focuses on the structures and edifices of Pyongyang, which appears akin to a ghost town in the photos Yeo selected for the exhibit. The images are almost bereft of people, and the cityscape is so grey and barren that some of the photos seem to be black and white at first glance even though they were actually taken in colour. Handlers carefully managed each of these photographers throughout their time in North Korea, attempting to control what was captured on film and even insisting on specific angles for certain shots (Keunhye Lim, SeMA Exhibits Director, personal communication, 25 September 2015). However, the resulting photographs could not be more varied, demonstrating that creativity cannot necessarily be dominated or contained.

In contrast, the exhibit's North Korean oil paintings typify carefully controlled creative output. The Ronald de Groen Collection contains works created between 1960 and 2010 by both central and regional art studios in North Korea. Primarily working through collective studios, North Korean artists have adapted Socialist Realism from the Soviet Union to produce a style of their own that expresses their political ideology known as *Juche*. A bright surface, vivid palette, figuration and clear narrative form are characteristics of the North Korean painting style often referred to as 'revolutionary romantika' (Park 2015: 366-367). Works in the exhibit included idealised landscapes showing lush pastures and abundant harvests; the modern cityscape of Pyongyang; the mining and construction industries that built and continue to fuel the capitol; people assiduously occupied in various worthwhile pursuits such as fishing, studying, sewing, preparing food, forging metal and competing in sports. The majority of the 70 paintings displayed feature people both individually and in groups working cheerfully

together in collective endeavours. Children appear prominently as do women. Interestingly, many single portraits of women depict them as leaders: a soldier making an announcement; a police officer directing traffic; a runner breaking the tape in a stadium crowded with spectators, her competitors barely discernible in the background; and a factory worker overseeing a production line (Figure 4). The Korean Workers' Party (KWP) is the main patron of the arts in North Korea, and art's primary—arguably only—purpose in this context is to impart cultural values and reinforce national identity. Through well-honed technical skills and highly directed aesthetic sensibility, North Korean artists not only portray what is in the world, but also contribute to its construction.

Yeo complemented the oil paintings in the exhibit with a selection of 80 posters from the Willem van der Bijl collection, the largest assemblage of North Korean posters outside the country. Also known as 'propaganda paintings', this important form of visual culture provides a fascinating glimpse into the KWP's rhetoric machination and underscores the impact of art upon the creation of reality. Mass-produced to enlighten the population, these posters instruct the public on a variety of socio-political issues ranging from economics, rural development, environmental preservation, admiration of the Leaders and Juche principles (Figure 5). The didactic themes, smiling people, figurative style, aesthetic sensibility and utopian scenes of the posters are similar to those of the oil paintings; the main difference between the two genres is 'fine art' versus mass reproduction with slogans to accompany the images. Some of the posters seem to signify a cosmopolitanism not typically associated with North Korea, such as the ones advertising the April Spring Friendship Art Festival which deploys Caucasians as the central imagery: a dancing couple dressed in a ball gown and tuxedo, a blonde woman in a white evening dress singing with a Kimjongilia flower (a begonia hybrid cultivated to honour Kim Jong Il) in her outstretched hand. The annual April Spring Friendship Art Festival is one of the few opportunities for artists and performers from other countries to participate in a North Korean cultural event. Posters advertising the event indicate the festival is an occasion for the North Korean government to promote its imagined global status to its own citizenry as much as to an international audience. Researchers at Leiden University are digitising Van der Bijl's collection as a tool for studying the impenetrable nation's modern socio-political history as revealed through the different slogans and imagery used in the propaganda posters (Shearlaw 2015, Hoogvliet 2015).

Figure 4 North Korean Oil Paintings, oil on canvas, 1960-2010, ©Ronald de Groen Collection. Photo: Seoul Museum of Art©
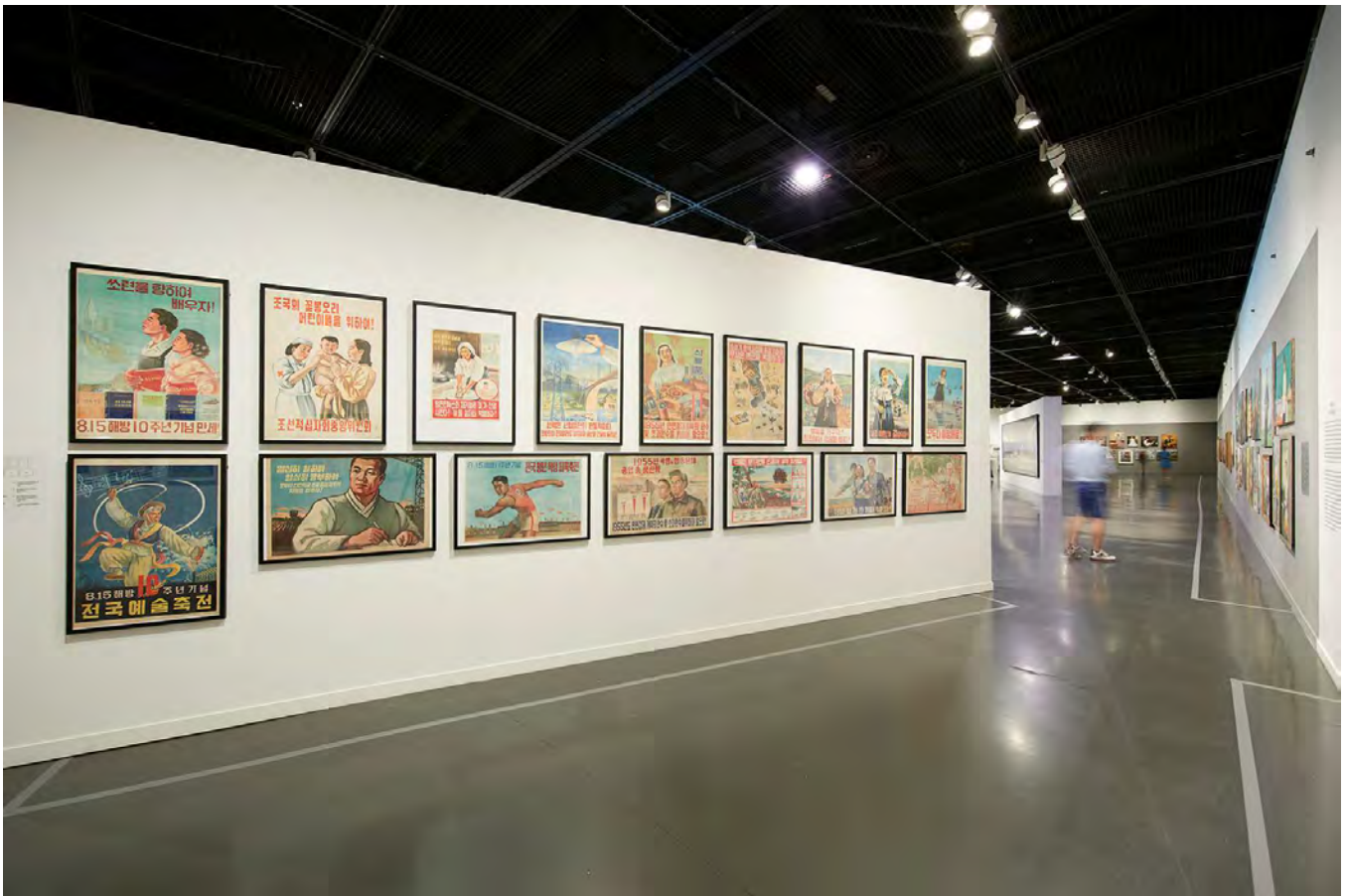
Figure 5 North Korean Posters, 1950-2006, ©Wim van der Bijl Collection. Photo: Seoul Museum of Art©

South Korea's Current Political Environment

Van der Bijl acquired his posters during 1998-2010 while traveling to North Korea for his work as a professional philatelist; on his 24th and last visit to the country, he was detained under suspicion of espionage and interrogated for two weeks until he was finally released back to the Netherlands after signing a confession (Shearlaw 2015, Hoogvliet 2015). The arbitrariness of his arrest and subsequent banishment from North Korea is chilling, but consistent with the reputation of the Kim family's regime. What many people outside of Korea might not realise, however, is that South Korea has its own draconian measures of control despite being a democracy. The National Security Law (NSL) of 1948 was enacted to protect South Korea from Communism after the Korean War, but it persists to this day despite opposition to it both domestically and internationally. Under the statutes of the NSL, people who merely praise or appear to sympathise with 'anti-state groups' can be imprisoned for up to seven years (Kraft 2006). An invocation of the NSL made international news last year when the South Korean government deported Korean-American Shin Eun-mi for allegedly sympathising with the North Korean government (Choe 2015). The incident was circulated on social media amongst South Koreans and international residents of Seoul as Shin getting deported for publicly stating that North Korean beer tastes better than South Korean beer (which many might reasonably argue is true). This anecdote illustrates the extent to which the NSL is a daily part of life in South Korea and how Seoulites perceive it as a plausible—and often capriciously applied—threat. The Korean Communications Standards Commission and National Police Agency routinely censor the Internet and block material deemed to be subversive or harmful, including many websites with information about North Korea.

With pervasive censorship an established norm in South Korea, it was brave and necessary for SeMA to include the North Korean perspective in this exhibition. Although some of the other comparable 70th anniversary exhibits at Seoul museums did evoke North Korea in their narratives, most did not include any works from North Korea and their messages about the South's relationship to its northern 'other' were far more ambiguous than the *NK Project*'s. SeMA curator Kyung-hwan Yeo said she faced many pressures and bureaucratic factors when putting together the exhibit (personal communication, 13 November 2015). SeMA is part of the Seoul metropolitan government and the current mayor of Seoul, Park Won-soon, is affiliated with a different political party than the current president of South Korea, Park Geun-hye. The Grand National ruling party is overtly

critical of Mayor Park Won-soon, and SeMA is often scrutinised as a public entity under his tutelage. In organising the *NK Project*, SeMA's partnership with the Ministry of Unification and the Seoul Committee for Exchange and Cooperation between South and North was crucial for being able to implement an exhibit of this nature. Collaborating with these governmental entities provided an essential political buffer and defence against negative public opinion. Enlisting the participation of well-known Korean contemporary artists, such as Noh Suntag, Park Chan-kyong and Sun Mu, was also important for 'brand recognition' as a key to the exhibit's success (Kyung-hwan Yeo, SeMA Curator, personal communication, 13 November 2015). Displaying the propaganda posters, in particular, could have been prosecuted as a punishable offense under the terms of the NSL if the posters were misconstrued as support of North Korea rather than a thought-provoking form of visual culture. The oil paintings and posters sent from the Netherlands not only had to pass through customs to enter South Korea, but the South Korean National Intelligence Service also had to approve what could be displayed in the museum, and they denied permission to display some pieces that had been selected for the exhibit. Collector Ronald de Groen who lent his oil paintings to SeMA for the exhibit commented in a local newspaper:

> 'What has been shown here is very mild—not really anti-American, anti-Japanese and anti-South Korean—because your secret service didn't allow [the museum] to show [these works] here. What amazes us is that when South Korea is a democratic society, why are those paintings not allowed for people to see?' (Lee 2015)

Art as Imaginative Engagement in the Post-Museum

Although SeMA curators were restricted in what they could exhibit, the inclusion of such a large selection of works from North Korea nonetheless brought visitors into direct contact with a form of visual culture they may not have otherwise encountered. The curatorial approach in the *NK Project* sought to bridge gaps between the two sides of the divided peninsula through a selection of artworks that offer varying perspectives on a complex and controversial issue. This is what a twenty-first-century museum exhibit should ideally do—introduce visitors to a world other than their own while imparting the necessity of making such connections. Hans Ulrich Obrist (2014: 1) has suggested that 'the task of curating is to make junctions, to allow different elements to touch.' With the *NK Project*, curator Kyung-hwan Yeo succeeded in bringing together vastly different elements of Korean society from the impenetrable totalitarian north to the heart of capitalistic Seoul. In doing so, people who cannot literally converse with their brethren to the north were able to engage in metaphoric conversation through art. In his popular philosophical book about cosmopolitanism, Appiah (2006) posits the goal of conversation—both literal and metaphoric—not as necessarily coming to an agreement with one another, but rather to help people become accustomed to their differences. Appiah's concept of 'imaginative engagement' is articulated in a more academic context by Meskimmon (2011) as the 'cosmopolitan imagination' and Papastergiadis (2012) as the 'cosmopolitan imaginary', both of whom centralise the role of art as a form of dialogue. By presenting multivalent views of North Korea to a primarily South Korean audience, SeMA has enabled visitors to encounter diverse aspects of North Korean life as revealed through the visual culture exhibited. As the *NK Project* demonstrates, art is a powerful tool for conveying ideology and shaping viewers' perspectives on the world. But, as many of the works on display also show, there are as many similarities as differences between people in the northern and southern parts of the Korean Peninsula.

While the *NK Project* both visualised and critiqued North Korean mechanisms of controlling its populace, the most valuable goal the exhibit achieved was presenting a more nuanced view of life in North Korea and the effects that the division between the two countries continues to have on both sides of the 38th parallel. Through its sympathetic portrayal of people who live in North Korea, the exhibit humanised a subject that many viewers know only through the mainstream media's depiction of brainwashed victims or the South Korean government's vilifying rhetoric. An issue often overlooked in the political discourse about North Korea is the difficulties refugees face when adapting to life in another country. According to the most current statistics available from the South Korean Ministry of Unification (2013), 26,124 North Koreans entered South Korea from 1998 to 2013. Upon arrival in the country, *saetomin* ('new settlers') participate in a mandatory social orientation programme to become South Korean citizens (Ministry of Unification 2013). Although the Settlement Support Center for North Korean Refugees offers services to address emotional and social issues, most North Korean refugees experience difficulties integrating into South Korean society and perceive negative attitudes towards them amongst South Koreans (Kim and Jang 2007, Lankov 2006, Chung and Seo 2007). A North Korean defector who visited the SeMA exhibit commented, 'As I went through the exhibition, I felt that I came back to my country and

I was very happy. I appreciated the exhibition because I felt that it can help change attitudes towards North Korean defectors in a positive way' (Jiyeon Shin, personal communication, 28 October 2015). When asked to elaborate, she explained there are many misperceptions and a general lack of information about North Korea, and the exhibition at SeMA showed what it is like to live in the north. She said it made her 'feel proud to see people looking at the art and to know they are interested in North Koreans' (Jiyeon Shin, personal communication, 28 October 2015).

According to SeMA's visitor statistics, a total of 74,658 people visited the exhibit from 21 July – 29 September. For every special exhibition at SeMA, the museum organises a survey to collect data about visitors and assess levels of satisfaction with the show. A data sample of 100 visitors is randomly selected to complete a survey, the tabulated results of which are used for internal monitoring and evaluation. The same survey is administered every time and includes questions about the respondent's main purpose for visiting the museum that day, overall frequency of visits to SeMA, likelihood of visiting again, preferences of receiving information about the museum and exhibits, demographics of the visitor and levels of satisfaction with the special exhibition on view. The museum assesses satisfaction with the exhibit by asking 'How well are you satisfied with the exhibition you saw today?' Possible answers are 'very satisfied, somewhat satisfied, basically satisfied or not at all satisfied'. Visitors who replied that they are satisfied are asked about the reason for their satisfaction. Possible answers to the follow-up question are 'theme of the show, represented artworks, exhibit design, signage, friendly guide in the gallery, related program or other' (with space to specify another reason). Visitors who responded that they are not satisfied are asked what improvements could be made for a better exhibition. According to the curator, levels of reported visitor satisfaction were higher for the *NK Project* than for most of SeMA's other special exhibitions in the past with 42 per cent saying they were very satisfied and 57 per cent saying they were somewhat satisfied. (Yeo was not able to provide statistics for other exhibits, but said the levels of satisfaction for the *NK Project* were higher than usual.) To explain the reason for their satisfaction, 39 per cent of surveyed visitors selected the exhibit's theme and 32 per cent indicated the represented artworks as their reason (Kyung-hwan Yeo, SeMA Curator, personal communication, 23 February 2016).

Although it was not possible within the format of the survey to query visitors about whether or not the exhibit changed their perceptions of North Korea, the overall percentage of satisfaction with the show and positive responses about the theme and artworks displayed indicate that the exhibit did have some impact. Not all of the feedback the museum received was positive, however. One disgruntled resident of Seoul sent a letter to the Ministry of Unification complaining that his tax money had been wasted on an exhibit that celebrated North Korea and Communism, and Yeo herself was confronted by an angry visitor who accused her of being 'radical left' and imposing her Communist views onto museum visitors (Kyung-hwan Yeo, SeMA Curator, personal communication, 23 February 2016). In SeMA's post-museum endeavours to address more politicised topics of social significance, it is inevitable that some visitors will be dissatisfied or even upset. The fact that visitors are reacting strongly to an art exhibit could be taken as indication that the museum is succeeding in its goals to raise awareness and encourage public participation in art and culture. More specific visitor feedback to assess whether or not people's perceptions of North Korea changed after seeing the exhibit would have benefited SeMA as it seeks to develop as a post-museum. Nonetheless, the *NK Project* represented a significant effort to confront a pressing topic in contemporary global politics.

Conclusion

The DMZ is only one of many closed borders that still exist today, 'representing the material and societal residue—through powerful continuing effects—of twentieth-century colonialism and Cold War superpower conflicts' (Harris 2015: 132). As volatility spills out across and far beyond militarised borders in the Middle East, we are reminded of how interconnected globalisation has made our world. It is more necessary than ever to find points of commonality amongst disparate groups of people and to learn about different values, customs and perspectives. Museums in the twenty-first century have the potential to provide such opportunities, and exhibitions such as the *NK Project* are a paradigmatic example of how art can facilitate the exchange of views and help people grow accustomed to their differences.

Acknowledgements

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Bosnian–Herzegovinian Culture between Erasure and Ethnopolitics: reflections on the Crisis of National Cultural Institutions

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Abstract

This paper aims to illustrate the positions of cultural institutions in the divided post-war society of Bosnia and Herzegovina. It will consider the public debate on the cultural crisis of Bosnian-Herzegovinian cultural institutions in 2012, reflecting on some of the challenges the country has undergone during ongoing post-conflict and post-communist transitions. It will examine solidarity initiatives organised in both 2012 and in 2013, and the ways in which cultural institutions and other social factors were affected by a complex system of government, dominated by ethnopolitcs. The paper analyses how existing gaps, revisionist politics towards the past, and a generally prevailing lack of interest in the preservation and presentation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian culture, are fashioning a compound relationship between society and the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Keywords: Bosnia and Herzegovina, post-war transition, culture, museums, ethnopolitics

The post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina is faced with the transition from war to peace, from communism to democracy, and parallel to that, the country is in the process of preparing for European Union membership (1). Post-war society in Bosnia and Herzegovina is confronted with numerous problems that have accumulated in all areas of society. Many of these problems seem unmanageable, as they are accompanied by contradictions which principally originate from the pre-war and the war period, and remain unaddressed by a complex post-war system of government and dominant ethnopolitics (2). Asim Mujkić, in his analysis of the ethnical-political discourse in Bosnia and Herzegovina, describes Bosnian-Herzegovinian society as 'a society of illiberal democracy.' He claims that:

> 'neither its election procedures, nor its decision-making process are democratic (…) nor is the fundamental feature of political action in Bosnia and Herzegovina marked by respect for basic human rights and freedoms - on the contrary, the priorities of ethnic and collectivist rights and freedoms that I generally define as ethnopolitics are being set in stone' (Mujkić, 2008:30).

A general problem of prioritisation of ethnic values over civic values in post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina is entangled with the complex notions of nationality and ethnicity, which has triggered long-running debate. While longitudinal analyses of censuses held in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (3) (socialist Yugoslavia hereinafter) indicate existence and equality of narodi (peoples) and narodnosti (nationalities) (4), they also imply that both categories were changeable and inconsistent. (Malcolm, 2002; Mrdjen, 2002; Abazović et al, 2008). Also, as Abazović et al emphasize: '[b]eing Bosnian was never a Constitutional option for the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, although throughout its existence within the Yugoslav Federation and after its dissolution.' (Abazović et al, 2008:8). However, constitutional provisions and particularly the political organisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina have been changed significantly after the dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia and the emergence of ethnopolitics.

The victory of ethno-national parties – Muslim (Bosniak hereinafter) Party of Democratic Action, the Serb Democratic Party and the Croatian Democratic Union (5), at the multi-party elections held in 1990 established 'ethnic values' as 'the dominant feature of both public and political life.' (Mujkić, 2008:31). The Serb Democratic Party and The Croatian Democratic Union were under the strong influence of the opposed national power centres in Serbia and Croatia, which shared aspirations towards the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina (6). The 1990 election victory and imposition of ethnic values were enforced by intense ethno-mobilisation initiated in the late eighties in Bosnia and Herzegovina once the political and economic crisis in the country deteriorated. (Abazović et al, 2007) (7). In the 1990s, one form of collectivism was replaced by another, while 'the rights and fundamental freedoms were transferred from the "proletariat" to a new, re-described "base" – three ethnic identities.' (Mujkić, 2008:30). Thus, as Abazović et al emphasize:

'democracy made a wrong turn and it can be concluded that postulating mono-ethnic multi-party democracy was among the important conditions that constituted what we may call a "promised land of war in BiH."'(8)

The dissolution of socialist Yugoslavia in 1991 along with political shifts from a one-party communist system to a mono-ethnic multi-party democracy were followed by the destructive war against the Republic Bosnia and Herzegovina and its culture. The culture was perceived as a great obstacle for every ethnopolitic party in Bosnia and Herzegovina since, as Mujkić points out: 'there are no significantly different ways of life in Bosnia, no significantly remote cultures whose diversity we ought to be dealing with to identify some kind of collectivist consociational balance.'(Mujkić,2008: 44). Thus, Mujkić argues that some of the main aims of the war were to manufacture differences:

'the greater the better – by genocide, ethnic cleansing exodus, coercion, falsifying history, linguistic hair-splitting – so as to bestow an apparent legitimacy on their discourse on different ways of life; and then, against this forcibly generated background to conduct a "rational" debate on the quest for proportion, ratio and balance between these imagined differences.' (Mujkić, 2008: 44).

While the General Framework for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina (the Dayton Peace Agreement hereinafter) confirmed the legal existence of and continuation between the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and 'Daytonian' Bosnia and Herzegovina, it also modified its internal structure (9). Current problems in the country are mainly related to the practical implementation of the Dayton Peace Agreement and its eleven Annexes (1). Culture, society and sense of belonging are greatly affected by the demographic consequences of the 1992-1996 war, as well as by the complex political and territorial restructuration of the country as established by the Dayton Peace Agreement.

Although the repercussions of this continued process of destruction are numerous, there is remarkably persistent public opposition within Bosnia and Herzegovina. The open destruction of culture and cultural heritage that are spanning more than a thousand years of vibrant Bosnian-Herzegovinian history is continuously resisted through various efforts to preserve and reconstruct those items and stories. This resistance was formed during wartime as a response to the division and destruction of the country. Asja Mandić in her examinations of the role of art exhibitions within a larger theoretical and historical framework of culture and society in the besieged Sarajevo, observed that '[a]bout one hundred solo exhibitions, and dozens of groups shows were organized in various locations.' (Asja Mandić, 2011) She describes these initiatives as a culture of critical resistance (11). This paper attempts to illustrate these two central and contrasting processes through a closer exploration of the cultural crisis in 2012 – a crisis which initiated the greatest public debate on culture in the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. The public discussion held in the Historical Museum during this period will be the particular focus of this analysis.

The Post-War Moment

The violent war that lasted four years and involved various actors from Bosnia and Herzegovina and its neighbouring countries, was marked by large–scale brutality, destruction and the ethnic cleansing of occupied territories. The war completely transformed the country and turned the city of Sarajevo into a horrifying scene of destruction. Countless missiles were fired at the civilians and the city (12), causing loss of both human lives and cultural goods. The intertwined culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina had always been perceived as a common signifier of its people, making it one of the main targets of wartime destruction and the politics of social division. The destruction of shared culture did not end with the ceremonial signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement on the 14th of December 1995 (13). Since the outbreak of the war in former Yugoslavia, the international actors involved in the conflict resolution framed the conflicts as 'ethnic conflicts.' This framing largely shaped international responses to the conflicts, and recognized ethno-nationalists as the main political representatives of the countries involved in the process of peace negotiations. This is done in spite of the fact that there were numerous civic initiatives and anti-war campaigns formed across socialist Yugoslavia in the late eighties and the early nineties in order to initiate democratic changes and to criticise emerging ethno-nationalist militarist discourse.

The Dayton Peace Agreement, signed by representatives of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, ended the fighting, but entrenched the division of the country along the frontlines left by the war. Specifically, the Peace Agreement modified the internal structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina by dividing

the country into two political units created during wartime. The Serb-dominated Republic of Srpska, created in 1992, and the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a so-called Bosniak-Croat Federation established in 1994 by the Washington Agreement, were confirmed as Entities. The Federation of BiH was further divided into ten federal units or Cantons, each with its own administrative government. The complex territorial-political organisation of the country was concluded in 1999 when the Brcko District of Bosnia and Herzegovina (14) was established as a local self-governing unit under the sovereignty of the state. As a result, today there are different political authorities ranging from the state to entity, district, cantonal or municipal governments – and together they form a complex, uncoordinated, inefficient and expensive administration system.

The Preamble to the Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina included in the Dayton Peace Agreement mentioned three constitutional categories: the constituent peoples, Others, and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The constituent people – Bosniaks, Croats and Serbs were given special rights over the other constitutional categories, which merged with the endorsed territorialisation of the constituent peoples. Political authorities are thus characterised by separate cultural and educational policies, often contested, and implemented without coordination, and negatively impacting on culture and education in the country.

The two main outcomes of the discord between the opposing ethnopolitical elites were visible in education and culture - specifically, existing models of segregation in education, and a crisis in culture, which is manifested through a failure to provide adequate support to cultural institutions that preserve the shared cultural heritage of the country. The latter is summarised by public debate in 2012 titled the 'Seven Cultural Institutions of National Importance in Crisis' – something I will explore in this paper. What these examples of culture and education have in common is that both derive from the 1992-1996 war, when the lives of people, space and the reality of the country were divided by violence on the basis of ethno-religious principles. After the institutionalisation of these principles by the Dayton Peace Agreement, the end of war and violence saw the beginning of a new struggle for the survival of the culture of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Crisis of Seven Institutions of National Importance

The country's problems of preservation and presentation of shared cultural heritage endangered by an ambiguous legal framework (15) came to a head in 2012 due to a financial crisis caused primarily by the unresolved constitutional status of a number of cultural institutions in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The country's seven (leading) cultural institutions had been facing funding problems for an extended period, which had endangered their work and forced several of museums to close their doors to the public. The institutions are vastly different in terms of their function, but all are located in Sarajevo and concerned with the protection and presentation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian cultural heritage. They are: the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (16), the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (17), the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina (18), the Art Gallery and Museum of Literature and Performing Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (19), the National Film Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina (20), the Museum of Literature and Performing Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina (21), and the National Library for Blind and Partially Sighted Persons in Bosnia and Herzegovina (22). Within post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina, the territorial location of each of the seven cultural institutions of national significance is central to their access to funding. The importance of this territorial positioning became obvious during the financial and functional crisis, leading to questions about the 'national significance' of the cultural institutions located in Sarajevo, which, despite being the capital of the country, is also physically located in one of the two entities which make up Bosnia and Herzegovina, (the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina), and in one of the ten Cantons which make up the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, (the Canton of Sarajevo).

The public debate initiated at the beginning of 2012 comprised a range of discussions and reflections involving representatives from cultural institutions, government, nongovernmental organisations, political parties, professionals from a wide spectrum of cultural production, academics, activists and interested citizens. To a lesser extent local, regional and international media and perspectives also helped foster debate. Local and international perspectives and reflections on the problems of unresolved legal status and a failure to provide adequate support to the seven cultural institutions were presented, with the aim of analysing and examining possible solutions. Fundamentally, the public debate of 2012 concerned the institutions' unresolved legal status, which was generally perceived as a political problem. Arguments and analysis thus focused on and incorporated, the confused disruption in legal framework regarding the cultural sector, particularly in those areas where the

institutions were based, as well as on a general lack of cultural policy at all levels of local and central government (23).

As the debate advanced, criticisms of maladministration by the management of the seven cultural institutions grew louder, with references being made to their ineffectiveness in finding alternative financing, their indolence, old methods of work and dependence on public funding. In their defence, the accused management insisted that museums could not be entirely self-financing institutions, and thus should not be seen as business enterprises. The debate considered 'the legal vacuum' and financing issues on one side, and opposing concepts regarding modes of preservation, and promotion of cultural heritage on the other. Unfortunately nearly all of the questions raised during the debate have remained unanswered and insufficiently explored. In this way, the public debate only scratched the surface of a multi-layered, accumulated problem regarding the preservation, presentation and interpretation of cultural heritage in post-war Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. The 2012 debate also illuminated different and often conflicting concepts of 'culture'.

The debate reached an unfortunate end on the 4th October 2012, when the management of the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina decided to permanently close the museum to the public. The symbolical act of closing the National Museum – by nailing two wooden planks to the main entrance of the Museum with signs ZATVORENO/CLOSED – best reflects the state of culture in the country and its (temporary) inaccessibility to the public. At the same time, it reflects the irresponsible attitudes of the dominant ethnopolitical elites towards, and the lack of essential support for the oldest and most culturally significant institution in the country.

Building Solidarity - Making Bosnian-Herzegovinian Museums Matter

The broader public debate and particularly the permanent closure of the National Museum of BiH resulted in several initiatives, at local and international levels. The aim of these initiatives was to raise awareness of the country's threatened cultural heritage, as well as to situate discussion within the public arena. Relevant parties were also invited to contribute. One of the most prominent of these initiatives is "Cultureshutdown.net" which was created: 'in response to this intolerable impasse' as stated on their official website (24). The platform was founded in 2012 and gathered a significant number of academics, artists, librarians and cultural activists from Bosnia and Herzegovina, the countries of the former Yugoslavia and beyond. 'Our ultimate aim is to unite on a global level to help prevent the destruction of a cultural heritage that belongs to all the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina and enriches world heritage,' read their mission statement. In March 2013, shortly after the closure of the National Museum of BiH, Cultureshutdown made a public call to museums and galleries worldwide, asking them to join an international cultural awareness campaign symbolically named 'The Day of Museum Solidarity.' Institutions from across the globe were invited to demonstrate solidarity with the threatened cultural institutions in BiH and to 'cross out' one of their artwork or artefact to the public for one day, using the yellow and black barricade tape featuring the platforms' logo. On the Day of Museum Solidarity, which was scheduled for the 4th March 2013, Cultureshutdown posted online the 'Solidarity Gallery.' The Gallery, described as 'a virtual collective exhibition on CULTURESHUTDOWN website,' consists of more than two hundred and twenty-five photographic pictures sent by institutions from across fourty countries and five continents – all of whom took an active role in the event by 'symbolically eras[ing]' one work of art from their collection.

Another important initiative was held one year earlier, from the 23rd to the 29th of February 2012, in the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Earlier in the year, on the 4th of January 2012 (precisely nine months before the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina closed its doors to the public) Managerial staff decided to close the Historical Museum of BiH to the public. They argued that the impossible and inadequate working conditions (25) were increasing the risk of damage to the museum's collections. Very soon after the closure however, management made a decision to initiate an 'Open Door Week' under the catchphrase 'Show solidarity, let's warm up the Museum.' According to the organisers the initiative was aimed at re-establishing a connection between the Museum and the public. The enormous changes wrought by the violence of the war had disrupted this connection – greatly affecting public discourses about the past. In order to respond to the needs of an ever-changing society, the Historical Museum had passed through particular transformations in the 1990s, as reflected by conceptual changes in the different historical periods of the country, which mainly include changes of the museum's name and broadening the scope of its work. This resulted in the continuous broadening of the museum's work practices, as well as the development of the scientific research activities of the Historical Museum. Some of these changes will be briefly presented here in order to grasp the challenges the Historical Museum is currently facing.

The Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Public Debate

Since its establishment in 1945 the Historical Museum of BiH, as a state institution under the authority of the Ministry of Education and the National Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina, has changed names several times. It was founded as the Museum of National Liberation and tasked to collect, preserve, study and exhibit all objects related to the history of the National Liberation War. After its first decade of work, the Museum changed its name in 1950 to the Museum of National Revolution. It had to deal during this period with practical problems such as a lack of premises and experts. In 1963, the Museum finally received its own purpose-built modern building and in 1967 it was renamed the Museum of Revolution of Bosnia and Herzegovina; a renowned institution, which provided a significant contribution to the development of museology as a scientific discipline in BiH (Kaljanac, 2010:6). Finally, during the war, in 1993, the Museum was renamed the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina (26) This process included conceptual changes and the redefinition of the Historical Museum of BiH as a museum for all periods of Bosnia and Herzegovinian history (Kaljanac, 2010:17). During wartime the Historical Museum was situated directly on the front line, and the collections were preserved thanks to the efforts of museum staff (27). Walasek, Wenzel and Child note in their report from 1996 that:

> 'the former Museum of Revolution in Sarajevo is trying to redefine itself as the Historical Museum of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Staff feel there will be a need after the war to research the history of the country from the arrival of the Slavs to the present and that no other museum fulfils this purpose. The Historical Museum always did, in fact, cover the history of the country from the Austrian period.' (Walasek, Wenzel and Child, 1996). (28)

In the same report, they considered the noteworthy problem of: 'the future of museums whose cultural *raison d'etre* has disappeared and whose method of interpretation are at severe odds with the new political and social structures,' which emerged after the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina and elsewhere in former Yugoslavia (Walasek, Wenzel and Child, 1996:5).

The repercussions of these multiple transformations have certainly affected the relationship between the Museum and the public, as demonstrated during the public debate ''The Crisis of Seven Institutions of National Importance' in 2012. One of the main objectives of the Open Door Week initiative was to create a space for dialogue. Hence, on the first day the museum hosted a public discussion titled 'The Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the modern Bosnian-Herzegovinian society: In what way can the Museum contribute to society and how can society contribute to the work of the Museum?' An unusually interactive moderated discussion attracted a range of contributors and a sizeable audience. In organising this event the Historical Museum made a valuable contribution to broader public debate, tackling the existing problem of culture and cultural institutions through a cross-disciplinary approach from academic and practice-based perspectives. The platform for dialogue helped to create a connection that encompassed different perspectives and offered a range of opinions; from relevant research fields to perspectives from everyday life. A number of challenging ideas were introduced and exchanged. This incited a dynamic discussion, of which some parts will be presented here. (29)

Shared Bosnian-Herzegovinian Culture: a Dynamic Discussion

The opening statements focused on the problem of positioning the Historical Museum of BiH within contemporary Bosnian-Herzegovinian society by considering its transformations. By giving diverse but related explanations for the difficult situation of the Historical Museum, one of the contributors emphasised that the museum is confronted with difficulties mainly because it is associated with the socialist period. It is important to remember that the ideological and political shifts in the country, followed by the war, derive from the wider political and ideological transformations that occurred after the fall of Communism in Eastern Europe. As such, dynamics in post-war Bosnian-Herzegovinian society are also shaped by those within a wider European and regional (the area of the former Yugoslavia) context. This tendency to distance "new democracies" from a communist past (or socialist past) is widely supported by the ethnopolitical elite in BiH and has affected the Bosnian-Herzegovinian society in many (negative) ways. As contributors to the public discussion argued, this tendency also affects the cultural sector by sustaining 'a legal vacuum' and consequently, the (non-existent) legal status of institutions in crisis. One of the most prominent arguments, with regards to the ethnopolitics and ethno-territorialisation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was that everything referring to the Bosnian-Herzegovinian dimension; everything that inherits the idea of a shared Bosnian-Herzegovinian culture, is today redundant. As

clarified in further discussion, this attitude of apparent redundancy is reflected within the examples of museums and other educational and cultural institutions and cultural goods. All of these institutions, as indicated, together with the discourses they are witnessing, developing and remembering, are slowly dissolving after twenty years of ethnopolitics.

Considering the existing problem of lack of responsible and professional approaches to the study of the modern history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, an increase in research and collecting by the Historical Museum has been assessed as a valid and necessary action. During the discussion, an educational function of the Historical Museum was endorsed, along with the necessity of establishing connections between the Historical Museum and the educational system. Moreover, this debate provided an occasion to reflect on the prevailing problems in education and a lack of a system of education. Generally, the problems of infrastructure, the existing gaps, and prevailing lack of interest and tactical delays of essential improvements in the fields of divided education and culture were identified as the main obstacles to educational role of Historical Museum in this part of the discussion.

Interestingly, much of the audience consisted of employees from different governmental, educational and cultural institutions and they contributed significantly to discussion. Besides financial and (re)structural matters, the relationship between the museum(s) and the environment in which the museum is working were also discussed. Contributors argued that the management of the Historical Museum should endeavour to establish communication and strengthen cooperation with the public and public institutions such as schools and faculties. They envisioned the museum as an open space - a place of gathering and reflection. Additionally, restructuring the management of the Historical Museum was assessed as a prerequisite for promoting the museum's social responsibility to the society whose culture and history the institution is preserving and presenting.

Whose Museum, Whose Cultural History?

The broader public debate on 'The Crisis of Seven Institutions of National Importance' raised numerous questions and acknowledged prevailing public discords. Although the notion of public and public sphere was frequently referred to throughout ''The Crisis of Seven Institutions of National Importance' debate, an endeavour to explore the meaning of 'public' in divided, post-Dayton BiH society was generally missing. The term 'public' itself is closely associated with the seven cultural institutions in crisis since all are for the public, but it remained unclear what 'public' actually referred to, particularly when considering the existing administrative and territorial divisions. One aspect of the broader public debate however has been a certain localisation and articulation of possible ideas regarding the public. The concept of the public sphere is comprehended generally as 'a zone of mediation between the state and the private individual,' in which 'new ideas and the practices and discipline of rational public debate were cultivated' (Crossley, Roberts, 2004:2). Considering the complex ethnopolitical structure of BiH, along with the Open Door Week initiative and organisation of public discussion, the Historical Museum was able to exemplify a space that functioned as a starting point for 'thinking again about what politics is, about where it takes place, and about how it can function as a space available to ordinary people' (Eley, 2002). The public discussion held in the Museum has unfolded a number of issues related to the impact of dominant ethnopolitics on the history, culture and education.

The cross-disciplinary approach of the discussion highlighted the problem of the role of the Historical Museum and (missing) critical academic approaches to (modern) history. More precisely, most of the questions addressed in the 2012 public discussion held in the Historical Museum of BiH focused on the cultural and educational practices that mirror the paradoxes of ethnopolitical segregation, as incorporated within all levels of contemporary Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. The twenty-year long process of ethincisation is additionally entangled with the irresponsible deployment of the academic fields, including a historiography into the dominant ethnopolitics. As Bosnian-Herzegovinian historian Husnija Kamberović has highlighted in his analysis, the ongoing process of revision of the past operates on several levels - historiography, journalism and public discourse (Kamberović, 2012:38). In his opinion, historiography in Bosnia and Herzegovina has generally remained beyond new "revisionist waves." He suggests the term "revivalism" where types of understanding, previously rejected in the periods of scientific approach to the past, are revitalised. His arguments refer mainly to various efforts to justify dominant ethnopolitical elites in order to provide evidence of their continuity. Also, they aim to confirm the cultural predomination of particular ethno-religious groups in the earlier history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Kamberović insists on a need for clear distinction between the revision of the past and the revision of historiography (Kamberović, 2012:38). Moreover, in the case of Bosnia and Herzegovina, revision

occurs mostly in public discourse, which embraces practices such as: changes of street names, construction of new monuments, re-construction and reinterpretation of the old monuments (mainly from the socialist period), and other post-war social practices. These practices are strongly influenced by an irresponsible deployment of academic concepts in ethnopolitics and the ethno-politicisation of culture.

Importantly contested narratives about the past have been used by different actors and their dynamics are not limited to the context of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Different and often disputed discourses of culture, memory and history are also part of an ongoing global debate between academia on one side, and 'an authoritative discourse' of politicians and decision-makers on the other. As Wright argues, an authoritative discourse embraces old ideas of culture that have percolated through academic discourse despite the fact that academics have developed new concepts in accordance with changing political economic conditions in the world (Wright, 1998:3). Therefore, an old idea of 'authentic culture' as a bounded, unchanging small-scale entity, and of cultural identities as inherent, bounded or static, has been substituted with new understandings of culture (Wright, 1998:3). As Wright claims:

> 'culture is a dynamic concept, always negotiable and in process of endorsement, contestation and transformation. Differently positioned actors, with unpredictable inventiveness, draw on, re-work and stretch in new directions the accumulated meanings of culture including old and new academic ones.' (Wright, 1998:5)

Inadequate use of academic concepts in this way accentuates the lack of spaces for critical reflections on authoritative notions of culture, history and memory in contemporary Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. The public event in the Historical Museum, which invited citizens to think differently about public spaces and prevailing concepts of culture, identity and related histories and memory, has challenged dominant narratives. Public discussion, as briefly presented in this paper, helped to bridge different perspectives on the ways in which the Historical Museum can contribute to society, as well as the ways in which society can contribute to the work of the Museum. In this way, the participatory mode of rethinking institutions that preserve, interpret and present the cultural heritage of Bosnia and Herzegovina, through distinctive approaches such as the notion of solidarity has (again) initiated a different relationship between institutions and spectators. Generally, the 'Open Door Week' organised by the Historical Museum, together with other similar initiatives in 2012 and 2013 exemplify this transformation in which new ideas and practices of the public have emerged, and in which articulation of various, and mostly silenced, accounts have been initiated.

Notes

(1) Bosnia and Herzegovina was identified as a potential candidate country for European Union membership in 2003.

(2) Bosnian-Herzegovinian philosopher Asim Mujkić suggests a term "ethnopolitics" to describe the political affairs in the post-Dayton Bosnia and Herzegovina. Moreover, he claims that: "the political practice in Bosnia can be rightly described as the democracy of ethnic oligarchies, not as democracy of citizens," where "the ethnically - centred Dayton Agreement has become *the* main obstacle to the establishment of civil society in Bosnia and Herzegovina." (Asim Mujkić, 2008:18).

(3) During the Second World War Bosnia and Herzegovina became one of six socialist republics that constituted the new socialist Yugoslavia established in 1943 at the Second Session of the Anti-Fascist Council of People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ). The Anti-Fascist Council confirmed the unity and integrity of Bosnia and Herzegovina[1] as "a free and brotherly country in which full equality of Serbs, Muslims and Croats will be guaranteed."(Andjelic, 2005:38).

(4) According to Bougarel et al, multinational Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia comprised the six South – Slavic constituent *narodi* (peoples)– Croats, Macedonians, Montenegrins, Muslims, Serbs and Slovenes; and *narodnosti* (national minorities). Different scholars use different terminology to designate 'narod' in the post-war Bosnia and Herzegovina (nation, nationality, ethno-national group, etc.). (Bougarel et al, 2002:1).

(5) According to results of 1991 census, in Bosnia and Herzegovina lived 17, 27 per cent of Croats, 43, 74 Muslims and 31, 33 per cent of Serbs (Abazović et al, 2008:9). The name *Muslim* that designates the Slavic-speaking Muslims of Bosnia and Herzegovina was changed to the new national name *Bosniak* in 1993. This is

different from the term *Bosnian*, which applies to all inhabitants of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Bougarel et al, 2002:1).

(6) The leaders of both countries met secretly in Karadordevo in March 1991 and agreed on the partition of Bosnian-Herzegovinian territory between Serbia and Croatia. (Ramet, 2001; Andjelic, 2005; Abazović et al, 2007; Bougarel et al, 2007).

(7) The political crisis culminated during a two-day referendum on the independence of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Yugoslav Federation held on 29 February and 1 March 1992.[1] While more than 60 per cent of the citizens voted for independence of the country, Bosnian Serbs loyal to the Serb Democratic Party (SDS) boycotted the referendum. Earlier in autumn 1991 SDS created four 'autonomous regions' in Bosnia and Herzegovina and demanded secession from Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Malcolm, 2002:227). Soon, in the spring 1992 the newly formed Bosnian Serb forces, backed by the Yugoslav Peoples' Army and militia from the Federal Yugoslavia, intensified the occupation of territory of what was then internationally recognised as, the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Already in April 1992 had Serbia and Montenegro declared the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which was reconstituted in 2003 and renamed as a State Union of Serbia and Montenegro. The Union was ended in 2006 after both countries formally declared independence.)

(8) Abazović et al, Ethno-Mobilization and the Organized Production of Violence in Bosnia and Herzegovina, MIRICO: Human and Minority Rights in the Life Cycle of Ethnic Conflicts, 2007, p12

(9) Faris Vehabović and Sead S. Fetahagić, 2012, Democracy without Citizens? Looking for a model of political participation of all constitutional categories in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (Policy Brief), *The Association Alumni of the Center for Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Studies (ACIPS)*, Sarajevo, 2012

(10) The Dayton Peace Agreement comprises eleven annexes and contains provisions for: military aspects of the peace settlements; regional stabilization; inter-entity boundary line; elections; constitution; arbitration; respect for human rights and the establishment of human right commission comprising a chamber and an ombudsmen ; protection of refugees and displaced persons and voluntary return and reintegration of refugees and displaced persons; preservation of national monument; public corporations; civilian implementation and, the deployment of the International Police Task Force. The present Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina is included as the Annex IV of the General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina

(11) Asja Mandić, The formation of a Culture of Critical Resistance in Sarajevo: Exhibition In/On Ruins, Visual Arts Journals from Routledge, Vol.25, Issue 6, November, 2011, p726

(12) A fate shared by civilians in other localities in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Also, the city of Sarajevo was one of the 'safe zones' under protection of the United Nation Protection forces. Specifically, Srebrenica, Sarajevo, Tuzla, Žepa, Goražde and Bihać and surrounding areas were proclaimed as UN 'safe zones,' which were to be free from any armed attack or any hostile act, by the United Nation Security Council Resolution 824, from 6 May, 1993.

(13) The Dayton Peace Agreement was signed in Paris on 14 December 1995 after negotiations at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Dayton, Ohio

(14) The *Brčko* District of Bosnia and Herzegovina includes *Brčko* municipality and its surrounding areas.

(15) As Pearce and Mujkanović claim: 'the Accords [Dayton Peace Accords] failed to establish a ministry of culture in its requirements. They did, however, recognize the standing national cultural institutions — museums, galleries, and libraries — and required that governmental entities take public stands on the oversight, leadership, and care of these institutions. To date, none of the entities have stepped up to the plate', Pearce, Mujkanović, 2014

(16) Founded in 1888. This cultural - scientific institution cares for diverse collections such as archeology, ethnology, art and natural history.

(17) Founded in 1945 the Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina is a central institution for research, preservation and displaying of objects from all periods of the history of BiH.

(18) Before it was burned in August 1992, in 'a three-day inferno' the National Library held an estimated two million items, including special collections, rare books and manuscripts, unique archives, the national catalogue for all books and records, newspapers and journals published in Bosnia and Herzegovina. An estimated 90 per

cent of its collection was reduced to ashes. (see Andreas J.Riedlmayer, *Crimes of War, Crimes of Peace: destruction of Libraries during and after the Balkans Wars of the 1990s,* 2007)

(19) Established in 1946, through research, restoration and presentation this institution cares for a rich collection of the Bosnian - Herzegovinian art, Yugoslav art and international works of art.

(20) Founded in 1994, this institution cares for a valuable film collection of BiH and foreign film and archive materials.

(21) Established in 1961, the Museum holds precious literary and theatrical collections

(22) Established in 1972, it is a highly specialised library collection for blind and partially sighted persons

(23) Some opinions focused on the identification of the problem itself – 'Seven Institutions of National Importance in Crisis' – arguing that only the National Museum of BiH and the National and University Library of Bosnia and Herzegovina could be recognised as institutions of national importance, while the other five should fall under the competence of an Entity, Canton, or Municipality. Some commentators proposed a reorganisation of the other five institutions through a complete or partial integration of institutions of a similar profile in order to reduce operational costs. Critical reflections and the summary of the institutions' positions are available at the Cultureshutdown website, URL: http://www.cultureshutdown.net/summary-of-institutions-positions/

(24) URL: http://www.cultureshutdown.net

(25) Similar to other institutions, the staff at the Historical Museum continue to face lack of financial support for both their work and war damage to their building (the building has been without heating for more than 17 years).

(26) It is important to mention here that the need for the widening of the concept and the scope of the institution and the resultant change of name, had been recognised and initiated by a collegium of museum experts at the end of the 1980s, and in November 1990 the legislative changes needed were approved by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a process only completed in 1993.

(27) This is not only the case for the Historical Museum. Most invaluable collections in the city were saved and preserved during wartime from buildings that suffered partial or total destruction thanks to the efforts of the employees of Sarajevo's libraries, museums and archives, and the citizens.

(28) Helen Walasek, and Marian Wenzel, Bosnia and Herzegovina Heritage Rescue with Robert Child, Head of Conservation at the National Museum of Wales, *Report on Museums in Bosnia-Herzegovina during the present war, in Council of Europe, Ninth Information Report: War damage to the cultural heritage in Croatia and Bosnia– Herzegovina,* presented by the Committee on Culture and Education on 19 January, 1996

(29) Retrieved from audio record of the public discussion *'The Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the modern Bosnian-Herzegovinian society. 'In what way can the Museum contribute to society and how can society contribute to the work of the Museum?'* recorded on 23 February 2012. (The author of the article attended the public discussion held on 23rd February 2012 in The Historical Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo).

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EXHIBITION REVIEW: Mémorial du Camp de Rivesaltes

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Introduction

October 2015 saw the opening of the Mémorial du Camp de Rivesaltes, a €23 million project to commemorate Western Europe's largest internment camp, witness to civil, colonial and world war. The site memorialises the tens of thousands of people who were interned at Rivesaltes over the course of the 20th Century: Spanish Republicans, Jewish and Roma peoples and Harkis (1) all passed through the camp, living in desperate conditions due to their designation by the French state as 'undesirables'.

Recent popular and academic debates have focused upon France's complicity in the Holocaust and the ongoing traumas caused by the conflict in Algeria, making Rivesaltes a uniquely representative memorial landscape, as 'the only place in France where visible traces of a whole swathe of twentieth century history are preserved.' (Denis Peschanski, in Région Languedoc-Roussillon, 2012: 3) (2). The new memorial project hopes to be a place through which to address these wounds that continue to separate the French nation, encouraging intra-community discussion to unite rather than divide (Sajaloli, 2014).

Figure 1 The Mémorial de Camp de Rivesaltes rises from the earth in the central parade ground of Block F, the same location from whence, in 1942, more than 2,000 people were deported to their deaths at Auschwitz. The building is surrounded by the derelict remains of the barracks that once held thousands of families. Visitors are invited to walk amongst the ruins, their crumbling memories juxtaposed against the stark architecture of the memorial.

Historical Context

Originally conceived of as a military base, construction of the site began in 1939 as France mobilised to combat the growing threat of invasion. Following the French collapse, and with it the necessity for such a base, the newly-installed Vichy government established Rivesaltes' concentrationary credentials, using the camp as a centre of internment for Jews, Spanish Republicans and the Romani community. Conditions in the camp were terrible, with survivors recalling the pitiful lack of food (Friedman, 1997; Blumenthal, 1997) and the inhospitable extremes of climate (Herz, 1998; Haguenauer, 1996; Gold, 1996); for those living in such conditions Rivesaltes 'was a slow death' (Gold, 1996). Between August 11th 1942 and October 20th, nine convoys left Rivesaltes heading north; of the 3,089 deportees, 2,289 eventually arrived at Auschwitz – only 84 survived, all of them men (Doulot, 2014: 101).

Where other Second World War sites of detention and extermination across Europe were immediately memorialised (Farmer, 1995; Huener, 2003, Etkind, 2004), Rivesaltes was once again taken over by the French military, used in the intervening years to house German prisoners of war, soldiers preparing for the front in Indochina and then Algeria and as an internment camp for Algerian nationalists, suspected terrorists and members of the FLN (3). Following the cessation of the Algerian War in 1962, tens of thousands of Harkis fled Algeria fearing for their lives. Unprepared for their arrival and unwilling to recognise their rights, French authorities confined the fleeing Harkis and their families to internment camps, assigning them to 'the periphery of French towns, French history and French identity' (Enjelvin and Korac-Kakabadse, 2012: 161). At this time, Rivesaltes again became a major site of detention, with almost 21,000 people passing through. Conditions at Rivesaltes confirmed for those Harkis interned there that 'the world of the concentration camp is not dead.' (Mettay, 2001: 32).

Visiting the Memorial

A visit to the memorial is split into two distinct parts, with the main exhibition space providing historical context to the camp landscape that endures above. Lying exposed on the Roussillon plain, the remains of barracks speak of the haunted memories of the thousands interned here, the grass that grows marking the slow creep of time and the coming oblivion of posterity: vegetation obscuring memory (Pearson, 2008: 168). The site is marked by the peaks of the Pyrenees, a strikingly beautiful vista that jars with pre-conditioned conceptions of how a concentration camp should look, as Charlesworth (2004, 208) notes, just as we want our perpetrators to look evil, we have a similar tendency to invest our images of concentrationary landscapes with evil and tragedy. Where the mountains speak of an eerie beauty, the adjacent wind farm speaks of modernity, reminding visitors of the ways in which the past and present coexist (Till and Kuusisto-Arponen, 2015: 298), disrupting our sense of time and a radical separation between *our* present and *their* past.

Where above there is no interpretative framework through which to conceive of the ruins; the visitor is left alone to engage with the landscape on their own terms, actively embodying the memory work that such a site demands, below, the permanent exhibition historicises the ruins, inserting Rivesaltes into a narrative that is both particular in its Frenchness and intensely humanist, drawing a direct line from the traumas of the past to the crises of today.

Descending into the exhibition space, the visitor is confronted with four layers of media: a central table conveys a linear, chronological history of the site's development; listening posts present the oral testimonies of survivors; information panels show films that contextualise Rivesaltes within a pan-European context; large projections on the walls show documentary images – Hitler, Pétain, Auschwitz, Algiers, Romanis, Harkis – snapshots of France/Europe's broken past.

The lingering question of French guilt, alluded to above, is addressed throughout the exhibition. Images projected on the wall deliberately juxtapose the French kepi with Wehrmacht helmets, French gendarmes with their Gestapo counterparts, whilst images of deportation clearly show trains bearing the stamp of the SNCF (4), a timely reminder of the complicity of a variety of enduring state institutions. Video panels demand that the visitor consider what they would have done, one placing the viewer in front of the meticulous diaries of deportation. As we watch, animated script overlays the original handwriting, dates of transports appear in perfect copperplate and the visitor seamlessly, unwittingly, adopts the perpetrator's gaze. Directly opposite, a similar panel allows visitors to flick through the photo album of Friedel Bohny-Reiter, an aid worker who helped

Figure 2 The central exhibition space at the memorial.

save the lives of countless people in the camp. Here, the visitor is active, controlling the flow of time; as the names are inscribed on the itinerary of death, the visitor is a passive bystander. Action/passivity, complicity/resistance characterise the protagonists and yet, as Bohny-Reiter's annotations of the deportation indicate, control is perhaps always illusory: 'Direction: Poland' 'To their deaths?'. Such displays bring to mind the work of Browning (1992) and Gross (2001), problematising arbitrary distinctions between perpetrators, bystanders and victims, demanding that the visitor consider their own complicity in ongoing acts of oppression. As Bagnall and Rowland (2010: 69) state, such participatory strategies force visitors to reflect critically on contemporary concerns, embodying the self-determined 'primary function' of the memorial 'to question the world today' (Sajaloli, 2014). Whilst the Syrians of today are not the Jews of the 1930s and 40s, sites such as Rivesaltes demand that we consider our own inaction when civilians are again suffering (Peschanski, 2015).

Unlike many similar sites, for whom artefacts are a 'pervasive tactic' (Clark, 2011: 73), there is a noticeable absence of relics on display at Rivesaltes. Instead, display cabinets are used to punctuate the central narrative, each of the eight small exhibits on display providing a personal intimacy to the broader historical context, providing a 'humanistic connection' that allows visitors to empathise with the internees (Sandell, 2007: 114). Particularly moving is the Jewish religious *armoire*, proof that religious life continued at Rivesaltes in spite of horrendous conditions and the looming threat of deportation. A poignant counterpart to the *armoire* is a collection of objects belonging to German prisoners of war: a carving of a soldier; a letter addressed to 'Meine liebe Annemarie, Gelsenkirchen, Zone Anglaise'; a photo of the camp orchestra. These objects give voice to narratives that are arguably underrepresented elsewhere (Théofilakis, 2014) whilst testifying to the entangled nature of the memories onsite and the pragmatic nature of internment throughout the 20th Century. All of those represented here were deemed undesirable by the French state – many were foreign, others were French, still others were those formerly considered friends. That they should all be remembered is the constant refrain of the memorial; whilst their biographies are by no means the same, shared ties of experience link them to this desolate place. Where other multi-layered sites have been accused of foregrounding one set of memories over

Figure 3 A video installation shows French complicity with the German occupier. Images of politicians, gendarmes and railway officials demonstrate the active role of the French state in the prosecution of the Holocaust.

another (Auschwitz – Charlesworth, 1994; Sachsenhausen – Till, 2005; Buchenwald – Azaryahu, 2003) Rivesaltes' narrative is self-consciously multivocal, encouraging the reinterpretation and reframing of memory, treating it as a live subject, 'something we should agitate and share' (Sajaloli, 2014).

Leaving the exhibition space, visitors take part in an interactive installation by the artist Anne-Laure Boyer – *Letters from Rivesaltes*. Confronted by an immense pile of envelopes, visitors are invited to choose one, writing their address for the museum to send their letter on. Several days later the envelope arrives – 'a thought for those who died' 'let us stand against this nonsense' – and the visitor is again pressed to interpret the site, this time within the comfort of their own home. Thus domesticated, brought into the visitor's private sphere, the memories of Rivesaltes take on a new communicative power, linking people and communities from across Europe, encouraging the sharing and working through of traumatic pasts. Such a project in some way attempts to combat James E. Young's (2000: 94) suspicion that once monumental form is assigned to memory we divulge ourselves of the necessity to remember – through sending such letters, memories of the site are perpetuated, diversified and combat a hegemonic, institutionalised memory of the site. Having the site is important, encouraging dialogue is critical if these memories are to resonate in the future.

Conclusion

As both memorial and camp landscape the Mémorial de Camp de Rivesaltes offers a powerful evocation of history and memory, challenging the visitor to reflect on the past, whilst remaining firmly grounded in the present. In creating both literal and metaphorical space in the French memorial landscape for otherwise marginalised groups, the memorial museum sets itself apart as one of France's premier sites of memory, a veritable 'nerve centre for the memory of internment in France' (Lefevre, 2015). By exposing the plight of the Harkis, the site is uniquely representative, the only place in France to evoke their story of persecution and abandonment (Alary in Région Languedoc-Roussillon, 2015: 4), creating a timely contribution to the French

memorial landscape. Through a commitment to creating equal representation for all of its victims, Rivesaltes arguably avoids the pitfalls of similar contested sites – rather than treating memory as a competitive, 'zero-sum struggle for pre-eminence' (Rothberg, 2009: 3), the site weaves a multifaceted narrative that is inclusive, foregrounding the voices of those once deemed 'undesirable'.

Legacies of internment have echoed throughout the 20th Century – time and again Rivesaltes was France's concentrationary palimpsest. The Mémorial du Camp de Rivesaltes demands that we not be so naïve as to imagine there are not many more Rivesaltes around the world today. In the words of Manuel Valls (2015), French Prime Minister, on the inauguration of the memorial:

> 'The Mémorial du Camp de Rivesaltes does not speak just to the past: it tells us about ourselves, about the France of today…This camp is an invitation to reconcile ourselves to our past in confronting it head on, that which we must do to calm our present and find the serenity that France needs to move forward.'

Notes

(1) Those Algerians who joined the French army as auxiliary troops during the Algerian War. Following the cessation of hostilities many Harkis were massacred in their homeland, whilst those that were lucky to flee were treated as an embarrassment in France.

(2) Any translations from the original French are my own.

(3) *Front de Libération Nationale* (National Liberation Front) – Algerian nationalist organisation.

(4) *Société nationale des chemins de fer français* (National Society for French Railways) – France's state-owned railway company.

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VISUAL SUBMISSION: Invisible Wall - Political Dynamics Embedded in Cultural Heritages

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The image, taken in 2013, is of two buildings in Seoul, South Korea. The 'Jongchinbu (宗親府),' is the wooden building with traditional coloured paintwork on the back. During the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) it was used as an office for the affairs of the royal family. The other building is a newly constructed branch of the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art, Korea (MMCA).

Behind the scenes, there has been an embedded political 'invisible wall' about the conservation of cultural heritages that influences decisions about new national art projects.

After a set of stone steps from the Jongchinbu were unearthed during the construction of the MMCA, a controversy began between the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (MCST) and the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA). The MCST was convinced that an art museum was needed in Seoul. It had been receiving repeated petitions since the 1990's from the Korean art circle. The CHA had been against the new museum since the first approval of the MMCA construction plans in 2005. Later the CHA approved the museum plan on two conditions: 1) 'Jongchinbu' should be restored to its original place and 2) nothing would be built under it.

QUESTION & ANSWER: The Changing Landscape of Museums

The Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) is the statutory state organisation responsible for safeguarding the nation's material cultural heritage, having evolved from the amalgamation of institutions remaining from the colonial era. The GMMB collaborates and partners with national and international institutions in the training of its personnel and funding of projects aimed at preserving, conserving and restoring heritage facilities, resulting for example in a community museum for the Nzema people in the Western region of Ghana to showcase their culture and history and the establishment of a museum in Fort St Anthony in 2013.

Regrettably GMMB, akin to a government agency, has not received much needed attention and thus suffers a myriad of problems, from fundamental technical issues, human resources and finance, to complex issues of legislation and policy directions. The GMMB is nonetheless making strides to keep going. The National Museum in Accra has temporarily closed to make way for a new exhibition. The Cape Coast Castle Museum now focuses on community collaboration and engagement, gearing its efforts towards involving the local community in its activities. The museum houses a permanent exhibition on the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and a small section that celebrates the everyday lives of people from the Central Region. Aside from the daily conservation of cultural heritage properties in its possession, the GMMB provides space for local artists to perform, exhibit and sell their wares.

Currently, measures are being drawn up to address some of the issues that bedevil the GMMB. Much effort is now required in matters of equipment, logistics, infrastructure, training and technical know-how, innovation and motivation. Since the concept of the museum is a Western one, perhaps a more collaborative synergy is needed with global industry players to intensify and expand the activities of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board.

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There are numerous museums in Portugal with unchanged permanent exhibitions; due to a lack of human and financial resources they remain the same for many years. When exhibitions are maintained for long periods of time, it is necessary to revisit them and examine the exhibition themes from different points of view, consider newly arisen questions and make new connections. The relationship to the exhibition becomes deeper and more complex if we look at it in this way. Novelty can arise from there.

It is important to lead visitors to new ways of relating to exhibitions, even without amending the exhibition narrative. One way of doing this is integrating mediation objects in the exhibition context – objects that provoke, question, open perspectives and help each visitor relate in a personal way.

In C. S. Lewis' book The Lion, The Witch and the Wardrobe, there is an extraordinary place – a wardrobe – that allows a group of small children to pass from the real to the imaginary world of Narnia. This place of passage between two worlds enables huge breakthroughs and makes way for a new world. The mediation space between the visitor and the museum's object may allow each one, as in the wardrobe, to pass from the real to the imaginary world, from what is seen to what is dreamed, remembered or imagined, discovering new relations, places and knowledge. Although the museum's objects on their own may invite visitors to make extraordinary trips, most visitors will only embark on the journey through mediation objects.

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Reflections on the social functions of museums have greatly influenced museological practices in Latin America, at least since the declarations of Santiago de Chile (1972) and Quebec (1984). Even traditional institutions have had to confront issues regarding their social relevance and how to engage communities, with their own political and social claims, in the instituition's activities. These concerns motivated the event The Common and the City, *that took place in 2014 at the Espaço do Conhecimento UFMG, a university museum in Belo Horizonte, Brazil.*

The event aimed at eliciting the thoughts and actions of local movements of the multitude through a collective project that questioned authorship and disciplinary boundaries in museums. The result encompassed a myriad of

activities that culminated in an exhibition, Cartographies of the Common*, collaboratively constructed from content to form.*

An initiative such as this contributes to the appropriation of museums by their communities, while reshaping the roles of producers and visitors. The open participation of a variety of individuals and groups in all decision-making, from the conceptualisation of the event to its execution, represented an opportunity to investigate new methodologies, based on shared knowledge production, and democratic appropriation of cultural heritage and museal processes. Many of the themes and issues featured would not ordinarily have space in Brazil's official cultural agenda, albeit strongly present in the actions of independent groups. The event was an opportunity to strengthen direct dialogue with a wider diversity of people and to make the museum more permeable to ideas coming from its environment.

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Museums can be found in most major German metropolitan areas, as well as smaller cities and towns. Whether those on Berlin's Museumsinsel, which annually attract a multitude of domestic and foreign visitors, or in the form of smaller establishments that focus, for example, on the regional history of mining in the Erz Mountains. Whatever their size, museums view themselves not only as cultural institutions or exhibition spaces, but are very aware of their mandate as places of learning and education. Accordingly, and by reference to German museum associations, museums play a vital and active role in contributing to general and cultural education by way of lifelong learning in Germany.

Unfortunately, these efforts are still underappreciated and too little acknowledged by both society and politics. Museums have to provide evidence that they are not merely storage spaces for cultural artefacts, but that they possess a unique quality as educational institutions that deserve to be acknowledged – also including in the field of adult education. A quick glance at texts advertising education programs for adults accompanying exhibitions shows that a wide variety of educational programs exists. Within these, visitors are offered a multitude of possibilities to learn and to be an active part of these programs. Educational services provide more than just a choice between either a passive intake of information or the acquisition of knowledge through the visitor's autonomous artistic activity. Even within an educational program with a receptive character, such as a guided tour, diverse opportunities exist for participants to become active communicatively or physically involved. Educational programs clearly demonstrate what adult museum programs in Germany (could) stand for today and that programs that coincide with museum exhibits significantly and lastingly fulfil an educational mandate.

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The National Museums of Kenya (NMK), established through the National Museums and Heritage Act of 2006 has the legal mandate for heritage research, conservation and management in Kenya. Founded in 1910 by the East Africa Natural History Society, NMK has made major advances in museums, sites and monuments conservation and management and currently hosts the largest scientific collections of both natural and cultural heritage in Kenya and East Africa at large.

NMK has been responsible for the dynamic growth of the heritage sector witnessed in Kenya in the past years. However, emergence of new realities such as the announcement of a New Constitution in Kenya in 2010 has

brought about several challenges. National Government institutions, for example, are now required to delegate some administrative functions to County Level.

This change has necessitated a review of the Heritage Act, as well as a new strategic plan to align NMK strategic interventions with these functions. Out of over twenty-two regional museums under the management of NMK, six national museums (Kitale Museum, Kisumu Museum, Loyangalani Desert Museum, Narok Museum, Wajir Museum and Garissa Museum) have been earmarked for devolution to County Governments by mid-2016. The NMK Board of Directors has also decided to adopt a new organisational structure reducing main Directorates from six to three (Antiquities, Sites and Monuments, Human Resources and Administration and, National Repository & Research).

Despite the constitutional changes, NMK still faces several challenges that include; 1. Decline in Government funding owing to austerity measures from The National Treasury hence affecting NMK operations, 2. Lack of clarity on devolution of NMK functions, 3. Decline of internal revenue due to a series of travel advisories due to terrorism activities in Eastern Africa, and 4. Limited space for museum collections among other challenges.

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