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MUSEUMS
ASSOCIATION
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Nā wai koa e Kui e Koro!
Te urunga o te rā te ata i te pari tahataha o te Rangitīkei
Te Kupu mai i te marae Ngāti Hauiti, Turitea
Whakaheke mai nei te kakau o te hoe
Ngā kāinga pupuri te rākau tawhito
Whakarongo kia koi te whiu
Ko koutou ēna te aurere nei kia mau te ao o rātau mā!
E moe koutou i te moenga roa te whakaaratia
Ka tangi ki Te Papa ka tangi ki Pōtaka
Ka tangi ki Turitea ka tangi ki Aoraki
Ka tangi ki tua o Kāweka ki Ruahine ki Te Marae-o-Hine
Ko te taunaha onamata hei puapua nui
Te mahara nui ki a koutou
E moe! takoto!
Ka whakapae ki uta te takere o tēnā waka o koutou!
Ko Irihāpeti ki te tonga
Te ipu whāngai i ngā iwi e rua!
Mahue iho i to papa nei
Te huka o te tipuna wai a Rangitīkei i tikeitia nei e Haunui-ā-Nanaia
Haere rā koutou te puna o te kupu
E tuku e te uru ē!
Aue! te mamae ē!

Taiarahia Black
Te Pūtahi-ā-Toi
Te Whare Wānanga o Manawatū

EDITORIAL

Mina McKenzie, former Director of the Manawatu Museum, Palmerston North, died suddenly at her home in April 1997. Mina was known to her museum colleagues as a passionate advocate of professional development. To her, professional development included a commitment to bicultural development and professional museological training.

Mina trained as a zoologist at Otago University before taking up a position at the Department of Maori Affairs in Wellington. After moving to Palmerston North she became involved in a wide range of community initiatives. Active participation in the developing Manawatu Museum Society led to her appointment first as Honorary Curator, and then as the first professional Director. This was the beginning of a museum career that involved Mina in heritage issues at local, national and international levels. At the local level the Science Centre and Manawatu Museum will remain as a testimony to her work for the communities of the Manawatu region. At the national level Mina was a member and Chairperson of the Council of AGMANZ for many years and was a strong supporter of the development of MAANZ in more recent years. She always gave particular encouragement to those who had the vision to work with Kaitiaki Maori as equal partners in MAANZ.

Mina was a member of the Te Maori exhibition management team and a member of the Concept Development Team for the Museum of New Zealand - Te Papa Tongarewa. This latter project was one which she followed with considerable interest even when she no longer had a direct input. As Chairperson of the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council Mina was able to bring diverse groups of people together to begin developing a national heritage preservation strategy. The demise of CCAC after the 1991 Budget meant that this work came to a premature end. The Taonga Maori Conference in 1990 was a project she initiated in the belief that building relationships with museum people internationally would enable New Zealand to pursue issues relating to Maori collections held overseas and to facilitate professional development opportunities. This has proven to be the case. In recent years Mina had been a member of the Maori Heritage Council of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. She found

this experience very frustrating for reasons which have now been well documented by the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment.

Mina also made an important contribution to the development of the Museum Studies Programme at Massey University, both as teacher and advisor. Her considerable skills as a teacher and motivator are acknowledged by students who attended her seminars.

Those of us who had the opportunity to work with Mina and experience the passion of her convictions know that it was not always easy to keep pace with her. The vigour with which Mina pursued her vision in recent years sometimes tested friends and colleagues. As her understanding of issues developed, her critique became more relentless and determined.

Throughout, there remained a constant stream of traffic to her door for advice and support. Those of us who began our careers as young museum staff at Manawatu Museum or worked with her in other capacities on committees and projects experienced the passion, humour, commitment, challenge and intelligence that characterised this wahine toa, our kuia. She was a kuia who fought hard against corporatism, managerialism and racism. How many of us are as articulate in our critique of these things which erode the principles, practice and ethics we say we believe in?

Mina sometimes talked about the role her parents had set for her life. She was to be a bridge between Pakeha and Maori. In latter years Mina would occasionally observe that bridging the gap was at best an interim solution. In the end she ceased being a bridge and began to say to people... "If you want to cross the stream, you will have to learn to swim in the current just the same as I do".

Haere ra e te whaea. Noho mai ra i te poho o nga tipuna.

Professor Emeritus Keith Westhead Thomson CMG, MBE died 11 September 1997. After graduating BA from Canterbury University Professor Thomson trained and worked as a teacher for a short time before completing MA and PhD degrees at the University of Washington. He taught at the University of Florida, University of Washington and the University of Adelaide before returning to his home town of Palmerston North in 1961 as the Principal of the Agricultural College. In 1964 he became foundation Dean of the faculty of Social Sciences and Professor of Geography.

Professor Thomson began his association with museums as a trainee teacher on section at Canterbury museum. By the time he returned to Palmerston North in 1961 he had developed a strong interest in art administration. He was a member of AGMANZ Council from 1963-87, a member of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust Board from 1985-88 and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Museum, National Art Gallery and National War Memorial from 1980-1990. During this period he also participated actively in the Commonwealth Association of Museums, the International Council of Museums and the National Commission for UNESCO.

In 1981 Professor Thomson wrote <u>Art Galleries and Museums in New Zealand</u> and later published a guide to art galleries and museums in New Zealand. Perhaps his most significant contribution to the development of museums in New Zealand was his role in the establishment of the Museum Studies Programme at Massey University in 1989. During the 1980's he had coordinated a training programme for AGMANZ. The success of this activity provided the evidence needed to convince the University and the New Zealand Lotteries Board that a University Degree was required. After his retirement in 1989 Professor Thomson continued to act as an adviser and tutor in the program. He also contributed in his role as Secretary/Treasurer of the New Zealand National Committee for ICOM until a month before he died. In recognition of his contribution to the Museum community in New Zealand it has been decided that several Professor K.W. Thomson Scholarships will be offered to support attendance with

ICOM Conferences in Melbourne in 1998.

The papers in this issue of the Journal are a selection of the papers sent to the Editors by the organisers of the 1996 MAANZ/MEANZ Annual Conference in Dunedin. Not all contributors to the conference provided papers for publication. Some contributors provided notes which were not suitable for publication in the Journal.

The conference organisers acknowledge the support given by Te Papa Tongarewa - National Services which enabled the participation of a number of guest speakers. Without this support it would be very difficult to invite people from other countries to participate in museum conferences in Aotearoa/New Zealand.

David Butts
Editor

MINA MCKENZIE - POROPOROAKI AT RATA MARAE

Stuart Park, Te Papa Tongarewa, Te Whanganui-a-Tara

Tēna koe, e Mina, lying there in the porch of your ancestral house, on this your marae, Rata. Greetings, and farewell - haere, haere, haere ki te Pō.

I've been remembering.

Remembering and wondering when it was I first met you. You were something pretty rare, a woman museum director, of whom there were then not many, and rarer still, a Māori woman museum director - I think you were the first. It must have been in the late 70's or early 80's, I think. We were Council members of the body then called AGMANZ, the Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand, of which you were to become a President and later a Fellow. It's not called that any more - in fact it's mostly because of you that it's not. Now it's the Museums' Association of Aotearoa New Zealand Te Rōpu Hanga Kaupapa Taonga, a reflection of the changed, bicultural perception of museums that we now share, a perception you and others were really influential in bringing about. Many of us who have come to be here today are members of that organisation, from different museums in many parts of the country gathered to mourn, to fare-well, to remember.

I remember your involvement on the Management Committee for the exhibition *Te Māori*. We shared there a concern as museum professionals for the physical well-being of the taonga that were to travel so far from home, but I remember the sense of discovery of your concern for their spiritual well-being too. Many of us Pākehā museum people found through the process of that great exhibition, through contact with you as well as others, that other side of those taonga we were

responsible for whose care.

I remember talking to you about those Rangitāne ancestors of yours which I had been surprised to find in that museum in Paris, and the very real concern you had both for the way they were shown, and for the lack of concern for their spiritual well-being. We both lamented that, but you did something about it. Through your efforts, and those of others, the Taonga Māori conference came about, where curators of precious taonga housed in museums all over the world were brought here to New Zealand, and shown the significance of what they did, and didn't do, and how that had meaning in the lives of people living in New Zealand now. It was a real eye-opener for them, something which has had lasting effect, and which I know forged friendships which have only now been severed.

You showed your concern for taonga in your work for the Cultural Conservation Advisory Council too, work which yielded good results along the way, even if it ended in disappointment and frustration at the lack of willingness on the part of Government to accept its on-going responsibility for the care of cultural heritage. That was not through any want of prompting from you. You served on the committee which produced *Ngā Taonga o te Motu*, the report which guided the early development of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, the museum I now work for. You continued to remind all those involved of the commitments and undertakings that were made in the process of that development.

I think of the way you used to describe yourself as a bridge between several

parts of your heritage, a bridge between Jew and Gentile, a bridge between Māori and Pākehā. And like all bridges, you would say, you got trampled on. Yes, we trampled, indeed we trampled. And yet you also prided yourself in being a thorn in the side of those whose views you disagreed with, so that, if I can mix up the metaphors, we got jabbed in the foot as we trampled.

Even when you were being difficult, you were always concerned for your colleagues as people, always supportive especially of those who got into difficulties. That concern was particularly strong for those Māori, initially very few and mostly quite young, who were beginning to be attracted to working for museums. I wasn't here, but I know it was on this your home marae that you called a meeting of those young people, out of which grew Ngā Kaitiaki Māori, that grouping of Māori museum workers which has developed so strongly from that small beginning.

It wasn't only young Māori whom you supported either - I can think of a number of our Pākeha colleagues, amongst whom are several who are now directors of museums, whom you mentored and supported, and bullied as well, as part of the process of their development as museum people. Some of those people, Māori and Pākehā, are here in this group of museum people who have come to farewell you today, others have been here or will be here during this tangi, while still others are here with us in spirit, being prevented by distance from joining us today.

Standing here on this marae today, I remember being on many marae with you, usually as part of a

MAANZTRHKT group. I remember some wonderful times; I remember some difficult times. I remember some embarrassing times, especially when, as I am now, we were coming to the end of a whaikōrero, and had to think - what will our waiata be? After several painful renditions of various songs we half knew, I remember that you decided this wasn't good enough. You asked Canon Wi Huata for a song for AGMANZ (as it was then). He willingly obliged, adapting an old Ngāti Porou waiata so it spoke of the museums of all the corners of New Zealand and their responsibilities for caring for taonga. I remember the tape recording you made of yourself singing it, playing it over and over again on the car tape machine on the way to a hui so we could stand and support Aunty Mina in singing our waiata.

But gee it was difficult for Pākehā minds and voices! When we stood to sing it, we were usually awful. Before I came today, I looked for that tape, to play in the car on the way here as we used to do, so I could sing it for you now. Probably you're as relieved as I am that I couldn't find it, and I'm not going to try to sing it. Because you're not here to lead, I can't follow. And that's a sadness in many respects, not just about that song, but about the fact that all of us here who have looked to you for leadership, for support, for example and for prompting will now have to carry on without you. But you will remain with us in many many ways, in that museum in Palmerston North which is very much your creation, in the lives and careers of so many museum people whom you helped and supported, and in those taonga which you care for so very much.

Haere rā e Mina, haere, haere, ki te Pō.

Stuart Park

PUBLIC SCHOLARSHIP AS A VOCATION

Ivan Karp

National Endowment for the Humanities Professor, Emory University

Let me begin with a series of examples that illustrate the ways people are engaged in public scholarship, and the many forms it can take. Some deal specifically with museums, others with topics that different kinds of museums might try to exhibit. Taken together they suggest a wide range of issues that apply to museums, just as what museums do applies to other institutions of civil society.

An anthropologist/historian of science studies the culture and social organization of physicists working in high energy accelerator laboratories in Palo Alto, CA and Japan. Japanese scientists approach her to ask if she can help them find out why Americans are so much more successful than their Japanese counterparts at attracting government support for research.

In the 1930's a primary school teacher in rural Kenya, among the first of his ethnic group to become literate, devotes himself to becoming the premier historian of the island of Zanzibar and dies without ever visiting there.

In an article on the dissemination of American history, a leading historian asserts that more American History is taught at Walt Disney World in Florida than anywhere else in the world. In another article, a Canadian museum director notes that more Canadians visit Walt Disney World each year than all the museums of Canada combined. At the same time, Walt Disney World hires curators to help develop their displays and borrows objects for its museum exhibits from the Smithsonian Institution. The collection manager of the National Museum of Natural History notes on Disney's request forms that the Disney "Imagineers" are very concerned that

the objects they seek to borrow have scholarly authentication.

Agricultural extension officers in Sierra Leone are distressed to find that the "green revolution,' rice plants they are distributing —the fruits of the best work done in molecular biology laboratories—are cross-bred by local farmers. A specialist on indigenous knowledge systems finds that non-literate women farmers are crossbreeding the plants to extend the range of local environments in which the plants can thrive, thus sacrificing some crop yield in exchange for a better fit with volatile climatic conditions. The scholar also finds that these farmers use a model of genetic change based on the alteration of several characteristics at once rather than the simpler model of altering single genetic traits conventionally used in most Western laboratories. The researcher discovers that this knowledge is restricted to women and not readily expressed in the public forums that tend to be dominated by men.

Academics concerned with the politics of knowledge and the declining prestige of the academy have begun to write about the demise of the, "public intellectual." At the same time natural and physical scientists have begun to write about the threat of "anti-science" to their activities without seeming to be aware of the large body of materials on the philosophy, history, and sociology of science that questions notions of linear progress and the accumulation of knowledge. A sociologist of science remarks that the dismay of the scientists may be due less to what has been written than to the recent loss of prestige that scholarship in general and science in particular enjoyed in the broader society.

The Deputy Director of the Museum of the Chinese in America receives a fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation to conduct research on memory and the use of photography among the Chinese community of Peru. She works a portion of her research into an exhibit that will be seen primarily by non-Chinese. In the meantime her museum struggles with the demands of producing exhibits and educational programs that serve both the local population of Chinatown in New York City and educate non-Chinese visitors about the complex history and social life of Chinese in the Americas.

Introduction

I speak and write as a born again academic, a former museum curator who had once been an academic, and has now returned to the scene of his first crimes. I think I have some sense of how life is conducted in two kinds of institutions that I am going to call "academic" and "public." Obviously all organs of civil society concerned with the production and dissemination of knowledge are public, but they are public in different ways, with different but overlapping mandates and they make somewhat different but overlapping demands on their personnel. But I believe that academic institutions differ in significant ways from other kinds of public institutions, such as museums.

Of course the public institution I once worked in had its own specificity. It was not just the Smithsonian Institution, but the National Museum of Natural History, a peculiar institution if ever there was one. I also had the opportunity to work with the Smithsonian's art and history muse-

ums. In the process I learned that tribal warfare was alive and well in my nation's capital and that the more we had in common the greater was the distance among us. Then I moved to a university rhetorically committed to interdisciplinarity, but so radically divided that the science departments would not ask an historian of science to participate in their plan to develop an introduction to science. I felt right at home.

With the hope of narrowing the distance among different kinds of museums, not to mention other public institutions I began to think about the broad category of "public scholars," which I intend to refer to the large but often unacknowledged body of credentialed and uncredentialed workers who produce and disseminate knowledge for the various segments of civil society that we call "publics."

This category can include many of the employees who work in museums, and even artists (especially if we assume that the act of producing art is also an act of producing and distributing knowledge). I am drawing a contrast here between public scholars and academics. The contrast is both ideal and real, but what I am trying to get at is the difference between producing knowledge that will be disseminated to a community composed of like minded and trained professionals, no matter how contentious, and producing and disseminating knowledge across a cultural and social boundary. The latter is for me a significant feature of public scholarship. The boundary may be defined by different languages and cultures or by different standards of rhetoric and truth. There can be fundamental differences between the rhetorical tools used in exhibitions and those used in a scholarly article - just as the classroom has its own skills and standards. Yet as educational institutions, museums and universities have much in common. Smithsonian researchers have found that the only significant shared attribute of their museum audiences that they can isolate is education. It may be that the boundary between those who

hold a college degree and those who do not have one is a boundary that American museums, at least, have yet to cross.

But however the boundaries between the academy and other institutions of civil society have always been permeable and blurred. The popular image of the university as an ivory tower is now less than ever an ideal toward which academics should strive. Yet the specialization and expertise that are necessary in technologically complex societies require that institutions of higher education play a major role in producing and reproducing know ledge and society. Increasing specialization in the production of knowledge often results in that knowledge being increasingly "owned" by people who possess the resources and credentials that enable them to operate at the highest levels of the national and international public spheres. The academy is thus pulled in two opposing directions at one and the same time, to produce specialists and specialist knowledge and at the same time to be relevant and engaged in applying that knowledge to society.

Communication across the boundary between the credentialed specialist and the complex of communities that make up the broader society is but one casualty of an age of specialization. Limited access to the knowledge and symbolic capital of expertise also hinders the exposure that different communities composing the social fabric of societies have to one another.

As experts and specialists take advantage of the flow of information made possible by new technologies, other members of their societies may have ever more limited access to knowledge, experience and interaction with each other than they have to the different cultures presented to them in mass media. The unintentional product of the advanced stages of this process is that fewer opportunities are created for people from different backgrounds to explore what they may have in common and what may make them different, both across national bounda-

ries and in the same society. Their interaction is replaced by specialists and experts who act as their surrogates but belong to transnational professional communities.

A second consequence of the separation of communities is that the knowledges local communities and different cultures use to manage their lives and solve their problems also become unavailable to specialists whose work it is to aid those communities. As the boundaries between communities harden, it becomes difficult for experts and specialists either to communicate across those boundaries or to work in multiple community settings.

Specialization and expertise are both necessary and beneficial, but the separation of societies into rigid classes of specialists and clients is neither necessary nor a social good. Social organizations based on expertise tend to ignore the body of specialists who operate in community settings, who may not be academically credentialed, and work across community boundaries. While these scholars and specialists may not have the same prestige and power as those who work in formal educational, research, consulting and development agencies, they are better placed to know and serve people who are not at the pinnacle of transnational social systems. I have in mind scholars and specialists whose work requires them to be intimately involved in more than one community and one cultural world at the same time, and to connect those worlds.

Museums can be institutions that reinforce the divide between specialists and clients or they can be institutions that regularly criss-cross boundaries, for example, by working with community scholars or by bringing the museum into different communities. Thus the broad category of public scholars, based in communities or cultural institution themselves, might include community physicians of the sort that John Berger described as "clerk recorders of the community, " museum curators interested in working with

underserved audiences, community arts organizers and activists, health educators and activists, strike leaders and labour historians working with labor unrest, some documentary film makers, and folklorists and performers who seek to preserve and renew community-based performance forms.

What all of these figures have in common is that they are highly trained and technically competent scholars whose scholarship works in the service of understanding the perspectives embodied in the visual and verbal modes of communication of different cultures, of documenting multiple forms of art and performance or of working on problems that people of different communities all face from a point of view that includes **their** issues and the knowledges they draw on to manage their lives. At the same time they work with local (vernacular) scholars who may not themselves be credentialed, including AIDS activists, strike leaders who have theories and ideas about the history of the relationship between labor and capital, so-called untrained artists (who are trained but not in academic traditions of art). Often public scholars work out of institutions of Public Scholarship, such as museums, which have the potential to become spaces for developing models of collaboration that might bring together participants from different cultural worlds, whose joint scholarship has the capacity to speak across many boundaries. The key to making scholarly work that is multifaceted and multi-perspectival, that extends across boundaries rather than reinforcing boundaries, is the mediating role played by public scholars themselves who work on the front line between the academy and communities, as well as between many communities. Museum professionals fit this definition of public scholars. They are asked to cross these boundaries continually.

The challenge for academics who aspire to do public scholarship and for public scholars themselves is to find ways of turning the spaces where they work into settings where they can draw on the best of the academy and of multiple communities.

Specialization is necessary and important but it too often produces disengaged scholars and professionals who are "Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart," in Max Weber's evocative description of the modern predicament. In universities, in large museums, in think tanks and foundations, contemporary scholarship, teaching and service are often far too self contained. In many public institutions service appears unconnected to scholarly goals and teaching or for that matter, exhibiting, is perceived as more a price to be paid for occupying an academic position rather than as an integral part of an academic calling.

Both academics and scholar activists badly need one another if they are both to work on the project of producing a society that can serve its diverse communities in a just fashion. The skills and systematic knowledge available in academic settings need to be paired with the local knowledges and sense of immediacy that comes from immersion in the life of communities.

A Definition of Public Scholarship
Museums and universities alike, even private ones, are public places; they are enmeshed in the social fabric of the cultures out of which they grow. Thus, broadly speaking, all scholarship is public. It is made for communities of people and made out of the shared resources of those communities. Even the natural sciences have been culturally and historically shaped; scientists conduct scientific activities within the context of social concerns and needs. The humanities and social sciences must explicitly study what is publicly known, publicly evaluated, and socially experienced.

From a more restricted point of view, scholarship intersects with specific communities and publics. That is, scholars often address their work to particular communities—ranging from other scholarly professionals to members of the general public who visit museums, see films, listen to the radio, and so forth. Academics often address various publics or claim to express public points of view; frequently members of the public are both the subjects and (often unacknowledged) collaborators of their research and writing.

Of course, the relationship between scholars and various "publics" has long been a source of debate. Some insist that scholarship may be divorced from personal interest. They hold that using certain methodologies, which they deem objective, will produce the distance between the student and that which is studied that is necessary to achieve validity. From this point of view communities are objects to be understood from without. Others argue that each culture has a set of standards that are neither commensurate with any other, nor are there any universal standards by which they should be judged. Communities can only be understood by their own members whose "voices" have been silenced by members of dominant cultures. The first position can be called "objectivist" and places the scholar in the position of the privileged knower. The second position is strongly relativist and identifies the members of communities as the only possible owners of knowledge about them. The first position fails to account for the ways that society itself is produced by knowledgeable agents, who make history ~ if not always under circumstances of their own choosing. But relativism has its flaws as well. It is simply unable to acknowledge or account for cultural, social and political diversity in communities; real relativists find themselves unable to exercise moral judgments when oppression is internal to different cultures and communities. They also fail to allow for the reflective examination of cause and pattern in human affairs that only distanced scholarship may be able to provide.

Objectivism and relativism are hotly debated in such divergent arenas of academic life in the U.S. as the Political correctness debate, in the concerns about abandoning the canon in study

of literature and art; the substitution of non-western history for western civilization courses in history; and debates about sexuality and minority visions of identity. Even when the issues are connected to debates about what is critical for understanding other parts of the globe, the arguments often centre on which cultural traditions to emphasize in the curriculum or the museum or in the nation. In the U.S. we have debated whether national history standards promote a "true" picture of the American past. These arguments are surface manifestations of underlying contests about what vision of society will prevail in a nation state, and even in the global public sphere.

Surely it is possible to take a third position, that is neither objectivist nor relativist. I believe that all human existence is fundamentally plural. All societies are composed of communities that are both different from one another and yet also share some cultural traits and experiences in common. Cultures and societies are composed of incommensurate goods and value. If this is so, then rational procedure cannot create a single hierarchy in which all cultures, values and goods can be ranked. The connections among them must be mediated. A fundamental goal of any plural social order is to seek to specify what its members have in common and how they differ. The most fundamental freedom in a plural society is not the freedom to do something, but the negative image of the freedom to do, which is the freedom to resist the demand to do something.

A pluralist perspective argues that social experience itself is made of a patchwork of commonalities and differences. From this point of view a fundamental goal of society must be to tolerate and even celebrate otherness without seeking to own it. Pluralists seek to uncover those shared aspects of culture and experience that can bring those who are culturally different together, and also to take the opposite task, to highlight those features of our lives that distinguish one community from another. The task of a

scholar committed to a pluralist point of view is to stand both inside and outside of any given community at one and the same time. As it is impossible to stand in no place at all, this also requires public scholars to maintain simultaneous positions in more than one culture or community at one and the same time, and to strive to make connections among cultures and communities.

The goal is realizing a plural society can be vital for the institutions engaged in the production and dissemination of knowledge. Public institutions and public scholars have the potential to incorporate plural perspectives in their work, to recognize that sources of knowledge are as diverse as society itself and that academic and specialist scholarship in the broadest sense must strive to connect with knowledge produced outside of academic institutions.

In order to take this stance public scholars need to understand that knowledge produced within a single community or from a single perspective is just a starting point, and that knowledge produced within academic institutions is often incomplete and unconnected to the problems and prospects of contemporary life. Academic knowledge is shaped by 19th century disciplinary structures that can be significant impediments to good interdisciplinary work. I share Bruno Latour's bleak vision of an academy staffed by isolated scholars working on partial solutions to half problems:

Offer the established disciplines some fine sociotechnological network, some lovely translations, and the first group will extract our concepts and pull out all the roots that might connect them to society or to rhetoric; the second group will erase the social and political dimensions, and purify our network of any object; the third group, finally, will retain our discourse and rhetoric but purge our work of any undue adherence to reality - *horresco referens* - to power plays. In the eyes of our critics the ozone hole above our heads, the moral

law in our hearts, the autonomous text, may be of interest, but only separately. That a delicate shuttle should have woven together the heavens, industry, texts, souls, and moral law - this remains uncanny, unthinkable, unseemly. (1993:5)

Public scholars can not afford to work only on arbitrarily selected aspects of the problems they choose, or from a single perspective; nor can academics hope to produce significant results if they continue to do so. The world that specialization made no longer conforms to the forms of specialization that created it. Public scholarship has got to be organized by the acknowledgment that society is composed of people who live in complex and overlapping cultures and communities and have complex identities themselves; that the creation of identity is a complicated and enigmatic phenomenon; that knowledgeable actors produce society, but that the society they produce is not always the society they imagined; and that knowledge (out of which identity emerges) may be produced and disseminated in a variety of forms and by, "experts" who may or may not be credentialed. As I imagine it, projects animated by the combined ideals of public scholarship and pluralism endeavor to bring together expertise derived from diverse contexts— and produced in forms that are more diverse than the scholarly article— and to create a setting which does not establish hierarchies of knowledge without first examining how those hierarchies are made.

Public Scholarship and Museum Controversies

Public scholarship is no easy task. Public scholars must be specialists who cast a cold eye on their own specialisms, generalisers who work across many boundaries and are keenly aware of how their work affects and is affected by the mosaic of overlapping communities with whom they work. And I haven't even mentioned that dreadful topic of all museum conferences, the crisis in funding.

For museums the demands of public

scholarship can be seen clearly in the sphere of exhibiting. Exhibit making crosses an extraordinary number of boundaries. Exhibits are clearly forms of scholarly activity, but except in the smallest museums, they are not the solitary work of the library bound humanist, nor even the highly coordinated but socially isolated work of laboratory researchers. Despite what curators would like to think, exhibits are not made by heroic scholars closeted in studies writing scripts. In the largest institutions, the team that actually makes an exhibit is composed of a formidable array of specialists, who interact in terms of complementary skills and conflicting interests. Curators who hold the knowledge and define the interpretations to be exhibited confront designers who believe that theirs is a higher calling, that they have a true picture of the real arrangements of things. Conservators who feel that the very act of exhibiting will destroy an object jostle with script writers, exhibit developers, audience researchers and members of the education department, who are left to explain to the public what little coherence may have emerged from the unruly process of exhibit making.

Obviously my description is extreme, unless you were employed by the same museum that I worked for, but the tendency to disorder is ever present in museum exhibits. It is matched only by the order claimed by museums and expected by the public. Speaking of his library Walter Benjamin once said that "The disorder of a collection is matched only by the order of its catalog (actually quoting Anatol France)." True enough for museums, and even truer for their exhibits.

The internal boundaries and conflicts entailed by exhibit making are nothing compared to the external boundaries crossed in exhibit making. Exhibits, all exhibits, cross at least the boundary between the museum and its publics. This is a fundamental cross cultural experience that may include crossing more cultural boundaries than the one that separates specialists and the general public. The context of the exhibit may have its own cultural

boundaries to cross, and museum audiences are more frequently than not composed of people who have complex identities and memberships in multiple communities.

The diversity of museum audiences should not obscure for us the one significant attribute they share with one another. Members of the audience expect museums and their exhibits to tell stories. Surely enough, museums do tell stories, and the stories they tell are inferred by museum publics from the order they attribute both to exhibitions themselves and the whole of the museums in which exhibitions are placed.

Museums tell stories through the use of visual and narrative devices in exhibits and in the spaces between exhibits, which are far more important than most of us think. Within museums, the boundaries crossed among museum professionals and audiences involve exhibit makers and audiences alike in acts of mediation and representation — translating meaning from one cultural system to another, specifying the different times, places, and contexts referred to by the museum and its exhibits, as well as creating different settings and contexts within the museum itself (permanent displays, gift shops, cafes, temporary exhibitions, entrance foyers, etc — Andrea Fraser's performance art shows how important these differences are by blurring and playing on them.). The stories expected and inferred provide cohesion for these acts; they are part of the interpretive process through which boundaries can be crossed or divisions can be deepened.

Broad exhibitionary narratives are associated with at least two sites. The first is the exhibition itself, and the second is the museum as a whole. As I try to suggest below, the overall arrangement of museums, especially the large art, culture, and natural history museums are not perceived as intentionally made by the museum professionals who work in them. But the very ways that museums sort themselves into different genres and the ways that they draw on their cultural

authority lead audiences to expect that the narratives of exhibit halls are extended to the museum as a whole and vice versa. These differences in narrative expectations are part of the boundary between museum professionals and audiences. Museum professionals see different halls as different books in a library, while museum visitors may see them more like chapters within a single book.

The major American museums, such as the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, create elaborate installations, and expend enormous sums on architecture in order to indicate to their audiences that as they move through the museum, they move across times and spaces. They set up sequences of time and space which may seem haphazard to them and the audience, but are sequential none the less.

Even when museum professionals protest that the sequence of exhibits is not designed to communicate messages and ideologies, members of the audience will find meanings in their experience of the museum. In the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History, the entrance at one end of the Hall of African Cultures was at the end of the Ice Age Hall. The last display in the Ice Age Hall showed a Neanderthal man standing in a cave, perhaps in a ritual posture. Even I thought he looked a bit apprehensive. His field of vision took in the doorway and he gazed directly into a diorama in the African Culture Hall, the interior of a circa 1950's dwelling among the Himba of Namibia. The Himba in the house were dressed in customary dress, women's clothing derived from late nineteenth century missionary dress, while the Neanderthal man was dressed in skins.

The curator of the Ice Age Hall and the curator of the Hall of African Cultures did not conspire with one another to make this transition. The halls had been installed about 15 years apart in time. For twenty five years no audience member is recorded as having remarked that in the museum the Ice Age ended at a point where African culture, circa 1955, seemed to begin.

In the early 1990's, however, this remarkable sequence began to attract notice. At least the audience response began to be reported to the museum. The museum received letters from scholars and the public describing their dismay at finding Africa put one step above Neanderthal man in a scale of cultural evolution. One woman wrote of seeing a group of primary school students in which the black students were teased about their primitive status by the white students. The staff of the museum protested that this was not their intention, that Africa didn't have an Ice Age, that the halls in the museum had no logical or narrative sequence, that the halls had been installed at different times and with rather different intentions, and so on.

I made all of those protests myself. I think they are valid, particularly when a scholar as distinguished as Mieke Bal interprets the culture halls of the American Museum of Natural History as if they were made at one point in time. Professional protests made with good intentions ignore a fundamental feature of museums, that they provide ready made narratives for interpreting the objects and displays in them. No matter how pluralistic and relativising the curators of the Natural History Museum in Washington might be, they work in a display and research environment that is dedicated to illustrating the theory of evolution. It is a small step for its audience to extend the theory of evolution from natural species to cultures, which in a natural history museum setting are easily redefined as natural species. Eventually the Hall of African Cultures was shut down. The new Hall will have an entrance in the same place, but Neanderthal man will no longer gaze into his African future. Still I am not convinced that the narrative of the museum will not determine the audience's interpretation. I once suggested that signs be put at the entrances of each of the culture halls stating "You are leaving the National Museum of Natural History and entering an evolution free space." Would they have worked?

As I've just argued, the difficulties of

representation entailed by showing and telling stories about sequences of events over time or space are no less daunting than those entailed in the task of capturing a moment in time. Problems of representation and mediation confront all museums and all exhibits and are exacerbated by the norms of showing and telling that museums set up for themselves, especially the norm that specifies that story telling must be a visual experience in museums.

I know that I am treading on thin ice here. Many of us in the museum community believe that narrative is best left to books, but I want to stress that seeing is part and parcel of the narrative process. The power of museum exhibits, in my opinion, is that the stories they tell are made in multimedia environments. They achieve the effects of the "real" in ways that are significantly different from texts and often far more effective.

This is due in no small part to the ways in which the combination of visual and textual means of communication produce an aura of authenticity in museums. Authenticity is both an effect that exhibit makers strive to achieve and an experience that audiences come to expect. But this is exactly the point where the vocation of public scholarship bears on exhibit making. Authenticity is a goal and an experience, but it is also an ideological effect. Authenticity, in other words, is not a naturally occurring phenomenon. It is not made by museum magic; it is the intentional outcome of a process that involves curation and design. It is simply an effect achieved by museum professionals.

The idea of the authentic legitimizes and authorizes museums, just as the hope of alleviation of suffering authorizes and legitimizes public scholarship and activism in health. I have no objection to those goals, but I strongly object to exhibits that use the ideology of authenticity to exempt their own content and work from criticism, that do not acknowledge that they are made by fallible human beings and not god-like creatures. There are problems with art museum curators who

claim that a lifetime of experience provides them with an eye that others do not have, or history curators who believe they know the true story of times past, or even with exhibit designers who speak only to the divinity. These persons make knowledge claims that do not take into account the different contexts and structures out of which knowledge emerges and most certainly do not see themselves as involved in the task of crossing boundaries. The more exclusive their claim to authenticity, the less their exhibits share with audiences the criteria on which judgements were made and the doubts that accompanied those judgments, the more an exhibit turns from a conversation into a lecture.

Lectures may work in the classroom and even in museum conferences, but they are a poor exhibiting strategy. They hide the contingent nature of all claims to authenticity underneath strong claims to unquestioned authority. Not only are boundaries left uncrossed, but educational opportunities are lost. We may be able to show our audiences the best of contemporary art, or how in the U.S. the West was won, or how the religion of another culture imagines the world. But if we cannot show the process through which our judgments were made, that those judgments are provisional and not final, that there are bases on which our judgments can be contested, or that there are other stories we chose not to tell, then the final product is not a work of public scholarship. What we have in the end may be a well crafted exhibit, but it will also be an exhibit that chooses to remain on one side of a boundary and refuses the invitation of public scholarship - to take the risk of crossing boundaries.

CODA

Public scholarship is not new. It has been practised in museums and other institutions of public culture far longer than any of us have been living - just as claims to authority have been contested longer than our collective memory recalls them.

In 1871 F.E. Maning wrote the

following to the Auckland Institute and Museum:

> I was never intended for a philosopher. I never in my life could get hold of or discover one single, good, substantive fact, what are all these great truths which you of the Institute sometimes fancy you could discover? Just shakey notions dependent on contingencies as tottering as themselves.

Exhibit makers, museum professionals and other public scholars would do well to keep Maning's question in mind.

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MUSEUMS AND THEIR CONSTITUENCIES: COMMUNITIES, AUDIENCES, PUBLICS AND CITIZENS

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'Museums and communities': the phrase has a nice, warm ring about it - two positive terms nestled in a cosy association with one another. Yet their combination can be a problematic one which both begs and begets as many problems as it solves. The motivation which lies behind their coupling is, of course, clear enough. To speak of museums and communities is to speak of museums as instruments of community empowerment, as places which will involve their communities in their programmes and activities and which, as sites of community participation, will be subject to varying forms of community control. The concept of museums as spaces for communication, where different communities will speak to and with one another in a conception of the museum's function transforms the curator's role from one of scientific expert into that of a facilitator of cross-cultural dialogue. To speak of museums and communities in these ways also implies a critique of other ways in which the relations between museums and their constituencies might be envisaged just as it embodies a vision of how museums should be managed which implies a critique of how, in fact, they usually are managed. A museum which serves its community, or communities, is supposedly more directly in touch with, and responsive to, the needs of those whose interests it is its purpose to serve than are museums which see their roles primarily in terms of their relations to the more abstracted and alienated entities of audiences, publics or citizens. Equally, a museum which goes beyond producing community participation to subject itself to community control, embodies, so it is claimed, a more direct form of democratic governance than is the case where museums are governed through the indirect forms of democracy - govern-

ment appointed boards of trustees regulating the activities of a professional staff - which typically apply to public museums.

These are all laudable objectives and, as such, difficult to take issue with. But therein, I think, lies one of the central limitations of the concept of community. For the problem with the language of 'community' - and it is a problem whether we are talking about museums and communities, about community arts, or about community development programmes - is that it is such a 'goody-two-shoes' of a word that it is difficult either to take issue with the values it implies or to champion the values to which it stands opposed. Raymond Williams, in outlining the history and present usage of the term, touches on the issues I have in mind here when he remarks that community 'can be the warmly persuasive word to describe an existing set of relationships, or the warmly persuasive word to describe an alternative set of relationships'. Whichever the case, though, Williams argues that the term 'seems never to be used unfavourably, and never to be given any positive opposing or distinguishing term' (Williams, 1976: 66). To the contrary, whenever community is spoken of it is portrayed in a positive light just as whatever stands as the opposite of community is thereby automatically damned by comparison. This has been especially true of the state which, as Williams notes, has historically been seen in western social theory, as the realm of formal, abstract and instrumental relationships in contrast to 'the more direct, more total and therefore more significant relationships of community' (ibid: 66). Whoever speaks of community, then, is able to draw on layers of historical meaning that have become sedimented in contemporary usage -

the common people as opposed to people of rank or station; the quality of holding something in common; a sense of shared identity emerging from common conditions of life - which, through the simple act of uttering the word, cast whatever is not community as the villain of the piece.

A few examples will show how this, the rhetorical force of the term, operates in contemporary constructions of the relations between museums and communities. James Clifford in advocating the perspective of museums as 'contact zones,' - that is, as places for cross-cultural communication - argues that this is achievable only provided that 'museums understand themselves to be interacting with specific communities .... rather than just educating or edifying a public' (Clifford, 1997: 20). Similarly, the ideals of the ecomuseum, ideals which have subsequently become those of the community-museum movement, constitute an explicit break with, and critique of, the 'top-down' model of museums which sees museums primarily in terms of their responsibilities - of instruction and improvement - to their publics. They favour, in place of such hierarchical conceptions, a more interactive model through which the museum's constituency, transformed from a passive recipient of instruction into an active community, becomes the co-author of the museum in a collaborative enterprise 'designed to ensure "mutual learning" and the participation of all' whose ultimate goal is 'the development of the community' (Hubert, cit Poulot, 1994: 66). The position advanced in the influential collection *Museums and Communities* edited by Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven Lavine is a more nuanced and complex one. Even so, museums, when they are aligned with communities, are placed

on one side of a divide in being identified with civil society as distinct from the realm of government or political society (see Karp et al, 1992: 4-5). In all of these cases, the realms of government, of the state, and of the public stand condemned as arid and formalistic abstractions which are either indifferent to, or obstruct, the active cultural life of communities.

Well, I disagree. This is not to deny that the issues that have been worked through in debates about museums and communities have been, and remain, important ones or that the resulting changes in museum practices are not to be valued and regarded as worthy of further cultivation. My contention, rather, is that the rhetorical force of the concept of community can, if left unchecked, seriously distort our understanding of the issues that need to be engaged with as museums, which undoubtedly *are* undergoing significant change, attempt to rethink the nature of their relationships with, and obligations to, an increasingly complex, and complexly differentiated, range of constituencies.1 I shall develop this, my main point, by means of three subsidiary arguments. My purpose in the first of these will be to suggest that, far from embodying a set of values which stand outside of the state or government, communities - in so far as we are concerned with them in the realm of museum policy - often prove to be the creations of government. They are the results of specific processes - of consultation and involvement - through which museums and other public cultural institutions fashion particular groups into communities in order that they might then serve those communities in a diversity of ways. Second, I shall suggest that the involvement of museums in the processes through which communities of this kind are fashioned into being is incapable of standing in the place of, or entirely displacing, other ways of thinking about and representing the relationships between museums and their constituencies - as audiences, publics or citizens, for example. Finally, I shall argue that, although not without its

limitations especially in relation to First Peoples issues, it is to the language of museums and citizens that we should look for the most all-encompassing way of theorising contemporary museum developments. Doing so also has the added advantage of suggesting a different light in which we might view the advocacy of a community perspective in contemporary museum debates.

Museums, citizens and publics
Indeed, it is from this last point that I want to take my initial bearings in summarising contemporary understandings of the obligations that are placed on museums when they are viewed from the perspective of citizenship. There are, I think, four principles that would recruit general support in most contemporary societies. [2] These are:

1. That museums should be thought of as the collective public property of a citizenry, administered for the public good in ways which ensure that they are accountable to the democratically-elected representatives of that citizenry.
2. That all citizens should have equal rights of access to museums.
3. That museums should serve as means of fostering a sense of civic identity.
4. That the cultures, beliefs, and ways of life of all citizens should be represented within museums, and be accorded equal worth and value.

In contemporary societies these principles are usually universally understood as applying to all members of the society in question - except for foreigners, a point I'll return to later. For now, though, the important point to note concerns the historical novelty of these principles. In earlier periods of the museum's development, citizenship had more typically been understood as a restricted category applying only to certain types of persons. In Renaissance Italy, for example, museums of natural history supplied a cultural context in which the virtues of scholarship could be displayed as a necessary attribute of full participation in civic life where

citizenship was a restricted status available only to the educated and propertied classes, and only to men (see Findlen, 1994). In this case, the relationships between museums and citizenship involved the display and sharing of particular kinds of knowledge as a sign of belonging to a restricted social group and a means of participating in the culture and rituals through which citizens distinguished themselves from the rest of the population.

The role that was envisaged for museums within the political rhetorics and cultural programmes of the French Revolution, by contrast, was, at least theoretically, a universal one. It would be a mistake, however, to see this as an entirely new development. Beneath the dramatic gestures and grand declamations which characterised cultural policies during the revolution there were often substantial continuities with the aims and forms of cultural administration inherited from the *ancien regime*. The view that museums should aim to reach out beyond educated elites to promote a sense of civic identity on the part of the whole population, for example, had been current throughout most of the eighteenth century. It was this that prompted a number of Europe's absolute monarchs to open their art collections to the public in order that those collections might help to cultivate a sense of identification with, and loyalty toward, the nation. Similar proposals had been made in relation to the Louvre. When, therefore, in the course of the revolution, the Louvre was appropriated from the crown in the name of the people and made publicly accessible, this represented a continuation of tendencies already evident before the Revolution. The difference, however, and it is an important one, is that the nation was no longer defined as the king's realm but as the common property of a republican citizenry. The task of the museum was therefore no longer to address the visitor as a subordinate, as a subject of the king, but as one among equals, as a citizen, as a part of a nation whose composition was defined democratically and whose

accomplishments the museum was to portray as the deeds of a people rather than as those of a sovereign (see Duncan and Wallach, 1980).

On closer inspection, however, the theoretically universal cast of these revolutionary conceptions of the role of the museum proved, in practice, to be a good deal less than all-encompassing - about 50% less, in fact, since these principles did not apply to women. While women were admitted to the Louvre and allowed to sketch there, as the revolution developed, women came to be excluded from the changing definitions of citizenship which accompanied its political progression (see Landes, 1988). Restricted increasingly to the spheres of domesticity and motherhood, and eventually denied the legal rights and status of citizens, women played little role in the governance of museums (although they had previously been influential patrons of cultural life through the salons they had presided over) and were allocated a subordinate status within its representational regimes. These were orientated to the task of cultivating a sense of belonging to one another and to a common nation on the part of male citizens encouraged to see themselves as members of a republican brotherhood. One historian has suggested that, in aspiring to achieve this end, the Louvre operated as a 'sanctuary of the example' in serving as a place for embodying and representing exemplary civic virtue through the portrayal of model deeds, exploits and individuals who were, in so far as their actions concerned the realm of public activities, always men (see Pommier, 1989). In contrast, portrayals of women in the public art of the period were limited to embodying the subordinate virtues of motherhood and nurturing, models to be emulated only in so far as they recruited women for the task of rearing republican men (see Schiebinger, 1993: 65-74). The attack by the Louvre's republican administrators and artistic directors on the art of the *ancien regime*, moreover, was conducted in gendered terms. The rococo style was thus viewed as effeminate and, as Andrew McClellan puts

it, an emasculating threat to the virility of 'the masculine republic of virtue promoted by the Jacobins' (McClellan, 1994: 103).

In spite of this limitation, which remained true of museums in most western countries for a good part of the nineteenth century, the revolutionary period did consolidate three principles which have since proved to be of enduring importance to our understanding of the relationships between museums and those who are defined as citizens. These are the notions:

1.   That museums should be regarded as collective cultural property owned and administered by the state on behalf of the citizenry.
2.   That such collections should be publicly accessible.
3.   That museums should play a role in helping to shape particular civic capacities on the part of citizens, a sense of common identity, for example, and of belonging to the same nation.

This language of citizenship, however, was not the only one to inform changing conceptions of the relations between museums and their constituencies in the early modern period. To the contrary, throughout most of the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century, the language of citizenship intersected with the language of the public, sometimes overlapping with it and sometimes colliding with it. There were often quite sharply contrasting implications for who was to be counted as belonging to the museum's public as well as for the museum's understanding of its responsibilities in relation to that public. If we cross the channel from France to England we find that, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the language of 'the public' was used to defend a role for museums, especially art museums, that embodied an explicit rejection of the universal aspirations which, albeit that they were imperfectly realised, had characterised the French Revolution. For Sir Joshua Reynolds, the President of the Royal Academy, for example, the concept of 'the public' referred largely to

male landowners who alone, he argued, possessed the leisure and education, and a shared participation in a male civic realm, to cultivate the intellectual properties required to understand art and the civic messages it embodied (see Barrell, 1986). For Reynolds, accordingly, museums, if they were to serve 'the public', needed to apply high admission charges to exclude those who did not belong to 'the public' in this sense - that is, the artisan and trading classes, and women.

Similarly restrictive connotations were attached to the concept of the public which lie behind what the German theorist Jurgen Habermas has called 'the public sphere' (see Habermas, 1989). Habermas uses this term to describe a network of institutions which included museums alongside coffee houses, literary and philosophical associations, and the early press. For Habermas, these institutions played a crucial ideological and political role in providing, in the midst of the absolutist regimes of early modern Europe, a context for the exchange of ideas and, thereby, for the formation of a 'public opinion' that was opposed to, and critical of, the state. Here, then, we have a view of the public as a group that is both different from, and opposed to, the state but which, equally, is restricted in its social composition. Only propertied men were allowed full access to, and participation in, this network of public cultural institutions whose publicness derived not from the fact that they were owned by the state (to the contrary, they were all privately owned) but from the fact that they comprised a shared space in which men could meet in public, as distinct from the private sphere of domesticity. In this case too, then, the concept of public refers to a social group - the male middle-classes - which was, by a long way, the statistical minority of the population. This stands in sharp contrast to modern usage where, by and large, 'the public' means not the select few but everybody. Museums formed in association with these earlier conceptions of the public (the early Australian museums developed in associa-

tion with literary and philosophical societies from the 1820s on are a good example) thus had a very different social function from the modern public museum. Their role, in effect, was to serve as sites of assembly for the ruling elites of colonial society, helping them to form a view of themselves and of their identity that was distinct from the 'general public' of settlers and emancipists (see Moyal, 1986, and Finney, 1993).

It is, indeed, not until well into the second half of the nineteenth century that this latter view of 'the public' as, in essence, the whole population begins to come into its own and, in the process, to overturn the earlier, socially restrictive implications of the word. These changes are coincident with the development of mass democracy and the accompanying, especially for women and indigenous peoples, exceedingly protracted process through which earlier concepts of citizenship were extended to encompass the whole adult population. As a part of that process, the concepts of public and citizen begin to merge and interact with one another with the result that, by the early decades of the twentieth century, the ways in which museums discussed their relationships to the public or to citizens had undergone a significant transformation. In particular, the public or the citizen were no longer spoken of as active subjects with specific cultural rights and entitlements. To the contrary, they were more likely to figure as passive recipients of the services the museum had to offer in reforming programmes which envisaged the public or the citizen as in need of specific kinds of moral, civic or aesthetic improvement. The nature of these programmes differed according to the time and circumstances, and the specific national context at issue. In the mid-century period, the stress in Britain was placed on the role that museums could play in refashioning the working man, making him fit and sober for his role as head of household (see Bennett, 1995). By the late nineteenth century, the emphasis had changed to one of preparing the newly enfranchised working classes for their political responsibilities as

citizens. A sense of global civics was also prominent in this period in the role that evolutionary museum displays played in cultivating a sense of the responsibilities of empire, translating the imperatives of cultural development into a moral responsibility, which Europeans had to assume, given that this was something colonised peoples were portrayed as being incapable of achieving for themselves.

Changes of this kind involved many aspects of museum practice. These included exhibition practices with the development, from the 1870s, of new principles of display concerned specifically to enhance the ability of museums to educate a general public. The separation of educational from research collections; the pruning of exhibits to focus on communicating a few main points; the use of clear and distinct labelling. There rapidly developed an international traffic in new exhibition principles such as museums adopted a more self-consciously didactic orientation toward their visitors. In 1889, for example, the Director of the Museum at the University of Otago wrote to Sir William Henry Flower, the Director of the British Museum (Natural History), to ask whether a special committee of the British Association for the Advancement of Science might be established to produce a representative set of descriptive labels that could then be printed and sold to allow colonial museums an economical way of modernising their displays.[3] Changes of this kind, however, have, in turn, to be related to changes in the places museums occupied in the cultural landscape. The most important development here consisted in the changed status of the publicness of museums as, increasingly, the development of museums was initiated by governments at either the national or municipal levels with museums being rapidly integrated into a network of institutions, specifically public schools and libraries, that were charged with the task of injecting civic virtue into the population as a whole.

Two examples will help clarify this

changed status of the public or the citizen as, in essence, little more than the target of programmes of civic engineering which viewed public museums as significant instruments for reaching parts of the population other cultural institutions could not reach. The first example is taken from the analogy T.S. Horsfall drew when, in 1892, he compared the Committee of the Manchester Art Museum to a society of social chemists dedicated to civilising society by scientific means.

> It is true that real civilisation is a much more complex thing than any product of coal; but the master-truths for would-be reformers should be, that it is absolutely certain that civilisation like saccharin, cannot exist unless certain elements exist and are brought into effective contact; that the principal constituent elements of civilisation can be ascertained as surely as those of saccharin; and that it is not more impossible for the coal in a mine to turn into saccharin and well-purified gas without the intervention of a skilful chemist, than it is for the mass of the people now living in England in semi-barbarism to become civilised unless their guides and rulers will take the trouble to get to know what are the elements of civilisation, and will then try to supply and combine them.....
>
> My task is to explain the peculiarities of the apparatus devised by a society of analytical and synthetical social chemists, known to the world as the Committee of the Manchester Art Museum, for the purpose of bringing these elements of civilisation into effective contact in the lives of as many as possible of the inhabitants of Manchester. (Horsfall, 1892: 51-2).

The second example is taken from what Neil Harris calls the period of 'authoritarian experimentalism' that characterised American museums in the 1920s and 1930s when, in an attempt to improve their civic efficiency, museums began to make use of social science survey methods (Harris, 1990).[4] A more detailed knowledge of visitor expectations and habits, it was argued, would help museums to plan their exhibits in ways that would make them more effective vehicles for communicating civic values to their visitors. A good sense of the elitist and hierarchical models of communication involved in such conceptions can be gained from T.R. Adam's influential 1937 text *The Civic Value of Museums*. Noting that 'the control, discipline, and measurement of the museum visitor still eludes the science of pedagogy' so that the 'crowds that wander through museum halls, looking where they like and conversing as they please, are as foot-loose as the street philosophers of ancient Athens' (Adams, 1937: 13), Adams looks forward to a situation in which a closer knowledge of visitor habits will allow the museum to fulfil its civic role more effectively. He is in no doubt, in the case of art museums, as to what this civic role is or should be. 'The responsibility of an art museum in a democracy,' he asserts, 'is primarily to determine what shall be considered art by the general public' (*ibid*: 20). The assumption that the mass of people might be able to form their own views on such matters is, he suggests, 'something of a polite fiction' (*ibid*: 20). Modern democracy is based on the principles of the division of labour so that 'experts are expected to guide popular judgement in the understanding of art in somewhat the same way as doctors might advise in matters of public health' (*ibid*: 19-20).

Museums and communities

This provides me with a perspective from which to return to the question of museums and communities in a way that will allow me to place this language and the concerns it enunciates in a historical context. In images of this kind of the relations between museums, publics and citizens and the hierarchical, top-down models of communication they imply represent precisely those conceptions of the relationships between museums and their constituents that arguments couching the role of museums in terms of their relations to communities were meant to counter. Dominique Poulot makes this vividly clear in his account of the contemporary ecomuseum movement in France and of the earlier forms of community museum on which this movement drew. Poulot's primary interest is in the ways in which the ecomuseums of the 1980s drew on the new museology in developing the ecomuseum concept as a critique of, and corrective to, earlier museum practices. Although many of its advocates spoke of the ecomuseum as an 'antimuseum', it is better thought of, Poulot suggests, as an attempt to realise the civic ideals that had theoretically informed the earlier development of museums but which, in practice, had been honoured as much in the breach as in the observance. This was especially true of three principles which, it was argued, were ill-served by the hierarchical forms of communication that museums had developed in view of the exclusive focus on officially-legitimated knowledges and culture that these entailed. These principles might be summarised as:

1. The requirement that museums should portray and represent the cultures of all sections of society, according them an equal value and significance.
2. That museums should be equally accessible to different ethnic groups, classes, and genders.
3. That the governance of museums should be exercised by, or involve, all sections of society.

Of course, there had been earlier criticisms of museums for their shortcomings in these regards. Indeed, Poulot shows how many of the aspirations of the ecomuseum movement had been prefigured in the late-nineteenth-century folk-museum movement in the emphasis folk museums placed on depicting the neglected cultures of rural communities and even more so in the work of Georges-Henri Riviere who, in the 1920s and 1930s, played a leading role in pioneering the concepts of outdoor and rural museums. The role envisaged for museums and art galleries in the Community Arts Centre component of the New Deal Federal Art Project also played an influential role in this regard. It also provides a good historical example of the limitations of those perspectives which see community and government, or community and the state, as opposites. In the cultural policies of the New Deal, the communities of small town and rural America were summoned by government to the task of defending themselves against the historical tendencies that were seen as being responsible for their destruction. Only with the aid of government, it was argued, could an 'authentic' popular culture rooted in the 'real life' of American communities assert itself in face of an '"artificial" mass culture, on the one hand, and the urban intelligentsia's referentless abstract art, on the other' (Harris, 1995: 57). Here, then, is a telling instance of 'community' functioning as part of a governmental discourse that was profoundly anti-modern and which, in spite of its populism, lent its support to those cultural activities and pursuits which 'the American people', understood in a majoritarian sense, had already judged historically outmoded and unpopular.

The ecomuseum movement is distinguished from these earlier community-museum movements by the way in which it connected a concern with the preservation and exhibition of marginalised cultures to notions of community development, community empowerment and community control. The ecomuseum, as Poulot puts it, is 'concerned with promoting the self-discovery and development of the community' (Poulot, 1994: 75); 'it aims not to attain knowledge but to achieve communication' (*ibid*: 76); it is concerned less with representation than with involvement: 'the ecomuseum searches, above all, to engage (*voir faire*) its audience in the social process' (*ibid*: 78); and its focus is on everyday rather than on ex-

traordinary culture. And yet, Poulot argues, no matter how radically different the programme of the ecomuseum may seem from that of more traditional museum forms, it is one which, at bottom, is motivated by similar civic aspirations, albeit ones that are applied not universally to a general public, but which are related in a more focused way to the needs of a particular regionally defined community. The ecomuseum, he argues, embodies a form of 'civic pedagogy' which aims to foster self-knowledge on the part of a community by providing it with the resources through which it can come to know and participate in its culture in a more organised and self-conscious way. The ecomuseum, he suggests, is a 'kind of state-sponsored public works project' which seeks to offer 'a programme of "cultural development" of the citizen' (*ibid*: 79). This identifies precisely why equations which place museums and communities on one side of a divide and the state or government on another are misleading. However much the language of community might imply a critique of the more abstract relationships of government or of a state, what stands behind the ecomuseum are the activities of government which, in establishing such museums and training their staff, organise and constitute the community of that region in a form that equips it to develop itself as a community through acquiring a greater knowledge of, and say in, the management of its shared culture.

Arguments of this kind, however, will only take us so far. There are many other ways in which the terms 'museums' and 'communities' have been brought together, some of which have been critical of the ecomuseum and the notions of community on which it rests. For these typically define community in territorial terms as those people who co-habit a particular geographical area, as is the case with Melbourne's Living History Museum of the West. Critics have argued that the result can often be to misleadingly unify the culture of a particular place at the expense of portraying the differences, and often con-

flicts, which characterise the relations between different social groups who, while they may share the same geographical location, may have little more in common (see Healy, 1991). In another usage, then, the concept of 'community museums' refers to museums which seek to focus on the cultures of specific marginalised social groups as well as involving representatives of those groups in their administration, management and programme development. In some cases, it is true, communities of this type may also be envisaged in terms of a particular locality, as with the Smithsonian's Anacostia Museum which developed a focus on the history and experience of black Americans in the context of a particular neighbourhood. The same is true of women's museums centred on a particular locality, for the example the Pioneer Women's Hut in Tumbarumba, New South Wales (see Trotter, 1996a). In other cases, the communities which museums invoke and represent may have a more diffuse form of existence that is not bound so tightly to a particular place this is especially true of Jewish museums, a subject I shall return to later. For the moment, though, the main point I want to make is that community museums of this type rest on a similar logic to the ecomuseum in that they too are conceived as instruments of community empowerment and development which both respond to what are seen to be important civic rights such as the right of access to museums, the right to have one's culture valued, etc. They also involve the members of those communities in programmes of cultural development which the state is committed to provide for all its citizens, such as development of specific identities.

At the same time of course, community museums defined in this way have another civic purpose: that of providing a context which people from outside the specific community concerned can visit to learn more about the culture of that community and, in thus coming to appreciate its distinctiveness, to value that community for its contribution to the national culture as a whole. This double civic

function is especially clear in the third set of relationships between museums and communities I wish to discuss. These are relationships in which museums and communities come together not in special, custom-built museums dedicated to particular communities but rather as specific components in the programmes of more general-purpose museums. The relationships I have in mind here are those involved when major national, state or city-funded museums develop collaborative relationships with one or more communities to provide contexts.

These might be community-access galleries or exhibitions which are curated in more conventional ways but with community guidance - in which the cultures of those communities might be exhibited. The "Bridging Two World's - Jews and Italians in Carleton" exhibition organised by the Museum of Victoria in Melbourne with input from the local Italian and Jewish communities is a case in point (see Trotter, 1996b). There are, however, many similar examples, particularly where museum practices have been shaped by the concerns of multiculturalism or, in New Zealand, biculturalism. Indeed, one could say that the new orthodoxy of contemporary museum practice is that of the depiction of 'communities in difference': that is, the view that museums should ensure, either through the balance of exhibits at any one time or through the manner in which exhibit themes are rotated through time, that they include the cultures of different communities and interests moreover museums typically pursue such goals with two purposes in view: recognising the cultural rights of all sections of society while also seeking to cultivate a respect for, and tolerance of, cultural diversity in all members of society through the depictions of 'communities in difference'.

In other words relations between museums and communities that are forged in this way form part of a multicultural civics and, as such, involve a significant critique and trans-

formation of earlier museum practices. I suggested earlier that, in the French Revolution, the museum was thought of as a means of promoting civic virtue by providing idealised depictions of civic conduct which the visitor could emulate. I also noted that these idealised depictions of civic virtue tended to be singular in form in concerning only the heroic exploits of French men. This singular logic in which the museum serves as the sanctuary of *the* example of a particular idealised image of the national citizen has characterised most of the subsequent history of the museum. It is, however, a logic that is called into question in multicultural or bicultural museum projects owing to the degree to which, in their commitment to the depiction of different communities with different cultures and values, such projects entail changing museums into sanctuaries of *examples*: into places, that is, which, rather than constructing a single norm of conduct as an ideal for the citizen to emulate, offer a vision of dialogue, of the exchange of meanings between different communities, of mutual tolerance and understanding as the ideal civic virtues for our time. This is the ideal that James Clifford has in view in his argument that museums should function as contact zones between different cultures. Rather than being places in which a single set of values is organised for hierarchical communication to a passive public - a take-it-or-leave-it model of communication - Clifford sees museums as places for facilitating cross-cultural dialogue. Their business is to organise non-hierarchical, reciprocal relationships of communication between the different communities which characterise the increasingly complex and culturally diverse organisation of contemporary societies.

The perspective informing Clifford's arguments is derived, in good measure, from the challenges embodied in the demands which indigenous peoples have made of museums in Canada, New Zealand and Australia and, indeed, internationally over the past two decades. Some aspects of these demands have been similar to the pressures for reform to which museums have been subjected by other social groups. Criticisms of the evolutionary assumptions of nineteenth-century anthropology displays, for example, and the demand that museum displays should be refashioned to accord indigenous cultures the same value as dominant white cultures rest on the same logic as women's criticisms of patriarchal museum displays: both are consistent with, and indeed, have to some extent been generated by, the demand that museums should accord equal value and significance to the cultures of all citizens. However, there are also aspects of indigenous critiques of museums as well as of the alternative collecting practices to which these have given rise that rest on a different logic and one which - as the exception to the general rule I have been arguing - cannot be seen as being prompted by, or even consistent with, the general relationships between museums and citizenship I have described. Indeed, the more distinctive aspects of indigenous museum politics have rested on perspectives that have been developed in critique of the general principles of citizenship in the name of customs, rights and traditions which derive from continuous histories which both pre-date the western nation state and which have been carried through into the present by virtue of forms of organisation which have been partially shaped in opposition to the nation state. The repatriation of indigenous artefacts and remains held in museums into indigenous custody; the development of separate keeping houses; the insistence on restricted rights of access to cultural materials depending on considerations of age, ethnicity and gender; collecting culturally valued items for the sake of keeping them secret rather than making them available for public inspection - in all these ways contemporary indigenous collecting activities stand as exceptions to, and criticisms of, the implications of western conceptions of citizenship for museums. They cannot, for example, be reconciled with the view that valued cultural materials should all be held together as the collective property of an un-differentiated citizenry, or that rights of access to cultural property should be equal for all citizens.[5]

Even so, the practices associated with indigenous keeping places do not represent a total break with the civic expectations which characterise mainstream museums. For such keeping places do also typically include a concern to teach white society about indigenous culture and, thereby, to promote a greater understanding of its distinctive properties on the part of the mainstream. Where this is so, such keeping places form a part of the general relationships between museums and citizenship I have been concerned with in the importance they place on educating the non-indigenous public as a contribution to the development of a tolerant and enlightened citizenry. A similar dual concern characterises Jewish museums in the role they play in both cultivating a cultural identity that is not defined in terms of membership of a nation state but, rather, in terms of belonging to a trans-national religious community and, at the same time, educating non-Jewish visitors in the distinctive aspects of Jewish culture. In this case as with that of the indigenous keeping house, we encounter a variant of a principle that has characterised the western public museum for the past two hundred years and more. I said earlier that modern conceptions of citizenship apply equally to all members of society, except, and the proviso is an important one, for foreigners. In this sense, citizenship is, as Barry Hindess has put it, always a conspiracy against foreigners: the rights that are conferred on citizens are simultaneously denied those who, whether as overseas visitors or as migrants, are not citizens (see Hindess, 1996). Yet museums have always included an important place in their public address for visitors who are not citizens but tourists, and not just for the sake of the tourist dollar. To the contrary, as places for what Michael Frisch has called the 'civic presentation of self' (Frisch 1989: 38), museums have, since the Italian Renaissance, played a significant role in the practices of international diplomacy, presenting a

particular nation, city or region in a light intended to promote appreciation and understanding on the part of outsiders. Indigenous keeping houses and Jewish museums, then, apply the same principle but in reverse in that the outsiders to whom their messages are directed include those who are fellow citizens.

Where does all this leave us? The short answer is: in a complicated world! Indeed, my purpose has been to touch base with some of the complexities that museums must reckon with if they are to develop an appropriately varied set of relationships with the different constituencies they need to take into account in developing their policies and practices. I have thus sought to complicate the notion of community, to show that when we speak of museums and communities we need to recognise that there are many different kinds of communities with different kinds of relationships to museums which should therefore incline us to be wary of general theories on the subject. I have also, as my second concern, sought to rub off the romantic gloss which often attaches to the concept of community, and, in particular, to question those definitions of community which see communities as entities which are always somehow fashioned in opposition to government or the state. There may be aspects of truth to this in some cases, and indigenous collecting practices are a case in point although not necessarily in all cases and not all of the time. In other cases, however, and my example here was ecomuseums, the communities we have to deal with are ones which are conjured into being by the museums that are established to serve them rather than vice versa. Finally, I have argued that, whatever value attaches to speaking of museums in terms of their relationships to communities, this should not let us off the hook of recognising that there are many other ways in which museums need to think of their relationships to those who, for a variety of reasons, enter their doors or make use of their services in other ways.

Some visitors, I have argued, will enter as publics or citizens involving a quite different set of relationships and obligations from those involved in thinking about museums in terms of their relationships to communities. Others will come as tourists who, as I have shown, museums have historically viewed as more than just dollars on legs. There are also new terms: museum visitors as audiences or as clients, for example. These imply quite different relationships from those associated with the concepts of the public or citizens. To think of museum visitors as clients is to view them as essentially private individuals whose needs and desires have to be satisfied in accordance with a market model rather than as members of a broader collective defined in terms of reciprocal duties and obligations. In some aspects of their work, a client model may be helpful to museums: in assessing and improving the quality of their ancillary services - food and drink, toilet facilities, the helpfulness of staff. So far as their core functions are concerned, however, museums, as places for collecting and exhibiting cultures, need to recognise the quite distinctive claims that are made on them by the languages of community, public and citizenship and to find a way of balancing these appropriately in the context of what will always be specific and varied circumstances.

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1. I use the term 'constituency' here as - for the purposes of this discussion - one that is meant to encompass all of the different ways in which (as visitors, communities, audiences, publics, consumers, tourists, etc.) museums refer to those who use them. Even so, the term brings with it particular associations (the political associations of systems of representative democracy, for example) that can never be entirely suspended.

2. These principles are adapted from an earlier discussion of the relationships between museums and citizenship. See Bennett (1996).

3. Information obtained from Sir William Henry Flower's correspondence held by the British Museum (Natural History).

4. My discussion here is adapted from Bennett (1996).

5. For two recent discussions of indigenous museum policies from the point of view of their relationship to, and departures from, the assumptions underlying the practices of western museums, see McAlear (1996) and Simpson (1996).

RANDOM THOUGHTS: LIGHT AIRS AND VARIATIONS ON THEMES PRESENTED BY TONY BENNETT

Susan Abasa, Lecturer in Museum Studies, Massey University, Palmerston North

(An adaptation of the brief response given to an address by Tony Bennett to the Conference of the Museums Association of New Zealand Aotearoa, Dunedin, November 1996.)

Introduction

About seventy years ago the pioneering American museum director John Cotton Dana, described a standard public facility as follows:

... it is centrally located, it is easily reached; it is open all the hours when patrons wish to visit it; it receives all courteously and gives information freely; it displays the most attractive objects and shows countless others on request; its collections are classified according to the knowledge and needs of its patrons; it is well lit; it has convenient and inexpensive restrooms; it supplies guides free of charge advertises itself widely and continually and, it changes its exhibits to meet daily changes in subjects of interest, changes in taste in art, and the progress of invention and discovery. 1 (1)

As you may already know, or can guess, Cotton Dana was describing a first class department store - a facility in the 1920's that set a standard for giving service to mass audiences. He had recommended many of these approaches too, in his 1917 book *The New Museum* and set about practising them in the Newark Museum in New Jersey.

Tony Bennett's paper has demonstrated just how complicated the notion of community really is. In doing so he has reminded us of the many different relationships museums have with their communities and the obligations which ensue.

Bearing in mind Cotton Dana's words, let me try and offer a series of random thoughts which reflect some of the complex issues faced by museums and their patrons today.

Random thought 1:

The twentieth century museum invites many readings and de-constructions. For the purposes of this brief discussion on museums and their constituencies, one of the simplest abstracts of those readings, is to take a hypothetical tour of the museum. (2)

At this point I need to ask you all to prepare yourself for a 'virtual reality' museum experience. Even without the necessary technology I am confident that the terrain is familiar to you and that you will get the picture. So don those crystal glasses and let's be off.

Imagine that you are a museum visitor. You approach the museum. It is set apart from the city, perhaps surrounded by parkland. The building is monumental in scale. You look up at the facade of the building. If you are at the Auckland Institute and Museum or "old" MONZ at the Buckle Street site, or at the Museum of Victoria or at the Art Gallery of New South Wales you will see a classical design, sometimes in the high Victorian style, sometimes in a more refined 1930's version. The porticoes resemble a Greek temple. And there are steps: it's always hard work to reach the heights of "high culture"! Mind you, the modern - or post-modern museum is not exempt from these attributes. Robert Venturi's new Seattle Art Museum has a staircase guaranteed to test the leanest cardio-vascular fitness junkies.

If you, dear visitor, should glance above the portico you might find poetic or philosophic inscriptions such as, " Vita Brevis - Ars Longa" (of course you are still puffing madly from the steep climb so you had sensed this anyway). Or, perhaps you might read "Erected by the people and dedicated to the Service of Art and Science". (3) Or, you could find a long list of European masters emblazoned on the wall. The Art Gallery of New South Wales boasts such a frieze. The names, Giotto, Raphael, Cellini, Canova, Titian, redolent with an art history of Lord Clark's "Civilisation" or the Gombrich kind. (The fact that that Gallery does not hold any works by the majority of the artists listed does not seem to incite claims for false advertising.)

The friezes, inscriptions, stairways, imposing statues and fountains alert the eye and prepare the mind for a culturally meaningful experience. There is promise of a ritual experience and spiritual refreshment in the temple of art. Moreover what these facades indicate is that museums preserve the cultural legacy of a civilisation going back to antiquity. Though not the first to do so, Carol Duncan accurately captures and analyzes this as a "ritual of citizenship" (Duncan: 1995). (4)

Having absorbed this message you are about to enter the building. There might be double glass doors made of reinforced plate glass so heavy that you wish you had stayed at the gym to work out some more. One door pulls in - the other pushes out; but you never get the sequence right - you fumble, feel clumsy and agitated, as you try valiantly to enter the museum. This says nothing of the frustrations experienced by people in wheelchairs or the challenge of the obstacle course for those with prams. There are, of course, also sensor activated doors which sense you just a little too late - or not at all - so there's a little dance you have to do to activate the red light. A bit embarrassed at your ineptitude, you hope that no-one saw that little caper.

Random thought 2. Museum visitors as consumers.

At last, you enter the foyer. If you were visitor as citizen with a long cultural patrimony before, you are now visitor as customer. Are you being (well) served?

There is an admission / ticketing counter, the bookshop and cafe. All are strategies to encourage consumer

spending. (I will not side track here - tempting as it may be - to discuss the issue of admission charges and the state's responsibility to provide access to cultural resources.) As museums work to diversify their income sources visitors become crucial to the consumerism they foster. Consumerism has two faces in the museum: one is the cold hard sound of the cash register, the other is the cultural consumption encouraged by the blockbuster.

We need only remember the Saatchi and Saatchi inspired advertising campaign for the V&A in the summer of 1986, "Where can you get 4 million's worth of objects d'art free with every egg salad? - the V&A Caf' - an ace caf' with quite a nice museum attached" to understand that museum retailing is big business. The world's most successful museum shops at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Smithsonian Institution grossed US$65 million and US$52 million respectively in 1988 (Belk:1995,122). (5) But while we note this trend there is a disturbing element which also requires comment. Robert Kelly's observational studies (1987-1993) of nine selected museums indicate that 30% of visitors never make it to the museum galleries. Instead, they purchase souvenirs to authenticate and memorialise their visit and leave. (6) These habits, together with photographing cultural sites, is part of the ceremonial agenda of the contemporary tourist pilgrim (Horne: 1984).

You will be familiar with the sometimes heated, and occasionally bitter, debate surrounding blockbusters, particularly the issue of corporate identification. I mean of the *"Esso Presents the Age of Rubens"* variety. But if some of us thought that was bad, wait for the next episode in corporate branding where car maufacturers identify not only the sponsor's name but also a particular brand and model Will we see the Metropolitan Museum of Rolls Royce? Or, the National Museum of Art Mercedes 2XLV? (Fischer,D.:1995).

All this reminds me of the Toyota advertisement "Oh! what a feeling!" (I'm not sure whether New Zealand has been treated to this.) These advertisements required a prominent individual or group to jump, arms akimbo, in (simulated) joy at owning a new model Toyota. Some years ago Toyota (Australia) was keen to film an advertisement at the new Powerhouse Museum - very much **the** place to be seen. The Museum stood to gain substantial corporate largesse. Accordingly, museum staff were coached on how to leap even higher in a bid to secure ever more corporate dollars. The museum finally pulled the plug realising that perhaps museum staff would not appreciate being identified in this way; besides the job specifications of social history curators did not stretch to such antics - in public at least!

Random thought 3. Museum Visitors: Consumers or Citizens?

Pushing on with the tour the museum visitor now moves into the gallery spaces. In an effort to make the museum exhibition more accessible a number of devices are offered. Expanded labels proliferate - visitors may well be forgiven for thinking of them as the sins (rather than the signs) of the times. Densely packed information, often written in a flat, distanced, disembodied and authoritative voice effectively counteracts confidence-building in the viewer. There is also some evidence that those types of labels are not comprehended by novice visitors and information is not retained by frequent visitors (White, 1996).

Confusion, museum fatigue and boredom hit; the visitor withdraws.

Few of our museums teach visitors to look - really look - to engage with the objects on display and to make meaning from that experience. For many museums the quality of visitors' experience appears not to be the major concern. The real issue for many museums - especially art museums - is the quality of the works they possess (Wright, 1989). There is an assumption that this quality is self-evident and *ipso facto* the quality of the experience must be good because the work is good. Re-adjusting museum thinking to how meaning is made for the individual, how and what visitors take away with them appears to be the crux of the issue.

In a recent seminar entitled "Art Museums, the price of success" James Wood, Director and President of the Art Institute of Chicago issued a challenge - "Citizenship is a demanding contract between the individual and society that requires shared educational standards and mutual responsibility" (Curator 38 (1) 64).

Reflecting on the museum experience, Wood distinguished between the short-term goals like focusing on attendance figures and shop sales - in other words treating visitors as customers - and longer term goals which treat visitors as citizens. He argued that museums need to give their visitors opportunity to experience art over an extended period and help their visitors to develop critical appreciation where enjoyment and understanding are combined with the self confidence to exercise an informed personal taste leading to a mutually rewarding relationship (Fischer, D:1995).

Wood, like Bennett (1996, 1-15), argues that there are civic and cultural rights which accrue to citizens. In the broadest sense these rights are interwoven in the fabric of personal and national identity. The Australian Panel appointed by the Keating Federal Government in 1992 recognised this and unanimously recommended the establishment of a Charter of Cultural Rights. That Charter would guarantee to all Australians, firstly, the right to an education that develops individual creativity and appreciation of the creativity of others; secondly, the right of access to the intellectual and cultural heritage; thirdly, the right to new intellectual and artistic works and fourthly, the right to community participation in cultural and intellectual life (Creative Nation:1994, 2).

The approach is an all important ingredient in that pact between museum and visitor as citizen. Take the following project as an example of engagement and one route to the empow-

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At this point I need to ask you all to prepare yourself for a 'virtual reality' museum experience. Even without the necessary technology I am confident that the terrain is familiar to you and that you will get the picture. So don those crystal glasses and let's be off.

Imagine that you are a museum visitor. You approach the museum. It is set apart from the city, perhaps surrounded by parkland. The building is monumental in scale. You look up at the facade of the building. If you are at the Auckland Institute and Museum or "old" MONZ at the Buckle Street site, or at the Museum of Victoria or at the Art Gallery of New South Wales you will see a classical design, sometimes in the high Victorian style, sometimes in a more refined 1930's version. The porticoes resemble a Greek temple. And there are steps: it's always hard work to reach the heights of "high culture"! Mind you, the modern - or post-modern museum is not exempt from these attributes. Robert Venturi's new Seattle Art Museum has a staircase guaranteed to test the leanest cardio-vascular fitness junkies.

If you, dear visitor, should glance above the portico you might find poetic or philosophic inscriptions such as, " Vita Brevis - Ars Longa" (of course you are still puffing madly from the steep climb so you had sensed this anyway). Or, perhaps you might read "Erected by the people and dedicated to the Service of Art and Science". (3) Or, you could find a long list of European masters emblazoned on the wall. The Art Gallery of New South Wales boasts such a frieze. The names, Giotto, Raphael, Cellini, Canova, Titian, redolent with an art history of Lord Clark's "Civilisation" or the Gombrich kind. (The fact that that Gallery does not hold any works by the majority of the artists listed does not seem to incite claims for false advertising.)

The friezes, inscriptions, stairways, imposing statues and fountains alert the eye and prepare the mind for a culturally meaningful experience. There is promise of a ritual experience and spiritual refreshment in the temple of art. Moreover what these facades indicate is that museums preserve the cultural legacy of a civilisation going back to antiquity. Though not the first to do so, Carol Duncan accurately captures and analyzes this as a "ritual of citizenship" (Duncan: 1995). (4)

Having absorbed this message you are about to enter the building. There might be double glass doors made of reinforced plate glass so heavy that you wish you had stayed at the gym to work out some more. One door pulls in - the other pushes out; but you never get the sequence right - you fumble, feel clumsy and agitated, as you try valiantly to enter the museum. This says nothing of the frustrations experienced by people in wheelchairs or the challenge of the obstacle course for those with prams. There are, of course, also sensor activated doors which sense you just a little too late - or not at all - so there's a little dance you have to do to activate the red light. A bit embarrassed at your ineptitude, you hope that no-one saw that little caper.

Random thought 2. Museum visitors as consumers.

At last, you enter the foyer. If you were visitor as citizen with a long cultural patrimony before, you are now visitor as customer. Are you being (well) served?

There is an admission / ticketing counter, the bookshop and cafe. All are strategies to encourage consumer

spending. (I will not side track here - tempting as it may be - to discuss the issue of admission charges and the state's responsibility to provide access to cultural resources.) As museums work to diversify their income sources visitors become crucial to the consumerism they foster. Consumerism has two faces in the museum: one is the cold hard sound of the cash register, the other is the cultural consumption encouraged by the blockbuster.

We need only remember the Saatchi and Saatchi inspired advertising campaign for the V&A in the summer of 1986, "Where can you get 4 million's worth of objects d'art free with every egg salad? - the V&A Caf' - an ace caf' with quite a nice museum attached" to understand that museum retailing is big business. The world's most successful museum shops at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Smithsonian Institution grossed US$65 million and US$52 million respectively in 1988 (Belk:1995,122). (5) But while we note this trend there is a disturbing element which also requires comment. Robert Kelly's observational studies (1987-1993) of nine selected museums indicate that 30% of visitors never make it to the museum galleries. Instead, they purchase souvenirs to authenticate and memorialise their visit and leave. (6) These habits, together with photographing cultural sites, is part of the ceremonial agenda of the contemporary tourist pilgrim (Horne: 1984).

You will be familiar with the sometimes heated, and occasionally bitter, debate surrounding blockbusters, particularly the issue of corporate identification. I mean of the *"Esso Presents the Age of Rubens"* variety. But if some of us thought that was bad, wait for the next episode in corporate branding where car maufacturers identify not only the sponsor's name but also a particular brand and model Will we see the Metropolitan Museum of Rolls Royce? Or, the National Museum of Art Mercedes 2XLV? (Fischer,D.:1995).

All this reminds me of the Toyota advertisement "Oh! what a feeling!" (I'm not sure whether New Zealand has been treated to this.) These advertisements required a prominent individual or group to jump, arms akimbo, in (simulated) joy at owning a new model Toyota. Some years ago Toyota (Australia) was keen to film an advertisement at the new Powerhouse Museum - very much **the** place to be seen. The Museum stood to gain substantial corporate largesse. Accordingly, museum staff were coached on how to leap even higher in a bid to secure ever more corporate dollars. The museum finally pulled the plug realising that perhaps museum staff would not appreciate being identified in this way; besides the job specifications of social history curators did not stretch to such antics - in public at least!

Random thought 3. Museum Visitors: Consumers or Citizens?

Pushing on with the tour the museum visitor now moves into the gallery spaces. In an effort to make the museum exhibition more accessible a number of devices are offered. Expanded labels proliferate - visitors may well be forgiven for thinking of them as the sins (rather than the signs) of the times. Densely packed information, often written in a flat, distanced, disembodied and authoritative voice effectively counteracts confidence-building in the viewer. There is also some evidence that those types of labels are not comprehended by novice visitors and information is not retained by frequent visitors (White, 1996).

Confusion, museum fatigue and boredom hit; the visitor withdraws.

Few of our museums teach visitors to look - really look - to engage with the objects on display and to make meaning from that experience. For many museums the quality of visitors' experience appears not to be the major concern. The real issue for many museums - especially art museums - is the quality of the works they possess (Wright, 1989). There is an assumption that this quality is self-evident and *ipso facto* the quality of the experience must be good because the work is good. Re-adjusting museum thinking to how meaning is made for the individual, how and what visitors take away with them appears to be the crux of the issue.

In a recent seminar entitled "Art Museums, the price of success" James Wood, Director and President of the Art Institute of Chicago issued a challenge - "Citizenship is a demanding contract between the individual and society that requires shared educational standards and mutual responsibility" (Curator 38 (1) 64).

Reflecting on the museum experience, Wood distinguished between the short-term goals like focusing on attendance figures and shop sales - in other words treating visitors as customers - and longer term goals which treat visitors as citizens. He argued that museums need to give their visitors opportunity to experience art over an extended period and help their visitors to develop critical appreciation where enjoyment and understanding are combined with the self confidence to exercise an informed personal taste leading to a mutually rewarding relationship (Fischer, D:1995).

Wood, like Bennett (1996, 1-15), argues that there are civic and cultural rights which accrue to citizens. In the broadest sense these rights are interwoven in the fabric of personal and national identity. The Australian Panel appointed by the Keating Federal Government in 1992 recognised this and unanimously recommended the establishment of a Charter of Cultural Rights. That Charter would guarantee to all Australians, firstly, the right to an education that develops individual creativity and appreciation of the creativity of others; secondly, the right of access to the intellectual and cultural heritage; thirdly, the right to new intellectual and artistic works and fourthly, the right to community participation in cultural and intellectual life (Creative Nation:1994, 2).

The approach is an all important ingredient in that pact between museum and visitor as citizen. Take the following project as an example of engagement and one route to the empow-

erment of both the visitor and the museum. The example comes from the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden at the Smithsonian Institution Washington DC. In setting up this experiment the Museum was keen to demonstrate issues of quality and connoisseurship - the very aspects art museums keep veiled from public scrutiny.

In this instance, the museum chose pairs of artworks from the Collection. Each pair was by a single artist and the two works chosen were comparable in several ways. Nevertheless, a significant majority of the Museum's staff believed that in each case one of the works was of substantially better quality than the other. In setting up the exhibition the Hirshhorn asked the visitor to be the judge. The handout which accompanied the exhibition put the issue in terms which could be appreciated by the majority of visitors: Every sports fan knows that even the greatest champion will perform better at some times than others. While the differences between one appearance and another may only be slight - small things that a casual observer might never notice - to the experienced sports fan those differences may be apparent at once. In the theatre and the concert this same phenomenon occurs. The live performances of even the finest actors and musicians will vary from one night to another. The experienced fan will know. Others will not.

Visual artists are no different. The art they make will be better at some times than at others. The word we most frequently use to distinguish what the artist has done at better moments from the works of lesser ones is 'quality'. In every culture (ours included), quality is not so much something that can be described as something that a practised viewer learns to discern through the experience of seeing and comparing a great many examples.

By what means does a curator or a gallery visitor go about making such distinctions? Are there rules or formula that we can apply? The short answer is that there are not. There is really

no way except to look, to look hard, and then to look some more.

Random thought 4: Museum Visitors - Critics and Collaborators.
Changing the way museums view communities and visitors also effects the way museums see themselves.

Take, for example, the Valentine Museum in Richmond Virginia. As once was said of this Museum - "Established in the late nineteenth century, the various national and global crises, - two World Wars, the suffragette and women's movements, Black riots, various assassinations came and went without ever effecting the Valentine in any way" (AAM: c1989). In 1980 there was a crisis: the museum was broke, with huge and escalating debts, its building in disrepair and the endowments absorbed. In this climate the Valentine's Trustees were suddenly galvanised into action. They hired a new director, Frank Jewell, employed a fully professional staff, set corporate objectives and rebuilt the museum's reputation founded on scholarship and public service. This was no small task. The Valentine set itself the objective within ten years to reinterpret the city's history fully informed by the study of material culture and traditional historical sources.

Part of the Valentine's strategy was to work fully and collaboratively with the townsfolk. The museum developed dozens of consultative meetings, prepared small exhibitions to test the results of their endeavours and refined, rewrote and redeveloped those exhibitions with the help of Richmond's citizens. A label in one of the "test" exhibitions is indicative of the attitude of the Valentine's staff:

A work in progress

New Nation, New City is part of the Valentine Museum's continuing research and exploration of Richmond's history, a work-in-progress leading toward a new interpretation of the city's past. Seeking advice and criticism, the museum continues to share

its ideas and tentative conclusions with the public and scholars through exhibits, publications and public programs.

We invite you to comment on the exhibitions. We learn from your experiences in the museum and, as we revise current exhibitions and develop new ones, our work will reflect these lessons learned from you.

As you view this exhibit, we ask you to think about artefacts you may own or know of that would help us in our explanation of Richmond's history. Let the museum staff know about available textiles, costume, furniture, tools, machines, and other objects so that we can continue to preserve and present Richmond's complex past.

You will find our offices just to your left; the door is open.

Another example: there are a number of museums and art museums in Australia which have worked successfully to develop collections and exhibitions of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural material. In the majority of cases museums hold title to those works in the collection.

Over the past few years the Museum of Contemporary Art, Sydney, working with the people of Maningrida and Diane Moon an Aboriginal Art Advisor, has collected and documented works in fibre, seeds, feathers and shells. The people of Maningrida have presented these works, now numbering about six hundred, to the MCA to be held in trust on a long-term basis. Title to this cultural material is held jointly. Under this agreement, the Maningrida people have on-going trusteeship of the Collection.

It is in the development of such landmark guardianship arrangements that the museum enterprise can be realised most powerfully. And if the visitors' discussion and close looking, length of visit and the critical acclaim accorded the exhibition are criteria to measure the success of the venture, then the Maningrida exhibition certainly fulfilled an aim of providing a

multi-dimensional experience.

Conclusion

Museums act as institutions that preserve aesthetic, scientific and cultural values. They can also act as forces that create and reinforce societal inequalities. It follows from the few examples quoted, and the many documented elsewhere (7), that what museums create they can also break down and redefine.

It remains for cultural heritage institutions, and those who work within them, to truly acknowledge and act on the words of the UNESCO, Mexico City Declaration,

Culture springs from the community as a whole and should return to it; that neither the production of culture nor the enjoyment of its benefits should be the privilege of elites. Cultural democracy is based on the broadest possible participation by the individual and society in the creation of cultural goods, in decision-making concerning cultural life and in the dissemination and enjoyment of culture.

Notes

1. Dana, J.C. (1917) The New Museum. Elm Tree Press: Woodstock, Vermont

2. McCarthy, C. (1992) In Sites,

3. The inscription over the portal of the Museum of New Zealand, Buckle Street.

4. For discussion on the museum as temple see Bazin,G. (1967) The Museum Age. Universe Books: NY; Cameron, D. (1971) The Museum, a temple or the Forum. Curator, 14 (1) 11-24; Cameron, D. (1992) Marble Floors are cold for small bare feet. International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship 12 (2) 159-170.

5. In 1992 the Australian Heritage Parks Association's study into heritage shops and merchandise showed that Australian domestic visitors each spent between 70 cents and AUD$5.00. Tourism Victoria figures show that international visitors are willing to spend AUD$21/day on souvenirs. In 1994/95 the Art Gallery of New South Wales shop turnover was $3.29 million which included AUD$600,000 sales of AGNSW and exhibition catalogues. Attendances for the year were 988,527 (*AGNSW Annual Report 1995*, 38,44). By contrast Philip Donnelly in *New Zealand Museums Facts and Trends 1990-1996* shows that income from trading activity fluctuates significantly.

6. Kelly, R.F. (1987) Culture as commodity: The marketing of culture objects and cultural experiences. *Advances in Consumer Research* 14, 347-351. _____ (1987) Museums as status symbols. R.Belk ed. *Advances in nonprofit marketing* vol. 2, 1-38. _____ (1993) Discussion: vesting objects and experiences with symbolic meaning. *Advances in Consumer Research,* 20, 232-234.

7. For case studies refer to Karp, I., Kreamer, C. & Lavine, S. eds. (1992) Museums and Communities: The Poetics of Public Culture. Smithsonian Institution Press: Washington D.C. Karp, I. and Lavine, S. eds. (1991) Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display. Smithsonian Institution Press: Washington D.C. See also the work of Doug Worts, Art Gallery of Ontario; Peter Jenkinson, Walsall Museum and Art Gallery especially the "People's Show"; the People's Palace, Glasgow; the Museum of Migration and Settlement, Adelaide, South Australia; Balance 1990, Queensland Art Gallery; Family Treasures, Manawatu Museum, Palmerston North; Nga Tukemata: Nga Taonga o Ngati Kahungunu, Hawkes Bay Cultural Trust among others.

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BICULTURALISM, THE TREATY AND THE SPIRIT OF PARTNERSHIP

Gerard O'Regan, Otago Museum

When I read Professor Tony Bennett's abstract for his conference paper, it struck me that there is a parallel discussion to be had in New Zealand surrounding 'the Maori community' and museums. There are a multiplicity of terms used within the 'museum - Maori inter-face', most of which you will be familiar with. These include: Iwi, hapu, whanau, tangata whenua, mana whenua, matawaka, tauiwi, tangata tiriti, The Treaty, bicultural, partnership, treaty partner, kaitiaki and kaitiakitanga, rangatiratanga, mana (and more recently mana taonga), indigenous peoples, Maori community and indeed the term Maori itself.

All these terms of reference to aspects of the Maori community are absolutely contextual. That is, in different circumstances they mean different things and are always relative to the group being discussed. Whenever these identifiers of groups are used, their selection is always deliberate and always politically charged.

Some weeks back, when talking around this subject, a colleague posed the question 'why don't we just treat Maori as people?'. This is an undeniably common sense approach. I endorse it full heartedly, but only if it is not intended to imply that we treat all people the same.

People are different, and if museums are going to treat people as people they must account for those differences. Without labouring the point, if museums are to treat people as people, they must start with who the people are, not what the museum is.

Implicit in this, is that museums must really think about relating to Maori in terms of all those concepts, not simply in terms of a select one or two. In doing so, museums must think very clearly about what is implied by those various identifiers.

What I would like to do here, is pick up on three terms in particular, these being biculturalism, the Treaty and the spirit of partnership.

Sounding like something of a holy-trinity for culturally sensitive museums, Biculturalism, the Treaty and the Spirit of Partnership are all matters gaining increasing recognition within New Zealand's museum community. So much so, that this three-some almost made its way into parliamentary legislation with the 1995 Auckland War Memorial Museum Bill which read:

In carrying out its functions...the Board shall recognise and provide for...Biculturalism in the spirit of partnership and goodwill as envisaged by the Treaty of Waitangi,...

The Parliamentary Select Committee amended this for the final 1996 Auckland War Memorial Museum Act, but only to the extent of losing the word 'biculturalism'.

What the Select Committee was hesitant to oblige Auckland Museum to, our national museum has committed itself to with the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa being on public record as stating that it is (or at least will be) a 'bicultural museum'.

Te Papa (as it is increasingly becoming known) has sought to achieve a state of biculturalism, in part through a 'partnership' arrangement between the Chief Executive and the Kaihautu (the most senior Maori position in the Museum's staff structure). Over the past decade Te Papa has made the most significant contribution to addressing the previously disproportionately low Maori representation in the sector. There is no doubt that it has lead, and continues to lead, the way for New Zealand museums along the 'bicultural path'.

Te Papa is also developing a formal bicultural policy that when released will help more of us understand how it has interpreted the term 'bicultural'. It is doubtful, however, whether many of the features that will help Te Papa attain its bicultural state, will be attainable or relevant features and developments for other museums to emulate.

By way of example, National Services of Te Papa has followed the model of the Museums Association of Aotearoa New Zealand (MAANZ) half of its Committee members being Maori. This realisation of biculturalism has been one of MAANZ's recent claims to fame. It may be a bicultural model achievable for nationwide organisations whose representation at the governance level is not intended to serve funding accountabilities or public elections. It is not a model, though, that can readily serve most of New Zealand's museums or indeed the respective Maori interests.

The question remains, what is biculturalism in the museum organisation context? Is it the 'melting pot' revisited? Is it two sides of one organisation working in harmony? Is it two separate organisations working in

harmony? Is it separatism deviously disguised? Or do we look at the museum as a theoretically soul-less box and say biculturalism is two cultures simultaneously contributing to the contents of the box? Or is it two cultures simultaneously drawing from the box? Over the past year I have heard all these variants expressed as somehow reflecting or demarcating- or somehow being - key facets of biculturalism.

In their report for the Museum Directors Federation on Museum Performance Measures, McKinlay Douglas noted that they had been presented with three basic approaches to identifying an organisation as being bicultural:
1. It can be bicultural through representation in its governance
2. It can be bicultural through the manner in which it operates - that is it can act biculturally, or...
3. It can be bicultural in its outputs. That is the services and products it produces are relevant to, and received by both cultures. This observation does little other than tell us that in the course of talking with key people in the New Zealand museum community, these professional consultants were not able to find an authoritative account of 'biculturalism'. ·

Despite this lack of definition, though, biculturalism has many proponents who present achieving a state of biculturalism as being something of an Aotearoa New Zealand utopian goal.

One thing about the term 'biculturalism' an aspect many do not like, is that it places New Zealanders in two groups. Some, who have failed to come to grips with the underlying concepts of the term, perceive it to promote 'racial' or ''cultural'' groupings of Maori and non-Maori. Claims that we are multicultural, not bicultural, follow. These claims are at least equalled by calls for the reintroduction of the 'one-New Zealand' melting pot approach.

But, what is so often missed by the

the multiculturalists is that the demarcation in the bicultural equation is not racial or really even cultural, but rather indigenous and non-indigenous; those who are here by right of being indigenous - the first settlers - and those who are here not by the right of being indigenous but by another right, given by the Treaty. We should by now all be familiar with the dualism tangata whenua : tangata tiriti. This is what gives us the 'bi-' in 'bi-cultural'.

It follows, then, that absolutely entrenched in the term 'bicultural', is the Treaty of Waitangi, and its derivative concepts including that of partnership. Partnership in this context derives from what the courts have defined as the principle of partnership - that both Treaty partners will act reasonably and in the utmost good faith.

Legally the Treaty and/or its Principles are only binding in so far as they are referred to in legislation. Thus, the Auckland Museum is only obliged to take account of the Treaty as providing for the "spirit of partnership and goodwill".

There are, however, other principles of the Treaty that the courts have developed over the years. These include...
·The principle of the government's right to govern.
·The principle of tribal rangatiratanga/ self-regulation - that is that iwi have the right to organise as iwi and, under the law, to control and manage their own resources.
·The principle of active participation (in decision-making - that the Treaty partners will ascertain each other's views and be willing to accommodate them.)
·The principle of active protection (that the Crown will actively protect Maori in the use and management of their resources.)
·The principle of redress for past grievances (that the Crown will take active and positive steps to redress past grievances and will avoid actions which prevent redress).

If museums are to treat Maori as peo-

ple, then they have to take account of the wider scope of Maori interests. This must ultimately include some recognition of these other principles of the Treaty - even if these are not listed in legislation. All the principles of the treaty are inter-related. It is not practicable to give effect to Maori interests in the Treaty by addressing only one aspect.

However it seems to me, from most of the discussion I have heard or been party to within the museum sector, that when talking of biculturalism, partnership and ideas of being Treaty partners, most museum interests have actually given little regard to the implications of the other principles of the Treaty, or perhaps what their Treaty partner sees implied in them.

Where non-Maori interests tend to focus on the principle of partnership, Maori also place an emphasis on the principle of rangatiratanga. This derives from Article II of the Treaty, and I doubt very much that many iwi would see 'the principle of partnership' as forming a Treaty basis for museums gaining an interest in the iwi's article II right to 'the exclusive ownership of taonga'. Rather, Article II and the principle of rangatiratanga are more likely to be seen to support Maori interests such as those expressed in declarations of indigenous peoples' rights . These claim cultural rights in terms of exclusive ownership of taonga, including knowledge, and the right to present the same. I refer here to declarations such as the Mataatua Declaration, the Draft Declaration of Indigenous Peoples' Rights, and, closer to home, the various heritage policies of Ngai Tahu.

When you read through such declarations, at least those on heritage and arts matters, there appears to be little room indeed for what many people may perceive to be 'partnership' or 'biculturalism'. Yet, many Maori envisage that giving effect to partnership and biculturalism supports the intent of such declarations.

Therefore, I cannot help but ask my-

self the question that, when talking of biculturalism, the Treaty and the spirit of partnership, are museums and iwi actually envisaging the same thing? To be honest, I doubt it. And, in trying to rationalise my doubt, the explanation I see emerging is that, by and large, most New Zealand museums' interest in matters Maori is not in Maori as a Treaty partner, but rather as Maori - Maori art - Maori heritage - Maori culture - as a subject.

Most of New Zealand's museums were established to service interests other than Maori. Maori communities were not by and large involved in the committees, the boards or the professions that established the museums. Nonetheless, from very early on, Maori have been a major subject matter of the museums, especially larger non-art museums.

Maori artefacts were collected with gusto, and Maori people were engaged to provide information to the anthropologists who curated the Maori collections. Maori culture was a subject of the museums. The relationship of Maori people to the museums - where it existed - was perhaps best described as being 'informants'.

The Museums were developed by Pakeha society to show and educate itself about the 'other'. As Maori were not seen to be part of the 'norm' in New Zealand society, they were displayed as a subject in those museums that focused on 'the other'. Similarly, Maori were largely neglected by those museums that sought to celebrate the 'self' (ie. the western self). I refer here to the historical museums and art galleries.

Over recent years, and particularly since the *Te Maori* exhibition, there has been some effort to change how Maori are presented by museums. The Otago Museum that formerly displayed the 'extinct' Maori culture now attempts to recognise in its Maori gallery, the continuum with present-day Maori culture. The new Dunedin Public Art Gallery has included some representation of Maori art in its open-ing displays. The Otago Settlers Museum, referred to at one point as a tabernacle of Pakehaness, now boasts the Kai Tahu ki Otago exhibition.

Such changes have done a lot to change the image of Maori as presented by museums, and most would agree this is a notable - albeit overdue - development. Nonetheless, the fundamental feature of these developments is that such exhibitions are still principally aimed at telling something of the Maori story - showing Maori art, culture and history - to non-Maori. The museums' principle interest in Maori remains essentially as a subject largely for the benefit of non-Maori visitors and interests. Therefore I believe, that when the museum sector talks of biculturalism, the Treaty and spirit of partnership, this is the fundamental position it is coming from. I believe I can say with confidence that it is not the starting position iwi come from. It is not the position reflected in the Mataatua Declaration or similar position statements.

This, I believe, is the dilemma for the museum sector. The museums' histories, their organisational attitudes, their very functions and purposes drive them to approach Maori principally as a subject. In approaching their Treaty partner, their overall focus - or 'intent' - is not with the interests of the Treaty partner but rather with their visitors, their clients, their communities, their publics. The partnership, that is the work with the Treaty partner is fundamentally focused on outcomes for others beyond that partnership.

Thus I believe that, the overall purposes and aims of the museums as they stand now preclude museums from being effective Treaty partners which they are obliged to be if they are to be bicultural, to give effect to the Treaty and to operate within the spirit of partnership.

This then challenges museums to delve deeply into what the terms actually imply beyond the 'politically correct, warm fuzzy surface layer'. In doing so their manner of operation, their product, their traditional purpose - as far as matters Maori are concerned - all come into question. The values and assumptions from which museum purposes are constructed come into question.

These matters cannot be dismissed or ignored. Aside from the fact that biculturalism, the Treaty and partnership are all ideas now well entrenched in the New Zealand community, these terms have been forced upon iwi for some time. Regardless of where museums are coming from, at some point or another, iwi will bring these concepts to the table. When they do, they will bring them with their own interpretations and a depth of understanding of the concepts that will allow iwi to argue their interpretations with the utmost conviction.

I worry. How many New Zealand museums have really given the matter sufficient time and energy to allow them to do the same?

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HOW CAN THE NATURAL HISTORY COMPONENTS OF MUSEUMS BECOME MORE RELEVANT TO IWI INTERESTS?

Greg Motu, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

If I asked a group of people "What is this object?" (A carving or picture of one), I could receive several answers. Some may say "An ancestor."; another might say "An artwork."; an ethnologist might say "A carved post of the East Coast style."; while a biochemist may say "It is a mixture of cellulose, carbohydrates and fatty acids". The point is that none of them would be wrong according to their frame of reference. The same is true of mātauranga Māori and western science: as long as both systems of knowledge remain intact within their own particular frame of reference then they both make logical sense.

Problems arise when information held by one system is analysed by the language and conceptual frame of reference of another. Mātauranga is constructed in such a way that its orally recorded and transmitted information can be recited with ease. Thus songs, chants or stories rely on devices such as personification and the narrative form of expression to assist their commitment to memory and oral recitation.

The key to accurately interpreting orally stored information is having a good knowledge of the language , the cosmogony, the processes associated with the recording and transmission of mātauranga and access to reliable informants.

Ever since Europeans began recording Māori traditions and cultural knowledge, there has been an ongoing process of 'intellectual prospecting' or mining of our mātauranga. As part of this process, only selected (mined) information is published with the remainder being dismissed as 'myths' or

spiritualism. Such selectivity can also result in the published knowledge being seen to be inferior to that of European systems of knowledge, for example, western science. It seems to me that there is a need for mutual respect between the holders of both types of knowledge to begin working together for mutually beneficial ends.

It is possible for western science and mātauranga to respect each other. This requires understanding and goodwill of those who practise in each field. I have two acquaintances who demonstrate this. One is an ecologist, the other a Māori historian. Each has a mutual respect of the other's knowledge and skills, along with the confidence to challenge the other's analysis. This enables them to achieve constructive results. When researching, the historian will recite and interpret a line from a karakia or waiata. After thinking about it for a while, the ecologist may respond by relaying an observation she has recorded in the field. After discussing the possible causes and effects the two can provide a viable explanation of what the seemingly obscure or even improbable line in the waiata is actually describing. In the process the world view and understanding of both parties is enlarged and enriched.

Application of this to our museums is a little more complex. Recent years have seen iwi Māori increasingly reclaiming control and authority over resources within their own tribal rohe. This has been matched with an increasing demand for information and expertise to manage these resources. In addressing this need, there has been a desire to use both traditional mātauranga and scientific knowledge.

Colonisation with the subsequent social assimilation of Māori society and the outlawing of traditional learning institutions have resulted in a lack of advanced educational qualifications among Māori . This has recently been recognised, and attempts are now being made to address this issue. These include:
- scholarships offering support for Maori research students (such as the Foundation of Science Research and Technology (FRST), Te Ohu Kai Moana, and Hort and Research)
- the formation of professional associations such as Māori Historians, and the National Association of Māori Mathematicians, Scientists And Technologists (NAMMSAT)
- delegations to the UN and other international forums
- hui throughout the country in which issues are discussed, and recommendations and submissions to crown agencies are formulated
- legislation (for example, the Resource Management Act 1991) which binds the Crown to address its Treaty obligations
- the encouragement of joint research bids to the Public Good Science Fund

Some museums have responded to this challenge by forming relationships with iwi and looking at ways of working together. Ngati Wai in North Auckland have created a resource management unit and formed a relationship with the Schools of Biological Sciences (SBS) and Environmental and Marine Sciences at Auckland University. They undertaken joint research projects according to the needs of Ngati Wai (Roberts et al 1996).

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa has addressed these issues

to varying levels of success in recent years. On a day to day level collection managers and curators have given Māori practitioners of rongoa access to their collections and expertise and have helped iwi gain access to fibres, feathers and bone. Māori people have given information about plants and animals that have aided in Museum field research and collecting. To date, this has been an ad hoc process and has been reactive rather than a planned strategy to address these issues.

The release of the Museum's research strategy 'Speaking with Authority' this year marks a formalisation of this process and indicates the Museum's commitment to addressing the mutual research needs of the Museum and Iwi. In the preamble it states:

> "that two cultural philosophies of knowledge will permeate scholarship and mātauranga Māori at Te Papa (The Museum). There is already established a strong research tradition based on western concepts of scholarship. The Museum now makes a commitment to developing mātauranga Māori as part of its scholastic culture. The two traditions will be both independent and co-dependent." (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 1996)

This commitment is reflected in the last round of bids to the Public Good Science Fund. Although only one was successful, the Museum submitted three proposals that include the use of indigenous knowledge as well as scientific knowledge.

Mere Roberts from the School of Biological Sciences at Auckland University has outlined a research model called Participatory Action Research (PAR). PAR was developed in Canada. It is based on a proactive involvement in research by indigenous peoples. It was developed in response to mainstream scientific research in which the balance of political, economic and sometimes military power was on the side of professional researchers rather than the communities. PAR also ac-

knowledges that, for indigenous knowledge to be revitalised, control of and full participation of the indigenous community is essential.

PAR recognises indigenous ways of gaining knowledge as valid and independent of western science but as sharing some features in common with it. The underlying principles of this research method are that:

1. the proposal originates in the community
2. the research involves the full and active participation of the community at all stages
3. both teams, "western scientific" and the "community", learn from and teach the other
4. the community retains full control of the research and its outcomes. (Roberts et al 1996)

The research partnership between the Ngati Wai Trust Board and the University of Auckland is based on this particular research kaupapa.

As publicly funded organisations, museums are expected more and more to be responsive to the communities they serve. It is easy, however, for those in the academic business to still believe that if they come up with a research proposal, then it would be good to get a Maori perspective. I believe that iwi no longer have a desire to help achieve someone else's agenda unless they are also receiving some benefit which can be applied back into their own community.

The bulk of research in museums is related to bio-systematics and, more recently, ecology. It is up to both iwi and museums to find the areas in which their interests overlap and plan research projects accordingly. For this to happen, however, there is the need to develop relationships between museums and iwi outside of the existing focus of material culture and taonga. There is a need for museums to proactively extend existing relationships and look at taonga from Papatuanuku.

The aim of this discussion today was

to look at how iwi and natural history components in museums can be relevant to each other. I have proposed that two different knowledge systems are not mutually exclusive but two different ways of understanding the world around us. I have also suggested that for the two to successfully work together mutual trust of the other's skills and expertise is required.

Lastly I have highlighted a research philosophy used overseas and in New Zealand that may be a model that enables museums and iwi to work together in natural history research. This model could be applied to the natural history area of our museums, where iwi would be asked to identify areas of ecological concern and interest to them, and to contribute ways in which these issues could be addressed in our museums.

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ers in the teaching of the mahi raranga to a new generation. Through out that period they lacked access to a range of traditional materials but worked a lot with harakeke. Through the seventies and eighties there was a modest growth in these activities. Always there was an increasing recognition that whakapapa, taha wairua and tapu were integral elements in the development of the artistic expression. It was also recognised that access to traditionally used materials in Otago was lacking, and an evaluation of historic and current management practisces in relation to the decision making processes occurred.

Around 1992, the iwi authority called together a small group of people to form an iwi position regarding the management of koiwi takata in the rohe of Kai Tahu whanui. The result of this was the Kai Tahu Koiwi Tangata policy. The group was then formalised to an extent by the then Te Runanganui o Ngai Tahu and charged with developing a position regarding issues pertaining to the use and access to cultural materials. From this work, and after considerable discussion amongst the marae and their runanga, *Kawa Hua Tai Ao- Kai Tahu policy on the Management Of Cultural Materials* became the position from which Kai Tahu would seek discussions with the relevant organisations. Consistent with the previously developed statement, this was a "here's how we see it" document. It was recognised by the writers that, even though several of the statements in it were not supported by a statutory basis, it was an advocacy tool to articulate to the community and in particular to those who had historically decided on the end repository and use of such materials, that iwi and their marae and runanga wished to discuss these issues with a view to exploring the opportunities for mutual co-operation and to move positively forward together in partnership.

There have been mechanisms available in the Wildlife Act and the Reserves Act which can allow access to these taoka, but it has been the sense of alienation from them as well as any real statutory barriers that have created the perception of loss. The department is a willing participant in facilitating a positive allocation process as a means to giving effect to its Treaty obligations.

KAWA HUA TAI AO
The introductory section of the iwi policy identifies what cultural materials are for this purpose. There was a deliberate move to take the issue away from the live hunting/mahika kai aspects. It gives a historical perspective to these issues.

A Cultural Right
The basic aim of the policy formulation was to advocate for the re-establishment of an Article Two Treaty right. The Mission Statement reads; "To achieve recognition of Kai Tahu rakatirataka in the management of cultural materials and to establish protocols for Runanga kaitiakitanga and access to these materials".

Scientific Enquiry
A position identified in the policy that you will be intensely interested in, is the recognition by Kai Tahu of the 'legitimate interest of scientific enquiry as long as intellectual property rights are absolutely safe-guarded'.
The document proceeds to discuss other issues such as consultation processes and outlines the idea of a "Mara Taoka" or cultural materials bank. Many of these and closely related issues have been given consideration at recent hui on the kaupapa.

In summary, it is my view that we are moving forward in a positive manner through which both the tino rakatirataka of Kai Tahu and the community of scientific interest can achieve their respective aims and goals.

My good wishes to you all. Tena ra koutou katoa.

KAWA HUA TAI AO -
THE KAI TAHU CULTURAL MATERIALS POLICY

Matapura Ellison, Kaupapa Atawhai Manager, Department of Conservancy, Otago.

Kia ora tatou.

My aim is to give some measure of explanation of the background, as I see it, which has led to the development of **Kawa hua tai ao** - the Kai Tahu cultural materials policy statement. John Darby will pick up from where I leave off and together we hope to provide some degree of an overview and food for thought.

In the beginning of the post Treaty era takata whenua had an eye to the benefits that seemed imminent following the signing of that solemn compact between Hobson and his emissaries representing the Crown, and the indigenous people of Aotearoa and Te Wai Pounamu. The many trading and other opportunities many had developed earlier were a sure thing and as well as having been guaranteed certain ownership rights to lands, forest and their other important taonga, I'm sure those tipuna had a view that much benefit would ensue to them. It was a time of transition but Godzone was born. However, just like the paradise of Eden tainted by that first sin, so too was a new reality to dawn on takata whenua. The ink was not quite dry when the first hint of trouble ahead arose in the Governors' Land Claims Ordinance proclamation which stated that 'all unappropriated lands within the said colony of New Zealand, subject however to the rightful and necessary occupation and use thereof by the aboriginal inhabitants of the said colony, are and remain Crown or Domain Lands'. I don't intend to further this line other than using the example to make a point that the unravelling of the social fabric and the marginalisation of the assets of takata whenua as well as the impediments placed as obstructions to the exercising of their

rakatirataka over those taoka katoa, cast a shadow that has lingered to the end of this century.

The Protectionist Ethic in New Zealand

The protection ethic or philosophy has its origin in Europe. A great example of its implementation was the inception of the Yellowstone National Park in the United States in around 1872. The 1856 Reserves Act was the first piece of statutory recognition of that principle in this country and was followed some time later by measures to protect kukupa (N.Z wood pigeon). New Zealand also became the focus of extensive philanthropic interest. It was one big terrarium of interest. As the development of the natural assets of the country escalated, the taoka of the takata whenua diminished. Their mahika kai drained and, at least in the rohe of Kai Tahu, they were forced into a subsistence living largely devoid of the early expectations following the Treaty and the subsequent large scale land sales. So we have a historical scenario of the conversion of the landscape into what we have now. Largely following that development were the overlays of protective legislation to the current time and the main Conservation Act 1987 and the Acts administered under it. The history of protective legislation undoubtedly has had an impact of the ability of iwi and takata whenua to practise their customary rights across a wide breadth of activities. In summary I would liken it to a period of disenfranchisement and marginalisation by legislation.

I think it would be a reasonable comment to make that the takata whenua were not adverse to experimenting with the new technology and materials that

became available as the result of contact with European culture. I think the same can be applied as to how they used those mediums in their artistic expression, for example, the use of steel carving tools or the use of wool in woven articles of use. I have sometimes wondered though, at what point the use of new raw materials began to increase and whether that coincided with some traditionally accessible materials becoming less obtainable.

As the traditional mode of clothing gave way to a more European form of attire, the previous articles of attire took on a more ceremonial importance as taoka tuku iho or family heirlooms. This was not confined to their items of clothing but included a whole range of their previous articles of usage. The ability of a culture to create artistic expression is dependant on a range of prerequisites, among them economic security. The lack of this element as the result of the previous disinheritance, and subsequent policies of assimilation did nothing to encourage these pursuits. To my tipuna, survival was the motivating factor. Over a period of perhaps three generations but sometimes as short as one, the matauranga previously preserved through the generations fell to a low ebb.

The post World War Two era saw a massive movement of Maori into the urban environment. This foreshadowed a resurgence of interest in things Maori and a search or redefinition of what it meant to be Maori in a modern world. Renewed interest in those particular cultural crafts flourished as part of that wider re-evaluation of Maori value systems. In Otago we have people like Aunt Magda Wallscott and Aunt Emma Grooby who became lead-

KAWA HUA TAI AO - AN OTAGO MUSEUM PERSPECTIVE

John Darby, Head of Natural Sciences, Otago Museum

My role today is to briefly explore with you the relationship that has and is developing with Otago iwi on the matter of access to traditional cultural materials. In doing so I want to explore where we are at present and where we hope to be in the future.

In exploring where we are at present, I want to touch on the matter of accountability of institutions such as ours on the matter of collecting and researching biological organisms and systems. I will touch on the matter of the responsibilities associated with deaccessioning and dispersal of material to iwi, and finally give an even briefer word on the establishment of cultural banks.

Matapura Ellison has articulated the position of Kai Tahu on the matter of iwi access to cultural materials. It is clear and unambiguous. It is a position that this Museum supports and we hope that we will be a part of any activity that may help to rectify an injustice and grievance of long standing.

Museums are charged under the Wildlife Act to implement part of the act as it relates to the collection and holding of native birds or protected species. We do so under the authority of the Department of Conservation. As most of you will be aware, it is illegal to collect or hold native wildlife in any form unless one has a specific dispensation from the Department of Conservation to do so. On a day to day basis, museums are organisations that have authority to hold material. Should they wish to collect, however, then they too must have permission from the department.

Thus there are three parties to this discussion, the runanga, the Department of Conservation and the museum.

When the Wildlife Act was first promoted, I would like to think that it was done so for the purpose of the conservation of species. Sometimes I am not sure that may have been entirely the motive. The threat perceived by government agencies, however, would have been that associated with preventing the over-exploitation of traditional food species. Nevertheless, that same legislation deprived tangata whenua of their right to continue with their tradition of fashioning natural materials into items of clothing, adornment and works of art. I doubt that in the protective legislation that access to traditional cultural materials was intended. However, that has been the outcome of these laws. Thus Maori have been deprived of free access and this in no small way has been a contributing factor in the loss of some of the arts, traditions and crafts of tangata whenua.

As a starting point we can note that Kai Tahu asserts its rights under the Treaty to access cultural materials. This is a Treaty that we agreed to. Kai Tahu have taken the initiative in bringing this to our attention. As it stands at the moment the allocation of feathers for weaving and for other taonga such as whalebone is managed under section 53 of the Wildlife Act. Thus such materials, under this legislation, always remain the property of the Crown and are only loaned on trust to approved users for specific approved purposes.

In its own way that is a forbidding piece of legislation, not easy to manage or to get access to, and in its own way it is a grievance to those who believe that they have a prior right to the resource and can best use it. Those with that grievance are the tangata whenua.

ACCOUNTABILITY

An important aspect of the proposed liaison with Otago Museum and iwi concerns whether material that is offered to the Museum is retained for the collections or is made available to iwi. The release of material from the Museum in the first instance is largely a decision made by the Museum. The curator of the collection, in the first instance, will either decide that it is kept for the collections or will make a recommendation that it be made available for addition to a cultural bank. The final say is made by the director of the Museum, who may refer the matter to the governing board.

Having said that, it has been made abundantly clear to me that there is a strong appreciation of the needs and interests of science by iwi and that this will be respected. I believe, however, those needs and interests will have to be articulated better in the future than they have been in the past.

While on the one hand we seem to have demanded a high level of accountability by traditional users, it's not something that we have demanded of Pakeha users such as museums, universities and research organisations.

We may well have our own particular and peculiar standards within a pakeha culture with such things as ethics committees and closed shops of scientists peer-reviewing themselves, but the accountability I would propose would be at a different level to the present. I

for one am guilty of never consulting iwi on research programmes that I have carried out, I have never asked their permission to send material from Otago to other institutions in New Zealand and overseas, and neither has this Museum ever created a policy document or memorandum of understanding on its use of cultural materials in consultation with iwi.

I say this because I cannot impress upon you strongly enough that if there is a prior ownership claim to this taonga, as there is, then it is hurtful and insulting to totally ignore that prior ownership.

Thus what I believe is being proposed is a different level of accountability and I believe that we should be more open about what we as museums and research institutions do. We should discuss more easily and openly with iwi our research programmes and endeavours, what and how we collect and dispose of, and why.

When I came to Otago as a much younger zoologist than I am now, I was absolutely astonished at what our collections contained. There are some 9500 full species of birds in the world and we have representatives of some 3200 species, in an overall collection of some 5000 specimens. At that time in the late 1960's there were eleven known live kakapo in the world- we had 27 dead ones.

I might add here that the museum's role in that collecting was one of receiving these specimens from members of the public as recently as five years ago. Thankfully the tradition of decorating one's home or flaunting one's intellect and/or tastes by having stuffed animals on one's mantelpiece have largely died out.

When I was alerted to the interests of iwi to the possible access to surplus materials I welcomed the opportunity to discuss such issues with them from a number of points of view, not the least of which was the ever mounting collection of frozen specimens held in our freezers. As a biologist, I still have

real concerns about throwing away natural history specimens, no matter their condition.

In Otago we are fortunate in having access to an impressive number of reports and documents written and presented by runanga that all parties are able to refer to. The position from which Kai Tahu comes from is clear, unambiguous and positive. They even provide guidelines for approaches to discussion, and I will list just a few examples of those guidelines from the *Kai Tahu Ki Otago Natural Resource Management Plan* for you.

Some Examples of Principles of Consultation:

· "Kanohi ki te kanohi"- eye to eye contact -
A form of communication valued by Kai Tahu, in essence it is eye to eye contact between people with a need to communicate with each other on matters large or small. Written or telephone communication, while suitable on some occasions, is less effective than the traditional medium where the opportunity to gain respect and understanding of issues amongst people is enhanced through communication person to person, "kanohi ki te kanohi".
The ability for both parties to be well informed, understand, respect and trust each other is of fundamental importance to developing a good partnership.

· Quality Information -
The provision of quality and sufficient information ensures a clear understanding of all facets of any proposal and is an important feature of good consultation.

· Openness of Intent -
It is essential that both parties approach the process with an open mind and genuine intent. A transparent process with a free flow of information between the parties are key components of quality consultation.

· Avoidance of Treaty Claims -

Consultation should be sufficient to gauge the nature and substance of Kai Tahu interest and concern, and should serve to ensure that a Treaty-based grievance is not created through overlooking or creating an adverse effect on values or resources important to iwi.

Authority to dispense/disperse.
The partnership that is being structured between ourselves and runanga is that firstly all requests for cultural materials come to us from the runanga, or through the Department of Conservation from the runanga. It is not our decision or role to decide who gets what and when.

That relieves us of a huge responsibility, for the decision as to who and where the material goes is placed in the hands of the only authority that can really judge the best use of the material. It relieves us of the decision, a decision that we are really unable to make, nor should we attempt to make it. As I understand it, cultural materials are still in public hands, the hands of the iwi and they will guard them as zealously as we have.

When I say us, I include here the partnership that all of the provincial museums have with the Department of Conservation and we, that is the Otago Museum and Doc have to work through the logistics of how we can make this work on a day to day basis. We are confident that those administrative problems can easily be worked through. What all parties are confident about is that we are all working to make sure things will work.

Finally there is the question of a cultural materials bank. We believe that we are in a unique position to help with that process. As the biological business of museums is to preserve and collect, we have the facilities and the expertise.
Clearly such banks could be on a marae, but there may be some practical problems associated with that, particularly the matter of holding large quantities of material or a large item that may not be readily accommodated on a marae.

In this sense I feel that I can confidently offer the facilities and expertise of Museum staff to make whatever needs to be made possible happen.

In summing up, our relationship with iwi I believe is positive and we welcome it.

It means a different level of accountability to all that use the natural resources of this country. We need to accept that our, that is the Museum's, use and holdings of cultural materials need to have a different level of accountability than we have had in the past. We need to justify our actions and perspectives to the community, who also have other interests and needs for those materials.

We do not, nor would we want to, make the decision as to how cultural materials surplus to our collections are dispersed for traditional use. It would be arrogant of us to presume that we would or should. However, saying that along with the ready acceptance by iwi that it is their responsibility to make those decisions relieves of us of a heavy burden.

Finally we may be able to play a role in the establishment of a cultural bank. I hope that we can and will provide a useful service to iwi.

Above all else we look forward to a renaissance of the use of cultural materials for traditional weaving, art and expression. If this will help bring people closer with happiness and peace, and provide the deep satisfaction that is gained from creative endeavour, then it will be a day's work well done.

ORGANISATIONAL PLANNING IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH WITH MAORI

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Standard research planning

Planning and costing research within a medium to large sized institution is increasingly necessary and it tends to no longer "just happen". People's time is frequently overcommitted. For polytechnics in particular, the movement towards teaching at degree level and the accompanying need to demonstrate and increase research "outputs" is conducted against a background of falling income from Ministry of Education sources.

Shrinking tertiary funding puts pressure on staff to cost and account for research activities, for research involves a real and often increasing cost to the organisation. This paper examines the effect this environment has on planning for research with Maori. The views in this paper are essentially those of a research manager attempting to listen to and incorporate the views and experiences of teaching staff who have conducted a number of research projects with Maori groups, principally in relation to natural history. Projects include work on karaka dendroglyphs, the significance of an anomalous distribution of renga-renga lilies, research into materials likely to have been used in the construction of wharepuni; identification of chemically contaminated sites; exploring non-destructive ways to identify the timber used in Maori artefacts, and the cultural significance and cultivation practices for Taewa or (Maori potatoes).

Organisation of Research at The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand

In developing the research infrastructure at The Open Polytechnic of New Zealand (TOPNZ), a number of changes have occurred. One is the need for staff to plan their research

thoroughly and anticipate time, costs and outcomes as far as possible. The application form for funds from the internal contestable research fund includes the now almost standard requirements such as :

1. identification of skilled researchers and the structure of the research team
2. formulating a question or hypothesis as the focus for the research
3. planning the research approach
4. adopting a methodology appropriate to the question and subject
5. costing the research:
   - staff time and additional hired help
   - travel and accommodation
   - materials, resources, depreciation, capital items etc.
6. milestones and timetabling
7. contractual, ethical, intellectual property, publishing and dissemination elements.

This model for planning research is not readily applicable to research involving Maori groups, and attempts to force such a research proposal into a comprehensive plan which addresses all the above issues at the outset is doomed to failure. A research proposal may need to evolve over time - as the following breakdown of issues will hopefully illustrate.

Starting up the relationship

There is likely to be a critical time at the outset of the research project, when there is a need for lots of contact between the researchers and their "hosts". The researchers may be expected to stay for several days, whereas they may be able to absent themselves from regular duties for only short periods. Maori groups may not necessarily be aware of the cost or the stress caused

by a researcher's absence from work. The researcher's apparent reluctance may be seen as an inconsistency between their interest and the espoused interest by their organisation. There is less of a problem in fitting the time scales together when dealing with people with a more extensive Pakeha educational or business background.

Relationships once established must be maintained

On-going relationships are regarded as important by other cultures as well as Maori. The relationship develops in stages, improving with time. The relationship is a long term commitment, and once contact has been established, you have to hang in there until it starts to work. Even then, it may not work in the way that you had envisaged. As trust grows, more information and support will be forthcoming.

Approaches - identifying the researchers and the topic

To stand a better chance of success or acceptance, approaches to Maori groups should involve contacting a significant facilitator or other acceptable entrée to the group. These contacts may be identified formally through a runanga council and by inclusion in the agenda papers. Contact people should be chosen very carefully with a particular awareness of where the contact person comes from (this can be very area specific) and their family connections. If a wrong or inappropriate person is chosen this can result in alienation. Recognition needs to be given to the situation where it is possible to be asking the right questions of the wrong person - i.e. be aware of mana whenua and mana mahinga kai. It will be important to understand the geographical and mana boundaries in order to avoid embar-

rassment to your partners and hosts.

Organisations versus individuals
High staff turnover is counter to developing a relationship with Maori groups whose focus may be on the people, not necessarily the organisations. There may be strong suspicion if a researcher comes from a large organisation, especially one which has its own goals and policies unrelated to them.

In the case of recent research, there is no way it would have got off the ground without utilising the family connections or existing networks. Even in a situation where the initial approach was from the Maori group who knew what they wanted and where there was a specific request for advice, progress was still slow and complex.

Information is most likely to be revealed successively. An organisation would do well to choose researchers with "people sense", good communication skills, patience and awareness of body language. A knowledge of Maori protocol will help. Hospitality is important and needs to be planned into the budget. Paying for formal koha is part of the package. Many government departments have now internalised these costs, for example, even cash hard-up DoC do not skimp on the welcoming of iwi, otherwise the kaupapa atawhai would look silly.

Accessing sources of knowledge and establishing the present state of knowledge
Establishing links to the sources of knowledge may prove difficult. It is not always possible to assume that you have been introduced to the right people. Initial contacts are often through a facilitator and sufficient time is needed to ensure that the researcher can gain introductions to the eventual decision makers. Getting "straight" answers is difficult, because direct questions may not be answered. The person you ask may know the answer but choose not to answer. They may not have the authority to answer, or alternatively, the nature or quality of the answer may depend on the significance of the question (and you may not

know the significance of the question).

There should be a recognition that knowledge is generally used in specific ways and held by specified people. These "hidden files" are frequently encountered when discussing waahi tapu and mahinga/mahika kai, but also in more subtle ways in the repository of knowledge on medicines, spiritual matters, tribal associations and events, and family responsibilities. The people themselves are the active repositories of knowledge, and not the files as such.

There is a strong possibility that the researcher's credibility may be being measured over the period of months while they are waiting for an answer.

Decision making and the way forward
Another reason for delays in obtaining authoritative or definitive statements or information is that a single individual may need to consult more widely. This internal process is "hidden" and the theme or purpose of the request may appear considerably different when it returns. It is not unusual for some members of a group to agree on a plan and then "Auntie" vetoes the work or makes changes. This is not "interference" in the European sense, but rather an elaboration of mana - some people are in a position of oversight or overseeing role and do not concern themselves in the day to day actions. Sometimes there may appear to be 2-3 layers of decision making.

Putting across the research proposals
If the questions that a researcher raises or hopes to investigate have arisen unilaterally, then the investigator should be aware that their proposed research may fall in one of several categories as far as the Maori group are concerned:

· the goal may be one which is held in common and one on which consensus has already been reached (for example, need for better health)
· the idea may be a new one, in which case an internal consensus process may yet have to be followed
· the idea may be held in some sec-

tors or whanau, but not in others, or a particular hapu may have their own agenda which they may have held for some time (even centuries!).

Thus the researcher may need to recognise themselves as having their own agenda and trying to find a link to those of others. The researcher also needs to be aware that some values may be held by individuals only.

Anything that touches on tribal history (for example, an ancestral happening), may have several interpretations, and it will be a process of negotiation as to which will dominate and in which way. Influence and autonomy in decision making may be very local, and there is a possibility that an issue can have both traditional and modern implications and that, therefore, responses may not be consistent. Information may, therefore, appear to have inconsistencies.

The research plan
It must be accepted that it will be impossible to plan the research without the group knowing the researcher well. Until your status and dependability have been determined , you may not be dealing with the most knowledgeable or able people in the tribe. Those you are dealing with may not be interested or terribly focused. There are advantages in regarding the research plan and conduct as a matrix - one through which several paths can be taken. It may be more realistic to see the process of setting up the research as a form of research in its own right. In fact, the research relationship may be just that - a relationship rather than a project per se. Research may function better if it is not too focused on one part, for otherwise a desire to "push the pace" may result in behaviour that seems whimsical. Accept that not all those involved will be interested or motivated to conceptualise the research in its entirety. Things may take very much longer to accomplish because your agenda may be subordinate to matters more central to the group's interests.

It is important to realise that there may be a different outlook for Maori. For example, there may be no clear distinction between land and people, or the research task may not easily be separated from the people involved.

Proceeding with research

What appears initially to represents an opportunity may prove to be more complex than you can imagine. Thus when looking for a project, look at a whole series of options and narrow it down to several which appear on the face of it to be possible.

If a senior member identifies a contact person in the group, be aware that that person may be chosen for one of several purposes. Roles may be chosen for people, and you may be part of their educative process - it may be a deliberate policy to chose a protégé for the next generation. You may be expected to assist in their training - then your contacts become more valuable to you and to them.

If that is the case, then there is an obligation on you to look after that person in a wider sense too. If your skills are useful then you may be expected to share them. This runs to maintaining contact after the project has finished.

There may be a reciprocal expectation (even if it is informal), for information itself has mana. The project goal has mana, and continuous input will be required into the progress, dispersal and disposal of that information (this may involve taking someone from the group on as staff). In this way a family may hold some of this information or the family needs may be met by having someone that they can introduce into your world.

Protocol is not always easy for uninitiated researchers. This need not be a problem providing there is recognition that there are differences in how to behave - don't do anything unless you are invited, be careful with photos and their use, follow the right procedures. There will be differences between adjacent iwi in the importance they place

on animals and plants - you may need several introductions, and several layers of knowledge

Dealing with the research results

Maori groups may be rightly suspicious of academics who make a living at their expense. Educated Maori, particularly the technically educated, recognise that you might learn something and exclude them from the financial benefits. Increasingly this is a factor at the outset of research rather than at the end. Ethically, an institution should address this issue at the outset of a research project. Increasingly Maori want to be involved in downstream effects of the research, and to obtain acknowledgment for their knowledge and participation.

There should be involvement in choosing the method of publishing. This may have to allow for participation in writing, co-authorship, ceremonial release of "restricted" information and the choice of channels.

Positive aspects: There is no intention or desire to dwell on the difficulties of conducting research with Maori. TOPNZ staff have found joint research very rewarding in ways that they did not anticipate at the outset. Factors mentioned include:
- adds a whole new dimension to the job
- there is an apprenticeship, awakening on both sides
- transferring much more than just the project matters
- seeing changes in individuals in level of interest and commitment
- results in raised awareness of issues on both sides
- need for educational up skilling of individuals requires technology transfer to be built into research
- when the project is concluded it leaves a legacy which includes increased ability to self manage
- resulted in joint papers and new knowledge
- expectation that later the people may be more prepared to get involved in downstream associated projects.

The three most important aspects in our staff links to Maori groups have been:
1. family connections
2. turning up at the same places, meetings, and generating a familiarity that builds up over the years (not unlike other groups, like the law fraternity, where it takes a few years for others to get used to you)
3. giving to them as well as receiving from them.

So what happens if it is not done properly?

If research is rushed and planned without understanding Maori interests, you simply don't get the information you need. You may not accomplish the research and it may do lots of damage to future chances by leaving a sour taste.

One of the consequences of getting it wrong is that it may be very difficult to put right - you may never get a chance to redeem yourself. Because of differences in culture or agendas, misunderstandings may occur without the researcher's knowledge. One staff member describes it as follows:

"Sometimes I think, things seem to be going wrong here - I don't know why - so I ring around, get back to people - I try not to be too direct - and sometimes things seem to resolve for no apparent reason either ..."

Building a relationship needs to be seen as an investment which accumulates over time - something which is not strictly project based. The maxim is, "don't become involved unless you expect to remain involved."

Funding

Maori support for the research, monetary or other, may come from several different sources. These may not always be revealed. If trust funds are used, they may be restricted to slightly different, or otherwise specific purposes. There may be very little flexibility in their use. Until many of the Treaty settlements come to fruition there may be a shortage of cash. For example, the first joint venture may be

to find the money! There may be several different agendas running concurrently and other priorities may overtake the research after commencement. Again, a flexible research plan with staged achievements can still generate useful outcomes if funding ceases to be available.

Implications for Planning

When research with Maori groups is envisaged, this has implications for every step of the conventional research planning process.

In terms of planning and budgeting research, this means there may be twice the amount of time, and twice the amount of travel may be necessary. Questions may initially be met with only what they think you need to know, or should know. Achieving the deeper levels of meaning takes time. Holders of the relevant knowledge may be careful how and to whom they pass this on. Much of the information may not be for general consumption. Therefore to have someone in the facilitation role is very helpful and the use of a Maori co-author has the potential to speed things up considerably.

It is not possible to force the timelines; the differences in roles and expectations have to be taken into account. Sometimes the researchers may come to be seen as holders of great knowledge and may in turn be used as facilitators for other agenda. In this case the focus of the research direction may start to change.

Key elements in planning research with Maori are flexibility in outcomes, timing and role. Helpful factors are enlisting Maori co-researchers, accepting a mutual training function, and addressing traditional knowledge and intellectual property issues at the outset. The relationship should be structured to be long term and based on trust built up over time - not just tied to specific projects.

When the factors mentioned above are more generally recognised by research managers, better quality research outcomes are just one of a whole range of benefits that will accrue to the organisation and their hosts.

MUSEUMS, INTERNET AND EDUCATION

Ann Trewern, Otago Museum.

Introduction

There is considerable interest in the Otago Museum going on-line and developing and maintaining an electronic presence on the Internet. This is for the purpose of developing connections and closer links with schools, encouraging greater awareness of what the Museum has to offer among the community both locally and nationally, and to advertise to the many international visitors what is available when they visit the museum.

This evaluative research project was the first stage in examining the issues that need to be considered. Three general areas were investigated.

The first stage involved exploration of the Internet to identify those science museum websites that were providing good educational and community resources. It also involved evaluating the resources of these sites in some depth, analysing the design and content of the sites and attempting to identify why they are, or are not, successful with educators.

The second stage of the research involved a number of teachers and museum personnel with an interest in education assessing several selected websites. They provided a range of different perspectives and greater depth to the website evaluations.

The third stage of the research identified some of the issues that needed to be faced in developing and maintaining a website. This was carried out by surveying the site administrators of selected museum sites to find out what issues they have faced and continue to face, and how they evaluate the effectiveness of their on-line resources for

the museum and for their users.

The First Stage

Some seventy Association for Science and Technology Centres (ASTC) 'hands on' science centres and natural history museums have developed, or are in the process of developing, World Wide Web sites. Twenty five of these sites were identified as providing resources that went beyond the advertising brochure level. These were assessed for the types of resources that were available under the following three broad categories:

· General visitor information
· Information about the Museum Collections
· Resources provided for educators and museum professionals.

Twenty nine resource category 'dimensions' were identified over the three areas. Not all museums were providing resources in all areas, and it was surprising just how few areas were covered by some museums. In the area of general information the most commonly provided resources included information about upcoming events, membership information, directions to the institution, and on-line links to other museums. Information about the permanent collections was considered to be important by the majority of museums, but it is interesting that some seven of these museums did not provide such information. Half the selected museums provided information on special exhibitions and nearly half provided interactive activities such as games, puzzles, and manipulative activities. Education was important to these museums. The majority provided information about the education programmes they were offering to younger audiences and to adult audi-

ences. Information about teacher development programmes was important to just over half the museums assessed.

Generally these museums are intent on developing websites that provide the virtual visitor with a holistic experience of their museum which does not need to be supported by an actual visit to the institution.

The Second Stage

This stage of the research involved surveying teachers about how they were using the World Wide Web and their responses to some selected museum websites. Eleven teachers were involved in the survey and evaluation. All but one were primary teachers and taught across all areas of the primary school. One participant was a secondary teacher.

Several conclusions can be drawn from the results of the teacher questionnaire about Internet use in the classroom which are of immediate interest to a prospective web developer looking to provide information for teachers and schools. Very few teachers, even those very experienced in Internet use, were allowing their students access to the Web for browsing, or research for project or topic work. Instead these teachers preferred to do the searching on behalf of their students. Frequency of access was limited if the only connection teachers had to the Web was at school. The frequency of Web use increased to as much as several times per week if teachers had a connection at home as well as at school.

Science is the curriculum area most frequently accessed by teachers using

the Web. This is possibly due to the large quantity of science content that exists on the Web. It is generally more up to date than the content that would be found on primary school library shelves and it seems reasonable that teachers would be drawn to these resources. Social studies resources are also accessed significantly more frequently than other curriculum resources and this may be accounted for by the considerable under-resourcing of this curriculum area in most primary schools. Both science and social studies are curriculum areas that can be well supported by museums.

Most Web use reported by teachers included searching for information relating to resources suitable for students to use and finding background information that might be suitable for teaching a topic. Also reasonably high on the list of uses was searching for lesson plans, and finding colleagues and classes with which to exchange information.

One of the chief concerns of teachers was the potential inability of students to manage time effectively while searching for material. Several teachers admitted experiencing difficulty with the length of time they were spending on the Web and the ease at which they were being sidetracked into other avenues on a personal level. Limited computer equipment in classrooms means that students using the computer for Web use would limit the chances of other children using the classroom computer. On-line costs were another factor. Teachers also felt they needed to be aware of what was available on the Web to effectively direct students learning and to teach them the specific skills they were going to need.

In preparing to design on-line educational resources for teachers it is worth noting how the Web is being used by the targeted audience. For instance on-line resources that can be used away from the computer may be the most suitable at this stage. It is also worth noting that web information may initially need to be supported in various ways and by various other forms of media.

The information received from teachers about what kind of general and educational resources they would be most likely to use indicated that many of the surveyed museums were very much on target, especially with the kind of educational resources they were already providing. Teachers strongly indicated they would like general information about up and coming events, answers to students' questions and information about the museum collections. For educational on-line resources there was strong interest in pre-and post-visit activities that were interesting for their children and that fitted alongside a museum visit. Teachers also indicated a desire for online access to experts, lesson plans, and self teach tutorials as online resources to be provided by the local museum.

In their evaluation of websites the eleven teachers and three museum staff were to choose up to three sites to evaluate from the list of twenty five sites. As a result thirteen different websites were evaluated by fourteen participants. Nine of these thirteen websites were considered by participants to be very worthwile.

What are the common elements that make these nine sites so successful with teachers? The first is the provision of a wide range of 'across the board' resources that are bound to appeal. Where a large range of resources are available to visit there is a heightened feeling of exploration and the interest grows to look for more. There was a high correlation between those sites that left a very good general impression and the sites that provided the greatest variety of resources. These included the Natural History Museum, London and the Miami Museum of Science.

Sites that have limited content disappoint. Several teachers made such comments as 'limited resources' through their evaluation forms where a site such as the Field Museum or Science North had provided some disappointment. Once a user has experienced that

initial disappointment then they may feel like the museum technician who stated,

> 'It [New York Hall of Sciences] may have useful information useful to me in the future but it would not be worth my time finding out'.

A site like the Smithsonian which was frustrating to use because of its size has the ability to tempt visitors to return simply because there is more to explore and more to see.

A second common element in the success of a site for teachers are the educational resources provided and how they are packaged for ready use. Those sites that were the most successful had teaching resources that were not necessarily innovative but definitely stimulating. Sites such as The Exploratorium, and Questacon provided a variety of resources that would suit a variety of teaching methods and styles. The specific type of resources does not appear to matter so long as there are a variety of good useable resources that relate well to the curriculum. Sites that provided resource ideas that could be used away from the computer were considered to be very worthwhile and included The Miami Museum of Science and The Oregon Museum of Science and Technology. Sites like The Field Museum and the Hands on Children's Museum were successful only because the limited resources they were providing were very worthwhile.

A third common element for a successful site is the subject matter of the content. Dinosaurs were definitely an attraction for teachers which may account for why so many teachers chose to evaluate Science North, and The Field Museum. It may well be that some sites were not evaluated because information about the type os science content was provided on the initial choice list for teachers. No sites were chosen that contained information about astronomy or earth science. This may be an aberration that results from

a small sample group, but it is an element mentioned by several website administrators who reported that 'hit figures' on their sites had increased when a particular topic had been added to the site resources.

A fourth common element identified was ease of use. Well designed sites that utilise good navigation tools and maintain an overall logical approach are appreciated by their users.

If a site is intended to be used by a specific audience group then the design components of the pages need to appeal to that audience group. Questacon and Miami Museum of Science were both very successful at targeting their audience with appropriate design features such as use of bright colours and cartoons of children. The Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History is an interesting example of the appeal of a high impact site. This site rated quite well in the overall impressions teachers had of the site but rated lower in the area of educational resource provision as resources provided specifically for teachers were limited. Sites such as Science North and the Franklin Institute did not have the appeal of more graphically interesting sites.

Those providers that can combine as many of these elements as possible into their websites appear to be very successful with their targeted audiences.

The Third Stage.

Site administrators were surveyed to gain an understanding of the political, technical, and other practical issues that museums need to consider when developing and maintaining a World Wide Web site.

The group of website administrators who responded to the survey provided a diverse range of opinions and personal experiences which are worth closer examination. As these museums are leading the way by providing models of good on-line practices, much can be learned from their experiences, advice and opinions.

The museums ranged from the very large Franklin Institute of Science to the very small 1000 square foot Explorit Science Center. They also presented a very diverse range of purposes, roles within their communities, presentation styles and approaches in addressing the needs of their actual visiting public.

Educational Issues

This group indicated that they considered teachers and students a priority audience and the provision of educational resources a priority for on-line content development.

Several sites have a stated educational philosophy which goes much further than the simple intention of providing teachers with pre-and post-visit activities that support a museum visit. These museums sought to actively promote an approach to the teaching and learning of science to a widening clientele, many of whom are unlikely to ever set foot inside their museums.

A high number of the museums considered the most valuable on-line assets to be the provision of a site rich in content with real depth to the information provided and a site which was well designed for the user to easily find their way around. Several web- site administrators mentioned the issue of what site content to include in their web pages. Providing unique content that is original in the way concepts are explored, reflects the museums vision and style, and stands out among the many is not easy. Keeping sites regularly updated or 'refreshed' was a commitment that was also seen as an issue. Evaluating the effectiveness of the site resources was a difficulty for many website administrators.

Political issues

One of the greatest issues confronting this group of providers was a lack of man power and time assigned for personnel to do the task of building a valuable website. Nine of the ten museums funded on-line resources from their operations grants. Only four museums received sponsorship which in each case was for specific resource development and did not apply across the whole site development. Only four

museums of the ten surveyed employed staff for website development, and only two provided more than one staff member for the task. Limited resource provision would appear to place the World Wide Web as a fairly low priority on general museum management resource development agenda. Management may not yet see this as an area which provides economic value for the financial outlay involved.

Collectively this group of web administrators did not provide any particularly significant reasons which showed the value of being on the Web to their museum. Several website administrators indicated that 'exposure drew attention to the museum and consequently supported marketing efforts' and that 'visitor numbers increased.' The value of being on the Web for a museum was represented with very diverse opinions from 'Everybody's doing it!', to one site administrator who mentioned the importance of the institution not only as a national centre, but also its growing role in the surrounding international region and how the Web was enhancing this status. Only one museum appeared to have a range of interesting assessment procedures in place but these did not extend to evaluating the effectiveness of the Web to the museum.

Intellectual property and copyright issues were mentioned by several museums. It was also surprising how few museums indicated they had policies in place for web site development.

Technical Issues

Technical issues did not seem to be as important as the time, funding, and content issues. Most technical issues revolved around the time needed to do the job and up skilling enough staff to help with contributions to the site. Whether or not to use the museum's own server appeared to be one of the most pressing technical problems mentioned. Most museums seemed to have good technical support from their web providers.

CONCLUSION

This project has attempted to examine some of the many issues that arise in

developing an on-line presence. Providing useful information in a vital, interactive and imaginative format that is manageable and maintains the integrity of the museum, given limited resources, is not a straightforward process. It requires extensive staff collaboration and knowledge of the needs of those who will be accessing your information. Planned development is essential.

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"WHAT DO I DO NOW?" DEVELOPING INTERACTIVES FOR CHILDREN

Maree Young and Lisa McCauley, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

INTRODUCTION

This paper examines our experiences of assisting in the development of mechanical interactives for children. We will begin by briefly outlining our research process and illustrate this by using a case study.

Although we will focus on a specific case study in this paper, the findings from the evaluation we have conducted can be applied to the development of mechanical interactives in general. We will discuss these findings and recommendations later in this paper.

Why develop interactives for children?
The Museum has identified family groups as one of its potential audiences. Our research shows that family groups (as do all groups) have particular needs when visiting a museum, especially the need for hands-on activities:

Cross-generational groups gain particular value from hands-on exhibits as part of their museum visit. The activity encourages social interaction of the group. Children are more likely to manipulate hands-on activities and adults relate to text/graphic information on the activity and artefact (Brittain and Martin, 1995).

In response to this research and the recent developments in museums overseas, the Museum is presently developing Resource Centres to better meet the needs of the family audience.

Description of Resource Centres
Resource centres are hands-on activity areas designed for cross-generational audiences - specifically children aged between seven and twelve and accompanying adults.

Within the resource centres, there will be a variety of activities that cater for children with a range of knowledge and abilities. The Museum will have four resource centres attached to the permanent exhibitions: Maori; Pacific; Art and History; and Natural Environment.

Activity areas similar to the resource centres the Museum is developing can be seen in the Auckland Museum, which has its own activity area called "Weird and Wonderful".

Why audience feedback is vital
An important part of the development of Resource Centres has been seeking audience feedback by conducting visitor research and evaluation.

The primary aim of visitor research and evaluation is to ensure greater public access to, and participation in, the range of programmes and exhibitions offered by contemporary museums.

In the course of preparing an exhibition, structured evaluation can be used to test concepts, content and communication media with potential audiences to assess their relevance, clarify misconceptions and determine the most effective ways of getting the message across so that:

· museums are more successful in attracting visitors
· exhibitions communicate information to visitors more effectively
· exhibitions will be engaging and fun for visitors

We will explore the significance of audience feedback further by using a case study from the evaluation conducted for the Art and History Re-source Centre. However, we will begin by discussing the overall evaluation process and its place in the development interactives.

Refer to process diagram - Evaluation of Resource Centres (Page 48)

How does evaluation fit in the design process?

The diagram outlines our evaluation process.

Evaluation begins with front end testing which is overall conceptual testing for all exhibitions. These studies are usually much larger than formative studies. For example, 84 parents and 70-90 children were interviewed for front end evaluation of the Art and History Resource Centres compared to later studies where approximately 70 children were interviewed.

The next step in the process is formative evaluation, which involves more defined concept testing. Formative evaluation takes us from concept development through to the prototype development. The Process Diagram demonstrates the various stages within formative evaluation, from testing using simple paper mock-ups and visual prompts through to more detailed and specific interactive testing.

Overseas research (Griggs and Manning cited in Taylor, 1991, p 10) suggests that although mock-ups are often crude, they can provide reliable visitor feedback. Taylor (1991) maintains that formative evaluation can be used to successfully assess both effectiveness in communication and the impact of delivery methods while the exhibit is unfinished aesthetically.

Process Diagram - Evaluation of Resource Centres

Front -End Evaluation - Over-all concept testing

84 parents 70-90 children

Concept Design - using soft mock-ups or visuals

48 Children interviewed

Specific Areas identified for further testing
Response from teams

Detailed interactive testing
Response from team

10 -12 children interviewed

Further detailed interactive testing
Response from team

10 - 12 children interviewed

Prototype and further testing

1 month

2 weeks

- Do the exhibit components get the key messages across?
- How many visitors use prospective displays the way that designers intended?

Formative studies for each resource centre are cumulative in that the findings from one study inform what is to be tested in subsequent studies.

The overall aims of formative evaluation were to:

- test the concepts of the activities and children's comprehension of them (the concepts were defined by resource centre teams and identified in design documents)
- test the level of existing knowledge that children had about the topic
- test if planned activities were accessible to children with differing levels of knowledge and varying experiences
- ascertain any misconceptions children may have about topic areas
- test whether planned activities are fun and interesting for children.

Case Study: Art and History Resource Centre

A total of 48 children were interviewed in the concept design of formative evaluation. Interviews focused on three main subject areas i.e. children's understanding of and interest in history; their understanding of the invention process; and their understanding of, and familiarity with cartoon and caricature development.

This paper will focus on children's understanding of the invention process.

Description of activities
To determine children's understanding of inventions they were initially asked to name some famous inventions and think about possible reasons why they might have been invented.

Formative evaluation found that children were able to identify a variety of inventions. However, respondents tended to list inventions that were well-known, for example, cars, televisions, telephones.

Children's explanations of inventions indicated that they understood that many inventions were born of necessity or as a way to improve existing designs. For example, children identified the following inventions and gave these reasons for their creation:
The telephone:
"So we can communicate with people without having to be there " (girl aged 11).
Knives and forks:
"So you can eat without getting food all over the place " (children aged 9 and 10).
Guns   "A better way of killing" (boy aged 10)

The second part of the activity involved the children looking at pictures of some famous inventions and thinking about reasons they might have been invented. They were also asked to think about possible alternatives. For example, they were shown a picture of a walkman and gave the following explanations for its invention:

'Listen to music at the same time as jogging'
'Everyone might not like your music so if you have one of those no-one else can hear'
'It does not put money on your power bill'

Alternatives that they suggested included a transistor radio and a car with a radio.
Another picture children were shown was of a hot air balloon. They gave the following reasons for its creation:

'Because people could not fly So you can see the world'
'Nobody knows you are coming because it is quiet'
'So you do not have to go everywhere by plane and get jet lag'

Alternatives that children suggested included a helicopter, plane, hand glider, train, and boat.

The final activity provided children with an opportunity to create their own invention. Children were given a scenario which involved a postie delivering a parcel. They were asked to invent a bicycle that would help the postie overcome a variety of problems such as: a steep hill that the postie had to get up; a heavy parcel to carry; barking dogs at the top of the hill; and wet, cold weather.

There were two significant approaches to the inventions that indicated differences in the developmental stages of the children who were interviewed:

- Younger children tended to draw highly imaginative designs but they were often unrealistic and impractical. For example: one respondent (boy aged 8) drew a bike with a heating system, a radar and tracking system to find the dogs, 112 gears, a bomb dropper, a spare tyre and a number plate.

- Older children tended to draw realistic inventions that were practical and they appeared to be aware of the limitations. For example: one respondent (boy aged 12) drew a bike with a removable cover and a carrier that contained meat for the dogs.

When children were asked to explain the next step in the invention process, the majority of respondents stated that they would advertise the invention and sell it. Only three respondents stated that they would trial their invention. This finding suggests that the majority of children did not understand the process of inventions i.e. the process of trial, error, retrial and development.

Findings - children's understanding of inventions
Evaluation in the concept design phase gave the resource centre team a clear indication of children's levels of existing knowledge and the differences in the developmental stages of their target audience.

Overall findings from this evaluation

were:

- Children were able to identify a variety of inventions.
- Older children understood that inventions were often born of necessity or as a way to improve existing designs.
- When asked to create their own inventions, younger children were more likely to propose unrealistic solutions.
- The majority of respondents did not understand the process of inventions.

This last finding in particular was identified as an area in need of further evaluation.

Detailed Interactive Testing - Meet an Inventor

This stage of formative evaluation tests an interactive that is a major component of the resource centre. The studies are small scale and focus specifically on one or two interactives in each resource centre.

The first stage of formative evaluation of the Art and History Resource Centre showed that there were distinct developmental differences in children's understanding of the invention process and very few children appeared to understand that creating an invention is a slow process of trial and error. Therefore, one of the aims of testing this specific interactive called 'Meet an Inventor' was to see whether children understood the message in the interactive about the three main stages of inventions i.e. idea, prototype and finished product. The other aims of the study included testing children's ability to work the interactive, and to test whether children could recall the solution to the profiled 'problem'.

Eighteen children aged between five and thirteen years (nine for each trialing day) were taken through a storyboard mock-up of the interactive and then asked questions. The storyboard outlines each step of the interactive.

The findings showed that all of the respondents aged under nine years found it difficult to comprehend the process of invention. However, when prompted these respondents were able to identify the different stages the inventor in the story board had gone through to complete his final design.

'How the thing was made. Wheels drag through the water and slow it down .. thinks of an idea, makes it too slow and then he thinks of a plane, then make it' (male, 7 years)

In comparison the majority (7 out of 10) of respondents aged over nine years were able to identify at least four separate stages in the process of inventions.

'Have a problem, think of an idea, design a plan, build it, test it to see it if works. If it is wrong see if you can relate it to something else, and adjust it to make it work' (male, 11 years)

Overall, respondents showed a good understanding of the text and graphics in the story board. For example, all respondents were able to identify the inventor's name, what he needed to invent, and how the design was improved to make it successful. Two of the respondents misinterpreted the scene of the wheels dragging in the water as showing that the vehicle was sinking.

Respondents were also aware that it took a long time for the inventor in the story to develop the final product. Three respondents who were aged 10 years and older stated that time frames would vary between inventions.

The findings also indicated that respondents knew how to operate the interactive. Nearly all (16 out of 18) of the respondents stated that you would turn the handle to work the interactive. However, three respondents felt that there should be an introduction label to the interactive that encouraged children to use the interactive and told them that they need to turn the handle. As one respondent stated:

'It would be good to have a big sign near it telling you what to do... pointing   to the handle so you would know to turn the handle... It should also tell you what would happen on the sign, that it told you a story'. (male, 10 years)

Nearly all of the respondents stated that they liked the activity. They also felt that the interactive would be boring if the same story was presented every time they came to the Museum. However, only one respondent stated that the interactive was boring as just turning the handle did not present a significant challenge. This finding suggests that children do not always need to be challenged and that in fact being able to complete an activity successfully may be more important.

A further significant finding from this stage of evaluation was that this interactive had two levels of "success". The findings suggest that at a functional level, all children would be able to use the interactive, thereby achieving "success". However there was another level of success that catered for older children, that encouraged the appreciation/learning of the invention process.

Meta-analysis

The process we have just shown you, was applied across all of the resource centres and in total we interviewed 412 children. As a result, we have collected a wealth of valuable information. This information has been analysed and we have developed a number of broad recommendations to assist in the development of mechanical interactives for the Resource Centres. However, these recommendations also apply to the development of other mechanical interactives and visitor experiences.

Some of the more general recommendations include:

- Activities must cater for a range of abilities, knowledge levels and experiences. Due to the range in developmental stages of children aged between 7 and 12, children will be involved at different levels

in an interactive. For example, for younger children simply completing the activity's mechanical function may be a satisfactory outcome, whereas older children may be more likely to realise some of the concepts of the activity. Therefore it is essential that mechanical interactives work successfully at an operational level, but it is also equally important that there be some depth in the activity and some sort of extension for older children.

· Instructions must be self-explanatory and must also be explicit, especially in terms of getting started. The majority of children experienced initial problems getting started. A frequent question was "What do I do?".

· Each step of an interactive needs to be clearly set out and children need to be encouraged to participate for example, by an invitational phrase, a question that seeks a response from the visitor.

· Children like to receive feedback while doing an activity. Interactives need to have in-built mechanisms that inform them when they have completed the activity successfully.

What do we do now?

We are currently working with the resource centre teams to help them apply the findings and recommendations to ensure that visitor experiences will be positive.

Through the information we have collected and the experience we have gained by actively seeking audience feedback, we feel better able to act as audience advocates.

Although further testing is to be undertaken at a prototype stage, the evaluation that has been conducted to this point has had a significant (and positive) impact on designing successful interactives for the Museum.

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[1] Cross-generational audiences are adults who visit with children.

GROWING AN AUDIENCE FOR CONTEMPORARY ART

An illustrated presentation by Xanthe Jujnovich, Chartwell Curator of Public Programmes & Roger Taberner, Senior Curator of Education, Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki

This presentation surveys the first year of the Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki's new Gallery. As educators and public programmers, our challenge was to grow an audience for contemporary art by providing access to new audiences through a variety of strategies.

The Gallery also had its own agenda and hype that generated a set of expectations. We don't claim to have done anything that is particularly revolutionary but what is interesting, we feel, is the way in which different programme elements and ways of delivering programmes have been combined. We also have good indicators that, against our control group of those who have been coming to the main building over 113 years audience profiles have been affected with more young people, families and males coming to the NEW Gallery.

Before opening the doors in October 1995 we determined that the Gallery should be positioned in such a way as to break down some of the elitist barriers that are usually associated with new and contemporary art.

This was to be a new product to be marketed as a generic whole and while artists and exhibitions were not mentioned the following phrases became a manifesto as well as a set of expectations; NEW Space, NEW Art, NEW Ideas, NEW Media, NEW Experiences, NEW Ways of Understanding, NEW Ways of Seeing existing art.

A promotional television advert also talked about these experiences by using a 'faux' abstract painting on glass with a camera concealed behind it. Subjects were asked to respond to the painting and the video shows ordinary people puzzling over, enjoying and being amused by contemporary art in this new space. The message is that it is all right not to understand, not to have all the answers and to still enjoy the experience. The people in the Gallery are the same as those on the street outside.

When the NEW Gallery hit the print media some interesting and bizarre journalistic inventions were used to describe a populist experience.

'This is Auckland's new 'lie back and enjoy it' art gallery, where kids are allowed to run around and experiment vocally with the reverberant acoustics, and presentable art student guides are on hand to offer an explanatory word to the confused.'

'...those looking for somewhere to just stand and stare?- they can go to the old gallery for that sort of carry on'

'Education with a small 'e' will be the goal of the NEW Gallery- its secret weapon a group of paid Gallery Assistants, most are art students working in short shifts so they don't get bored. They're the friendly face of the Gallery'

Service delivery and customer focus were prime considerations in staffing the Gallery and while our uniformed older security guards in the main building had almost no contact with the public, and were not encouraged to, their counterparts in the NEW Gallery were encouraged to and did.

Some of our Gallery assistants were also multi-skilled, some in terms of customer service, others as skilled interpretators or preparators working with artists.

The aim was to provide a seamless experience with constants such as signage systems and service delivery. This extended to the development of a multimedia programme in which we echoed the physical environment of the building in the design elements of the touch screen programme.

If you touch 'About the Artists' you find yourself in an empty Gallery in which you can pan around revealing more artists' names. 'Touching About the Art' takes you to the light well where some of the subject screens displayed use aspects of the building.

Programming of exhibitions has also, of course, been a major element in growing audience and appealing to different sectors.

ROGER TABERNER

The commitment the NEW Gallery made to an expectant public was that there would be 'something for everyone'. A big ask, perhaps, but not an unreasonable one in the light of what is available for the public in other arenas of 'entertainment'.

I will outline some of the ways that we feel public programming in the NEW Gallery has met these goals, in response to various exhibitions.

'Korurangi. New Maori Art', was our opening exhibition and workshops were offered for the first time in the NEW Gallery Studio. There were guided tours in te reo Maori and English attended by 1,900 students and led by the Gallery's kaiarahi, some of whom had also worked in 'Te Waka Toi' in 1994.

A workshop held in conjunction with this exhibition entitled 'Our Place Our Symbols', involved people discussing ideas in three or four artworks before making a series of drawings. They then worked in the studio to build on the idea of identity and the use of symbols before completing their responses using paint, collage and text.

The installation work 'Gilt Complex' by Maureen Lander carried a visually strong environmental theme, a good connection for a young audience. It was also the inspiration for a muka/fibre workshop with kaiarahi demonstrating the preparation of flax for weaving and fibre work. Some 25 workshops were held attracting 450 children and adults while weekend workshops brought in a regular numbers.

The works of Pierre et Gilles, two French artists using gay imagery in kitsch, hand painted photographs, coincided with Korurangi.

This public programme gave the audience its first glittering cabaret performance in the NEW Gallery. Crossdressing cabaret stars Buckwheat, Bus Stop and Big Bertha of Staircase nightclub fame, gave the 200 strong audience a totally camped up time. We wanted to reach the gay and club community, young performers, hairdressers etc, so we used posters to promote the event through these avenues. It must be noted that hairdressers are often an untapped source of free publicity as they talk to their clients. More sobering but well attended discussions on censorship with Katherine Patterson, Chief Film Censor, and 'Art & Controversy' dealing with the Gallery's collection and history were a part of this Friday night to Sunday programme.

Patterns of Paradise, Cook Islands Tivaevae: Tivaevae are applique and piecework bedcovers made by women from Eastern Polynesia. However, they are rarely used as bedcovers, but are treasured and then gifted on special occasions: marriage, christening, haircutting ceremonies, twenty-first birthdays. As they are also used as shrouds for the deceased, older tivaevae are extremely rare. In curating 'Patterns of Paradise', contacts were established both in the Cook Islands and in Auckland, so that the strong social links that exist for the people and their tivaevae were carried through into the public programme.

This exhibition was well placed over the summer holiday months, giving the art form much exposure. Women from sewing groups representing different regions of Auckland and the Cook Islands worked with us in a consultative (paid) capacity, to set up in-Gallery sewing demonstrations. Over the school holiday period we attracted children and adults to workshops, and provided funsheet activities.

To observe such activity in the Gallery and to have the women passing on their knowledge was a learning experience for the wider community, while at the same time, it enabled the exchange of technique and new designs among the Cook Islands women themselves.

Demonstrations, stalls selling a range of Pacific Islands crafts (which meant, that more women could produce and sell their work), dance, music and singing, weren't part of this programme. The women were always ready to share their knowledge. The Gallery became like their home for two months and was a living, working space with family members coming and going bringing food to share, and stories. Many visitors established an on-going dialogue with these fabric artists through informal workshops on an individual basis.

Perhaps some of the elitist response to the long held but still contested debate on the place of craft in the arts arena was broken down. Media comment questioned the place of tivaevae held in a contemporary Gallery, but the issue should perhaps focus on who a contemporary art gallery is for.

Milan Mrkusich: Six Journeys:, The colour continued after Tivaevae in a grand, albeit more formal manner with the work of Milan Mrkusich, perhaps New Zealand's most significant living abstract artist. Mrkusich reduces painting to its essential components: colour, surface, composition and scale. The works in 'Six Journeys' demand that the viewer participate; they are vast, yet intimate. The viewer is consumed, the journey is both physical and spiritual. This was an opportunity to provide a way into abstraction, often regarded as a scary area; a stumbling block for some teachers, so we had to be coercive! One way of understanding abstraction is by doing it and, after an introduction to the works, observing and sensing the elements, students took their own 'journeys'. Slides were used to place Mrkusich into a national and international context and students produced their own compositional journeys by arranging prepared surfaces.

Outcomes show an unusually reflective and considered response and demonstrate real understanding where previously there was very little.

We adapted the format slightly, and trialled this workshop in a social setting for a group of Ernst & Young partners and their wives. Ernst and Young are supporters of the Gallery, and we aim to offer more workshops for corporate groups.

The group evaluated their experience for us and found it to be "an enjoyable and informative evening... (although) initially put off by abstract art topic". The social interaction that accompanies such a workshop is useful for these groups as a team building exercise with the art knowledge seen as a plus. A workshop at this level provides these supporters with increased understanding of the real value of the funding that they provide, as well as a sense of belonging to the Gallery. Tertiary groups have been targeted throughout the year for specific Gallery talks including Susan Jowsey, winner of the Visa Gold competition who sited public response to her controversial 'Untitled' blanket and

stitchery panels.

'Transformers', an exhibition of moving and interactive sculpture enabled us to realise ideals in providing interpretation for a broad audience. Although contemporary art, the dynamism of these works held popular appeal for first time Gallery visitors enticed through the publicity which promised interactive art, kinetic art, video art, virtual art, and evaporating art. 'Auckland Sublimation', by Eric Orr, was a part of this exhibition. A wall made from dry ice, it evaporated or, rather, sublimated after three days providing the ultimate transforming sculpture. Orrisl Fire Window' encompasses prime elements, earth, air, fire and water. Periodically, and when least expected, the 'window' bursts into flames.

With 'Transformers', Big Day Art came into being and is now part of the NEW Gallery calendar, the aim being to widen the audience. During 'Transformers' we held two Big Day Arts offering a range of activities designed to appeal to families and young people. This attracted over 800 and 1,000 people for the two Saturdays , with 70-80 children doing workshops on each day. These days were highly energetic and successful. They included performance such as the 'Beyond Us' theatre group with their animated industrial ducting. Story telling (here a Japanese folk tale in response to sound and water sculptures) was also a major success. Workshops responded to the nature of the exhibition; children created a manipulated image of themselves by exchanging their own photographed body parts with others, rearranging, and enlarging them. Automatic drawing became the surprise artwork and kaleidoscopic transformations completed each workshop. Family tours and funsheets helped fill the day.

A series of workshops followed in subsequent weekends seeing many children return after their Big Day Art experiences. Participants made their own ice/sound sculpture, after the artist Mineko Grimmer and parents were

toured through the exhibition, their children interpreting the 'real' artist's works, as well as their own investigations.

Fusion: the Hong Kong/Auckland Artists' Exchange was an exhibition by six artists of Chinese descent, co-operatively organised with the Hong Kong Arts Centre. Three of the artists are from Hong Kong and three are New Zealanders. The exhibition addressed issues of cultural identity. For the New Zealand artists this entailed what it is to be dislocated from the culture, and yet to be stereotyped into behaving and being what others consider to be 'Chinese'.

This presented a further opportunity to engage our audience in culturally and politically appropriate dialogue and another Big Day Art was developed in consultation with Dr. Manying Ip, spokeswoman on Asian issues. We wanted to encourage participation from Asian families and, as usual, the day was driven by workshops which responded to the artworks. This led to funsheet activities and storytelling. Especially captivating was a traditional Chinese tale told by Lynda Chanwai-Earle who held the children in the palm of her hand - at least until they tasted the preserved prunes she freely gave out as sweeties.

Lynda was also our performance attraction. In the character of Paw Paw, her grandmother, she cooked up yum char while proceeding to tell the traditional story of the emperor Xiong Er going into battle, requiring but first a supply of the special soup that Lynda concocted for us.

The installations in 'Fusion' were a treat to work with, the audience interacting with the works on their own terms and understanding that sometimes it's O.K. not to delve too deeply to reveal the real meaning of a work. 'Homage to Magritte- Hegel's Journey' by Wong Shun Kit, was a slightly humorous sculpture while the works by Antony Leung Po Shan were a feminist's response to traditional roles and positioning of women in Chinese

culture. Experiencing her installation work involved performance, you removed your shoes to enter the space. It is always interesting situating a work conceptually for a mixed age group. Not all of our audience were aware that the large carved characters surrounding them represented obscenities or that the significance of the red pigment was multi-layered, referring to communism, double happies and good fortune, menstrual blood, battle blood and death.

And lastly to 'Shared Visions', an exhibition of Native American art, in response to Te Waka Toi (1994). Although not held in the NEW Gallery, the visit of three Native American artists allowed the perfect outreaching opportunity.

This programme was about getting the artists out into communities where they could meet with students in an informal and personal manner and, particularly for Maori and Pacific Island students, to discover cultural parallels. Audiences of up to 400 students at a time were followed by small group interaction with the artists. This first hand experience with indigenous artists was obviously appropriate and also gave the Gallery the chance to forge closer links with neighbouring and outlying tertiary institutions and marae through the sharing of these taonga.

Over 1200 individuals were involved in this out of Gallery programme, including visits to intermediate, secondary and tertiary institutions from central, west and south Auckland.
We proposed that the institutions reciprocate their artists' visit with a Gallery visit to view the exhibition itself - 700 took advantage of the Gallery programme including interpretative tours by kaiarahi, in Te Reo if preferred.

When analysing the student and community response to some exhibitions, it becomes obvious that there are socio-economic barriers to accessing the Gallery and its programmes. The idea of outreach activities resulting in reciprocal visits to the Gallery will be

pursued next year with *Art on the Move*. This will take programmes into the community while the *Artbus* will bring into the Gallery, those that would otherwise find access problematic. Special programmes, which will build on and reinforce the initial contact, will be provided and the recipients of this will include schools and community groups, the young and the old. The Gallery will be assisted in this through sponsored lease vehicles and the programme launched in April 1997.

Maybe in time, we really will be able to 'offer something for everyone'. The reality is, that sometimes, these are mere moments snatched within a Gallery's year.

We can only hope that at some point we connect where it matters.

DUNEDIN BOTANIC GARDEN INFORMATION SERVICES

Alice Lloyd-Fitt, Dunedin Botanic Gardens

The traditional role of a botanic garden is to display plants in a system of botanical classification for scientific and educational use for the advancement of knowledge and appreciation of plants. At the same time they are also places of beauty and recreation. Many overseas gardens are attached to universities and managed by botanists or funded from central government. Botanic gardens in New Zealand, however, are funded by city councils and usually managed by horticulturists. In a city the size of Dunedin this means we play a dual role of botanic garden and city park, we can't afford both. Often the educational, conservation, and scientific roles of such a garden are lost as these can be the most expensive, least 'popular', and least understood components of what they do.

The Dunedin Botanic Garden was the first in New Zealand. It was established in 1863, 10 days before Christchurch Botanic Gardens. The early years were unsettled with constant changes in administration, lack of funding, and shortages of qualified staff. With the Dunedin City Council finally taking control in the 1880's, the situation improved and the garden progressed. The Council appointed the first Superintendent of Reserves and Botanic Garden curator, David Tannock, in 1903. His aim was for the Botanic Garden to be a living museum for the education of botany and gardening. Tannock took public education and the training of professional gardeners very seriously and established many educational programs. Public lectures, guided walks, and a demonstration garden were all provided alongside the usual plant labels. From these beginnings the Botanic Garden has continued to develop into the role of a garden that interprets itself to the public.

The usual information a botanic garden supplies for the public is contained in the labeling of plants. This has always been at a taxonomic level with the botanical name, common name, plant family, and country of origin being the standard information provided. Any further knowledge required usually meant finding a gardener and quizzing them, not a bad system when every operation in horticulture was extremely labour intensive and staff numbers were high. Not so now when gardeners are usually operating some large noisy machine. In recent years the trend to providing information to the public has been more of a self help process. Maps, general notice boards, plant collection notice boards, brochures and directional signs are all provided.

The decision to construct an information centre was made in 1993 with the knowledge that an existing education centre in the Upper Garden was unable to adequately fulfill the role of an information centre. The overall aim for the project was very simply to provide a facility to "increase visitor enjoyment , appreciation, and knowledge of the Botanic Garden"
Along with this, 6 visitor objectives were identified:
1. to provide accurate and detailed information for visiting the Garden,
2. to foster an interest in plants,
3. to raise awareness among Garden visitors about the role of the Botanic Garden,
4. to establish the significance of the Dunedin Botanic Garden in Dunedin's history,
5. to enhance the service provided to international and domestic visitors,
6. to service the interests of plant oriented specialist groups.

With these ideas in mind we began to research what type of information was needed and how we could present this.

One of the main ways we have of gathering information about what visitors to the garden want is through talking to the staff who have the most contact with the public, the gardeners or what I call "on the ground" experience. This tends to be considered an unreliable method but has provided us with some valuable information. Observation led us to believe that most of our visitors were families and they were there for recreation rather than education. The other assumptions we had made through observation of our visitors were that most people did not venture beyond the Lower Garden, many visitors were local, residents used the garden as a thoroughfare, the ducks were more popular than the plants, and the Garden was an extremely difficult place to find your way around. The garden staff also commented that there was a small but extremely important group of visitors, the plant specialists, who were often the most vocal in their support or criticism of the Garden.

To find out if any of these observations were accurate two independent surveys were conducted. The first was in the late 1980's by J Kennelly, an Otago University geography student. The second survey was conducted between December 1995 and January 1996 by the Dunedin City Council Recreation Planning Department.

The first survey confirmed many of these observations plus gave us addi-

tional information on what people did when they came to the garden. The second and more comprehensive survey gave us a few surprises, six years later the plants are more popular than the ducks, just as many people came to the garden on their own as in family groups, and more people than we thought came to the garden to look and learn from the plant displays. The most important result of this survey to me was that when many visitors were asked what improvements they would like to see in the Garden, most wanted more information about the Botanic Garden. Better maps, more sign posting and more general information on plants and the garden displays were all requested.

During the first stages of planning the displays and information services, 3 focus group meetings were held with members of the public to discuss their needs and interests in an information centre. The groups were made up of a mix of current and potential visitors as well as people with additional interests or expertise to offer. Representatives from the Friends of the Botanic Garden, Garden groups, CCS (Crippled Children's Society), local Play Centres, Teachers Training College, City Councilors and museums were a few of the people who responded to the focus groups.

Some of the points raised by some of the participants were the need for:

· orientation to the Garden,
· information about the Botanic Garden that can be taken away,
· the need for helpful and informed people to assist in the centre,
· displays and information for children,
· assistance with plant information and identification,
· information about seasonal activities, events and groups.

The services of an interpretation consultant, Lynda Burns of Christchurch, were enlisted to develop a draft concept plan for the interpretation and information displays. This concept plan helped outline the objectives, use and management of the centre and provi-

sion and development of interpretation displays.

At this stage I was also able to take advantage of a Dunedin City Council Sister City Exchange programme. One of the cities we have this relationship with is Edinburgh so I put forward a proposal to visit Edinburgh Botanic Garden and its three specialist gardens Logan, Benmore and Dwyck which much to my delight was accepted. So I had the privilege to work with the public information services department for a month. Edinburgh had recently renewed all of its outdoor information and updated all of their garden brochures. Plus it had implemented a new range of visitor programmes so we had valuable advice from them on how to go about some of the things we were undertaking as well as gathering a whole new range of ideas.

The ability to fund such a venture as an information centre from the existing Botanic Garden budget was not a reality and the Friends of the Dunedin Botanic Garden came to the rescue and proposed to raise the $350,000 plus required to construct the centre. Due to the sterling efforts of the project committee convened by Eric Dunlop, a past president of the Friends, the Botanic Garden is able to have this valuable asset and the centre was opened on the 21 September this year by Lady Reeves.

The Friends and the Botanic Garden are in a partnership in the management of the Centre and the Friends run a shop from the centre which has proved to be very popular. The shop sells quality gardening books and gifts. The shop is the Dunedin agent for Touchwood Books and sells plants that are only available from the Botanic Garden. The usual cards, postcards and souvenirs are stocked as well.

The development of the information displays was divided into two stages. The first stage which is now in place was for the basic information about the garden and is divided into three areas:

1. An orientation display. A large wall map with brochure racks and a garden highlights panel is located between the shop and display area. The Botanic Garden brochure has been updated at the same time as the centre opened and has the same map.
2. A permanent display that has thirteen panels outlining the history of the Botanic Garden, the role of the Garden and the plant collections
3. Changing seasonal displays which have yet to be finalised. These will be on movable display panels.

Stage 2 would include other aspects such as a family and children's interactive area and reference or resource area.

The Centre has provided the garden with a starting point for tours of the garden and is used for promotions such as displaying the new Rhododendron 'City of Dunedin' that will be released in 1998. A regular weekly 'plant surgery' is run where Botanic Garden staff are available to answer questions and give informal talks about current areas of interest in the Garden. One of the comments we often hear is that the Botanic Garden staff are inaccessible and hopefully this will address this problem.

One other area which the garden is becoming increasingly involved in is garden shows. The recent Gardenz show was an opportunity to promote the Botanic Garden.

As with any new project the Centre has not only provided the Garden with a new service, it has also raised the possibility of many other ventures we could become involved in.

LIVING IN TWO WORLDS - THE HISTORY OF A PROCESS

David Mealing, Director/Curator, Petone Settlers Museum Te Whare Whakaaro o Pito-one & Theresa Sawicka, Research Fellow, Department of Anthropology, Victoria University, Wellington

David: The Conference theme of Museums and Communities, and equally this session's theme of Reaching Communities in New Zealand brings to mind recent comments made by Des Griffin, Director of the Australian Museum in Sydney, at the Museums Australia Conference that as museum professionals 'we need to create conversations across boundaries, we need to formalise understandings with different groups and we need to respect diversities and understand commonalities.'

Briefly, and as a preface to this joint reading and extemporising presentation, I would like to outline the principle activities of Petone Settlers Museum - Te Whare Whakaaro o Pito-one (The Story House of Petone).

The major aims of the museum are to undertake activities that enhance the cultural and historical interests of the people of Hutt City and its environs, to record and make available the stories of migration and settlement from the many cultural communities of the Hutt Valley and Wellington region. The focus of activities encompasses primarily the lower Hutt Valley.

The major objectives are to present quality Museum exhibition and collection activities that reflect the Museum's primary function as an education resource:
To encourage interest in, and knowledge about:
- the social history of the lower Hutt Valley
- migration and settlement in the Hutt Valley/Wellington region through exhibitions/displays, educational/activity programmes for schools and other groups, publications and information services and to seek

feedback on those activities.

To develop the computerised passenger ship list and family history public access system.

To continue to collect, conserve, research and interpret the community-based collection of stories and treasures of the land and the people of Petone and the lower Hutt Valley, from early Maori migration of Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Wellington Harbour) up to the present day.

The essence and spirit of the Museum is sharing - sharing knowledge and experience, thoughts and memories. Unless we share, much is lost.

Petone Settlers Museum has developed a 'community access' model, independently developed, based on the institution's theme, 'Migration and Settlement'. This model was first initiated by the Museum in 1990 in partnership with the Greek Orthodox Community of Wellington. Programme development was undertaken within a committee structure with an appointed Greek researcher working with Museum staff who provided advice and technical support. The resultant exhibition and publication 'Stories of Greek Journeys' contained stories that reflected many different experiences but which woven together celebrated a strong sense of Greek identity, heritage and tradition.

This community access model was largely followed in 1991 with a project involving the Polish community of Wellington and the Hutt Valley. This project will be the focus of this presentation, principally because the history of the process was well documented, including a video of the workshop held

to determine the theme and content for the exhibition and publication.

The success of these projects has led to achieving the desired objective from the Museum's perspective of multi-ethnic groups approaching the Museum to tell their stories of migration and settlement. A recent exhibition was instigated by the Italian community as the principle of multi-ethnic community projects is now established in the wider community.

The wellspring for initiating a project with the Polish community was my attendance at a Stout Research Centre Conference on 'Migration and New Zealand Society' in 1989. Theresa Sawicka presented a paper entitled 'Forsaken Journeys: The Story of the Pahiatua Poles'. This led me, at a later stage, to discuss with Theresa her thoughts on the possibility of working with the Polish community to implement a broad-based project on migration and settlement. Her response was enthusiastic and supportive so in May 1991 I invited the President of the Polish Association to the Museum to look at the Greek exhibition, Stories of Greek Journeys'. She came with several of her committee members to meet me and to discuss a Polish exhibition similar to the Greek one. The committee responded enthusiastically to the proposal.

Later that year, the executive committee of the Polish Association changed and I re-proposed the exhibition and a book to the new committee. In early November 1991, at a meeting of the Polish Association, I outlined a project on the social history of Polish migration and settlement in the Wellington region. I invited Theresa to that meeting because of her links to the Polish

community and to gain their support for her to undertake the role of researcher.

Theresa: My role as a researcher in this process drew on my experience as a scholar, a facilitator and a migrant. Being a 'researcher' for this exhibition did not simply mean collecting the 'facts'.

As the broad heading of 'research' covers many different techniques and orientations, let me explain my background. I am an academic with an interest in describing other people's ways of life as accurately as possible. My training as an anthropologist means that my focus is primarily ethnographic; I want to understand other people's worlds. I did my doctoral work on the post-war migration of Poles to New Zealand, specifically focusing on the 'Polish Children' who were invited here in 1943 by Peter Fraser, the Prime Minister at the time. That focus required history as well as anthropology. I have also had some training as an adult educator in community education and I am familiar with facilitating workshops and group processes.

My role as researcher for this exhibition combined both these aspects of my training. As a scholar I care passionately that I get the facts right although this is not necessarily straightforward with migrant and refugee groups where flight and politics may mean that documentation is lost). But I am also aware that people need to feel some control over how they are represented in public domains like museums.

I used my scholarly and facilitating skills, as well as my understanding of the dynamics and organisation of Polish groups in the Wellington and Hutt Valley region, to bring together people and material for this exhibition.

I should also add that I was taught to understand that the anthropologist's job is to be a kind of translator: a person who moves back and forth between different contexts of meaning

so that the concerns of different groups may become mutually intelligible. I was already familiar with the concerns of Poles from my earlier research; now I had to learn about the process of curating an exhibition.

You may have noticed that I have a Polish name. My father was born in Poland. This has some bearing on this process because I am sure in the current climate my name could be seen as a badge for an ethnic identity. I did not see my role in this process as a representative of 'the Polish community'; I was not brought up to think of myself as Polish and I did not have very much contact with Poles until I began my research and went to live in Poland in 1979. I did not grow up in New Zealand so, in a very real sense, I was a stranger and an outsider to the Polish community in Wellington before I began my doctoral work. As a result of intensive ethnographic research, I became an insider and I have enduring friendships with people I met as a result of that research. I was able to use my position as a 'knowing outsider' or a 'marginal insider' to help David Mealing set up the process whereby he could engage Poles in putting this exhibition together.

By a slip of the pen I have suggested that there is a single 'Polish community'. There is certainly a Polish Association, a voluntary association of fee paying members like other New Zealand societies and clubs. But to characterise all Poles as belonging to a single 'community' with an homogenous ethnic identity is inaccurate. As some of the contributors to this conference have argued, identities may be contested. This has become a commonplace anthropological notion and part of a contemporary definition of culture. I wanted to address some of these issues as part of the exhibition process.

Not all Poles belong to the Polish Association but David Mealing and I initially worked through the Association. We tackled the allied problem of contacting and representing those who did not belong to it by working through

networks outside the Association.

One significant group were the post-Solidarity ēmigrēs of the 1980's. I knew that there was a divide between these people and the post-war ēmigrēs of the 1940's and 1950's. These two waves of Poles were divided by their experience of a pre-communist and a post-communist Poland. They contested one another's claims to Polish identity in the early 1980's This no longer seems to be an issue. It seemed important to contact and include this group.

I also knew from my earlier research that the 'Polish Children', were 'over-represented' in the public collections of print, photograph and film in New Zealand archives, libraries and museums. Their history and experience has frequently been the only representation of being Polish in New Zealand. A good example of this was the film clip of the children's arrival which featured on television in the sesquicentennial year in ANZ Bank's 'magic moments of New Zealand history'. My own PhD also fits into this category. I felt it was important not to reinforce this trend in public institutions and collections in New Zealand.

After our initial meetings, David Mealing invited a Polish planning group to make suggestions for the theme of the exhibition. Once this group was formed, my role became one of mediator and facilitator. They discussed all the possibilities for the exhibition. I gave them feedback on the themes I saw emerging from their discussion. Once the themes were in place the group also collected exhibition materials and organised a workshop so that a general invitation could go out to people to discuss the themes suggested.

For many of these ēmigrēs, the experience of being Polish has much to do with their forced departure from Poland. Identity is bound up with journey. Journey became a potent metaphor for addressing ways of being Polish and David Mealing took up this metaphor as a way of curating this

exhibition.

David: The new committee was also enthusiastic. I invited them to confirm their support for the exhibition and book and form a planning group that would decide on its themes. The Polish Association asked Wlodek Ciechanowski, Stanislaw Dabrowski, Zdziszek (Eric) Lepionka and Stefania Sondej, to form that group. They had their first meeting in the Museum in early December when many possibilities for the exhibition and book were suggested. Having given them an outline of what was possible, I asked them to go away and decide on the themes for the exhibition. The planning group invited several other active members of the association to join them in their decision making the following week.

Theresa: I facilitated this meeting and suggested they begin with the questions: What story do we want to tell with this exhibition? And to whom do we want to tell it? In the process of brainstorming their ideas we recorded everything on a long carpet of newsprint. After several hours of discussion, I suggested that they had been answering four questions: Who are we? Where did we come from? Why did we leave? What have we been doing since our arrival here? David had also asked the group to include something about how they saw their future. During the discussion it was clear that establishing the Polish Association and Polish House, while facing all the demands of settling in an alien culture, exacted a great toll on Poles in the immediate post-war years. The members of the planning group frequently referred to 'living a double life'. I suggested that the exhibition could be entitled 'Living in Two Worlds'.

David: When the planning group met at the Museum on 20th December 1991, they showed me the results of their discussion and the proposed title. I decided that the questions could stand as themes for the exhibition. Eric Lepionka volunteered to organise a workshop at Polish House where he would gather answer to these ques-

tions. The workshop was held (and recorded) in early January. It formed the basic material for the exhibition and the first section of the book.

Theresa: At the workshop Eric Lepionka asked the questions which formed the four basic themes of the exhibition. I recorded these responses. Speakers identified themselves by when and how they came to New Zealand, this too was recorded. These verbatim responses were eventually used to accompany the photographs in the exhibition.

David: By February 1992, all the major decisions had been made. The exhibition itself would tackle four questions: Who are we? Where did we come from? Why did we leave? How do we see our future? The question - Who are we? - is answered by the many different experiences of being Polish, which can be represented by four routes taken to New Zealand. I decided to colour-code these journeys so that they could be followed through the display. Red would stand for the journey of the Pahiatua group, yellow for the ex-Servicemen, green for the Displaced Persons, and blue for the more recent arrivals since the 1980s. The fifth question, 'What have we been doing since our arrival?', would be answered in a book to be published with the exhibition. These decisions were taken back to the planning group and the Polish Association for their comment.

The research brief was based on this proposal and the Museum began to collect treasures for the display and histories for the book. 'Living in Two Worlds' was a project in the making.

An extraordinary volume of photographs, documents, papers and other materials was forthcoming from the community. Selections and decisions were made about the shape and structure of the exhibition, building upon the determined themes and colour coding system. Oral history interviews were undertaken with second and third generation Poles for the section "How do we see our Future" and treasures

were loaned from the Polish Prisoners of War Collection at Manawatu Museum. They had originally been sent to the Polish Army League, based in Palmerston North from 1941 to 1947, in gratitude for their assistance to Polish soldiers. Some of the quotes from the oral history interviews for the 'How Do We See Our Future' section are as follows:

The 'Polish Children' and their children say:
'Poland is my biological mother. New Zealand is my adopted mother. Anything Polish is dear to me.'
'I felt different as a child, especially as there was little understanding and tolerance towards foreign language speaking. In some ways I felt handicapped; I continually had to explain my surname! Now I am proud to be bilingual and bicultural'

The ex-Servicemen and their children say:
'Language is the key to keeping Polish culture alive. The Polish Association is very important in this, without it, the process of assimilation would be much faster. The Catholic Church keeps Poles together.'

The Displaced Persons and their children say:
'I felt an outsider on both sides, I was never a Pole and never a New Zealander... I didn't talk about this to anyone... I learnt to be a lone ranger. I thought it was the best way, to be self-reliant. I was different because of my funny name and my pierced ears. New Zealand was very insular then; now differences are more accepted... I don't know what I am... One day I realised I had nowhere to go back to. I was born in Germany but I'm not a German. It would be presumptuous of me to claim to be Polish, I'm not a New Zealander - my background is Slavonic. I choose to take the best from both. I'm enriched by both.'

The New Arrivals and their children say:
'It is important for me and my family to keep Polish traditions in our family life. My involvement in Polish tradi-

tions lessens the stresses that I experience in my every day life as a *new* New Zealander.'

Theresa: Because the people at the first meeting talked about what they had organised as a community since they arrived, it was suggested the histories of the Polish Association and its affiliated clubs make up the bulk of the book. The text from the exhibition would also be included as an introduction to the community. Eric Lepionka suggested "Polonica" be contacted, to write something about the new arrivals. Stefania Sondej was invited to provide a list of the clubs and their contact people, and to liaise with the Education Officer, who was responsible for the book's co-ordination. I was asked to provide editorial assistance.

In March, each club and organisation was invited to write their history as they wanted to tell it, within the length restrictions imposed by the size of the book. In mid-March, they came together at the museum, to meet one another, and to discuss the ultimate shape of the book. Two vital decisions were made: firstly, that the book would be mainly in English, with only the 'Historical Overview' in Polish. This was because they intended their histories to speak to the wider English-speaking audience in New Zealand. Polish versions of the individual histories would be available in photocopied form. Secondly, it was emphasised that the authors would be consulted before final editorial decisions were made.

There was also concern expressed about the length restriction: would the various lengths of the individual histories reflect their relative place in the evolution of the Polish Association? As it has turned out, they did, without the need for editorial interference.

The histories were collected by the beginning of April. In some cases information was provided, which Stefania Sondej collated into narrative form. In other cases the histories were written in Polish, which Stefania translated.

The editorial process began. The edi-

tors decided to preserve the language and voice of the individual author as best they could, while aiming to clarify the text for a non-Polish audience. In addition, they consistently edited out background information already contained in the exhibition texts.

Finally, a limited number of photographs from the exhibition were selected to accompany these exhibition texts, and new images chosen to illustrate the question - 'What have we been doing since our arrival?'.

David: With the opening of the exhibition on 20th May 1992 and the publication of the book in June 1992, the first and second parts of the process drew to a close.

This was followed by a series of public programmes designed to highlight aspects of Polish culture, history and traditions, and to maintain an on-going relationship with the Polish community. A Polish Festival is now celebrated annually in the summer along with a Greek Bazaar and Italian Festival Day.

The success of these programmes has led the Shetland Island, Indian and Chinese communities to approach the Museum in recent times to tell their stories of migration and settlement.

Conclusion
Access in its broadest sense requires a shift in the power base more towards that of the community group. Initiatives are derived from them hence providing an opportunity for them to experiment with freer expression and a range of subjects. This approach allows the institution to respond to initiatives from the community as partners in project programmes.

Access, whatever the definition, provides a means of letting communities find their way into museums, to establish a sense of ownership and relevance, a level of comfort and confidence. In another sense it allows institutions the opportunity to connect with groups in the community. This shift in orientation also requires an exploration of the moral and ethical obligation of institu-

tions and communities to each other. Access gives institutions the potential to widen their audiences and enables institutions to respond to and support public interests. Programmes also work towards changing the traditional view of a museum from being exclusive to inclusive.

Theresa: Personally, I saw this exhibition as a chance to redress the imbalance of the almost exclusive focus on the Polish Children as representing Polish experience in New Zealand. If I had any personal intervention in the process of the exhibition it was in this area. I tried to ensure that this exhibition was as inclusive as possible of the range of Polish experience in New Zealand. From my point of view this was a highly successful aspect of it. Since other Polish journeys to New Zealand were also documented in the accompanying book, the whole process has provided the public and Poles themselves with a valuable resource on Poles in New Zealand.

It also gave me, as a scholar who deals mostly with words, the opportunity to consider the power of images and artefacts in communicating about other people's worlds. I can only say I wish I had been more of a collector. Groups like the Polish Association are possibly too small to maintain their own collections. The Settlers Museum has done Poles a great service by bringing together these resources.

HOW DO VISITORS EVALUATE THE QUALITY OF MUSEUM SERVICE?
MEASURING SERVICE QUALITY USING A MODIFIED SERVQUAL MODEL

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INTRODUCTION

Tourist attractions such as museums are one of the most popular destinations for tourists. According to the 1995/96 New Zealand International Visitor Survey, 46% of 1.41 million overseas tourists visited museums and art galleries (NZTB, 1996). Museums and Art Galleries are part of our national heritage and play an important part in attracting overseas visitors. The heritage of New Zealand offers a valuable insight into the way our society has developed. It also links our inheritance of the past with the values of today.

The tourist's perception of quality of service plays a large part in how tourists feel about their overall visit to New Zealand. Museums in New Zealand are facing increasing pressure to improve their facilities, performance standards and accessibility. Coupled with this, there is the requirement from the museum funders to broaden and increase audiences (McKinlay, 1995). Considerable effort has been made by New Zealand tourist attraction operators and industry organisations to attract visitors to New Zealand using marketing techniques. Now, as the number of visitors is increasing, it is becoming increasingly important to evaluate and to improve the quality of the service provided to the visitors. It is the responsibility of museum management to ensure that the visitors have a good experience and their needs are being met during their visit to the institution.

A pilot survey of visitors to The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum was carried out in May 1995 (Tan et al., 1996). The survey was repeated in April 1996. This report presents the results of a repeated study using a modified SERVQUAL model to measure the visitors' expectations and perceptions of service quality provided by the institution.

THE NEED FOR MEASURING SERVICE QUALITY IN TOURIST ATTRACTIONS

The characteristics of tourist attractions are very similar to other service industries. There are distinct features of the industry that affect the measurement and control of the process of quality performance. The intangibility of the services and the critical involvement of human factors make the service process difficult to control and measure (Ruston and Carson, 1989; Austin, 1990; Kraehenbuehl, 1993). The distinct features of service industries include:

1. Services cannot be produced in advance and then stored until use; production and consumption are simultaneous.
2. It is virtually impossible to prevent service deficiencies through preliminary inspection.
3. Services are conditioned by human factors, which are very difficult to assess and to standardise.
4. Customers are participants in the production process.
5. The service provider's performance capability is time perishable.
6. Service site location is dictated by customers.
7. The service production process is labour intensive.
8. The service product is intangible.

These unique characteristics of service industries create difficulties in managing companies service quality performance. Human factors which include both the customers and the staff, are an integral part of the service delivery process.

SERVQUAL MODEL - A TOOL FOR MEASURING SERVICE QUALITY

The SERVQUAL model was designed by Parasuraman et al. (PZB, 1990), as a generic model to measure the unique features in service quality. The model is very popular and has been used by researchers to study a variety of services such as medical, banking, retail, airlines, education, marketing research and consultancy, accounting and travel agency (Tan et al., 1994).

The SERVQUAL tool uses focus group interviews with management, staff and visitors to determine the service quality dimensions. In the case of The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum, the management and staff were combined into one group. The final survey consists of 22 items, spanning the five dimensions of service quality as shown below (PZB, 1990):

1. Tangibles - physical facilities, equipment and appearance of personnel;
2. Reliability - ability to perform the promised service dependably and accurately;
3. Responsiveness - willingness to help customers and to provide prompt service;
4. Assurance - competence, courtesy, credibility and security are grouped into this category. It includes knowledge and courtesy of employees and their ability to inspire trust and confidence;
5. Empathy - access, communication and understanding the customers' requirements are placed into this category. These depend on the caring and individualised attention that the firm provides to its cus-

tomers.

A survey of the executives from four nationally recognised companies carried out by Parasuraman et al., found that there are four key discrepancies or gaps identified by the survey results. These are derived from the differing perception of service quality held by the management and by their customers.

In the SERVQUAL model, expectations are defined by the features that the customers want, and perceptions are defined as the actual service that the customers received. The gaps are:

Gap 1: Customers' Expectations - Management Perceptions Gap - This gap arises when the managers do not know what their customers want.

Gap 2:Management Perception - Service Quality Specification Gap - This refers to the discrepancy between the management's perception of the customer expectations and the quality standards set for the delivery of the service.

Gap 3: Service Quality Specifications - Service Delivery Gap - This is a service performance gap. It happens when the service is not delivered at the desired level.

Gap 4: Service Delivery- External Communication Gap - This refers to the discrepancy between the service that the company promises to deliver and what it actually delivers.

These four gaps are identified by Parasuraman et al. (PZB, 1990), as the major causes of the perception of poor service quality by the customers. In addition, Parasuraman et al. refers to a fifth gap, namely:

Gap 5: Customers Expectations - Customers Perceptions Gap - This is the service quality gap where service quality is determined by using the discrepancy between Perception and Expectation. This discrepancy is called the SERVQUAL score.

SERVQUAL score = Perception score - Expectation score

The SERVQUAL methodology using customer and management surveys can determine where and to what extent the service differs from the customers' expectations. However, it has been found that the SERVQUAL model may not be suitable for use by all of the service industries without modifications to suit the specific industry sector and environment. (Vandamme and Leunis, 1993; Carman, 1990, Barkaus and Boller, 1992; Bouman and van der Wiele, 1992; Freeman and Dart, 1993, Rosen and Karwan, 1994; Samson and Parker, 1994; Lam, 1995; Mels et al, 1995; Johns & Tyas, 1996, Tan et al., 1996).

APPLICATION OF MODIFIED SERVQUAL MODEL TO A REGIONAL MUSEUM

The methodology used in this case study is based on a modified SERVQUAL model questionnaire survey of visitors and the management of The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum. The objective of the modified SERVQUAL visitor survey was to develop a tool for identifying the customer needs and evaluating the service quality performance of The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum, and to identify areas for improvement.

Modification of the questionnaire was carried out using focus group discussions with management and staff to identify the specific requirements of The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum. The modified SERVQUAL questionnaires consisted of 23 questions which covered the five service quality dimensions.

A pilot test of the management and visitor survey was carried out in May 1995 (Tan et al. 1996). The results of the pilot test indicated that there was a high correlation between *Importance and Expectation* (0.891), which means that there is a close match between the two factors. When the visitors identified the service quality dimension as *"Very Important"*, they were more likely to have high *Expectation* from these dimensions . A high correlation of 0.953 is shown between the *Satis-*

faction and *Perception*. The *Satisfaction* measure was designed to find a relationship between the *Satisfaction, Perception,* and *Service Quality*. This survey has established that the visitors perceive the service quality as good and they are also satisfied with the service provided.

The 1996 survey questionnaire was modified based on the pilot test results. Two sections i.e., *Importance* and *Satisfaction* where high correlations were found were deleted (Tan et. al., 1996). A repeat visitor survey was carried out using the improved questionnaire which measured the *Visitors' Expectation* and *Perception.* It was carried out from 13 - 28 April 1996. The purpose of this repeated survey was to test the consistency of the survey results and the reliability of the tool. A visitor survey was designed to measure several aspects of service performances, namely:

- · The *Importance* and *visitors' Expectations* of various factors as seen by management,
- · What the visitors expected to find in each category of service quality, i.e. *Visitors' Expectations,*
- · What the visitors received, i.e. their *"Perception* of the quality of service relative to their *Expectation, and*
- · The demographics of the visitors to The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum and the reason for their visit.

The development of the questionnaire was carried out using focus group discussions with management and staff to meet the specific requirements of The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum. The modified questionnaire consisted of 23 questions on *Expectation and Perception.* Two additional parts were added to the modified SERVQUAL questionnaire for visitors to help management gather information on visitor demographics. These were, *"The Overall Impression" and "The Visitor Profile".*

The survey was carried out using an interview questionnaire method. Visi-

tors were randomly selected. Due to the complicated questionnaire design, the survey was targeted at visitors who were above 15 years of age.

Interpretation of data requires caution, as the sample data was taken over a short period and therefore, the sample may not be representative of the whole population.

RESULTS OF THE VISITOR SURVEY

Service quality gap analysis was carried out using a combination of the 1995 management survey data (Tan et al., 1996) and the 1996 visitor survey data. The results of the survey are summarised into service quality performance assessment and visitor demographics. This paper presents the results of service quality assessment based on the modified SERVQUAL gap analysis.

Gap analysis measures the discrepancies between the management and visitors' view of *Importance* and *Expectation*, and the differences between the visitors' *Perception* and *Expectation*. These are presented in the radar graph (Refer to Figure 1-3 page 69 & 70). Twenty-three service quality factors are identified by the numbers shown at the outside radius of the radar graph. The score scale is a linearly increasing scale of "0-5" from the inner core to the outer edge of the radar graph. The distance between the two points on the same number is the gap.

A positive gap in *Expectation* score indicates that the management perception of *Visitors' Expectation* is high or put more importance on particular service factors than visitors. On the other hand, positive service quality gaps *(Visitors' Perception - Expectation)* mean that visitors' needs are being met.

The negative service quality gaps show that *Visitors' Expectations* are higher than their *Perception*, which means that their needs were not met. These negative service quality gaps identified areas that management should investigate to improve the quality of services provided to their customer to meet the visitor needs.

Management View of Importance and Their Perception of Visitors' Expectation of Service Quality 1995 survey results (Tan et al., 1996) showed that the management of The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum had a good understanding of the customers' view with respect to the *Importance* of service quality. Management placed a high *Importance* on the tangible, responsiveness and empathy dimensions (Refer to Figure 1, page 69).

The difference between management's view of *Importance* and their views of *Visitors' Expectation* of service quality is shown in Figure 1, page 69. The gaps are very small on all five dimensions. Three areas where there are negative gaps are:

· "The services provided by the cafe and shop" (SQ7:-7.4)
· "The provision of toilets and parenting facilities" (SQ6:-0.37).
· "The organisation has the visitor's best interests at heart"(SQ18:-0.32)

The negative gaps indicate that the management placed more importance on these areas but did not expect the visitors to have high *Expectation* levels related to the particular service quality.

Management and Visitors' View of the Expectation of Service Quality

The data obtained from the management survey in 1995 was used for the analysis of management's view of *Visitors' Expectations* and actual *Visitor's Expectation* of service quality (Tan et al., 1996) (Refer to Figure 2, page 69).

The overall results of this section show that the management has a good understanding of the visitors' expectations. The average *Expectation* score of management and visitors on service quality varies from a low of 3.45 on *"cafe and shop services"* (SQ7) to a high of 4.23 on *"The staff are friendly, courteous and polite to visitors"* (SQ15).

The variations between the management and the visitors' view of *Expectations* are small (Refer to Figure 2, page 69). Management have higher *Expectation* scores on staff related performance (SQ8-16), information provided (SQ9, 10) and the environment (SQ 14) when compared with visitors' *Expectation scores.*

Visitors have higher *Expectations* for service quality related to tangibles items (SQ1-6) and empathy (SQ17-23). The highest negative gaps where visitors have higher *Expectations* than management are:

· **Car Parking** - *"There is adequate car parking for visitors"* (S Q23:-0.60)
· **Empathy** - *"The organisation has the visitor's best interest at heart"* (SQ18:-0.56)
· **Signs** - *"Signs in the building make it easy to find your way around"* (SQ21:-0.46) and *"Outdoor signs make it easy to locate the building"* (SQ22:-0.33).
· **Tangible** - *"The physical appearance of the facility"* (SQI:-0.44)

Thus, compared with the pilot study results carried out in May 1995, there were three common areas related to car parking, signs and empathy where visitors had higher *Expectations* (Tan et al., 1996). Tangible dimensions related to the facility were not highlighted as a problem area in the 1995 survey (Tan, et al, 1995).

The results show a consistency of customer feedback between the two periods. It could also mean that management put a different priority compared to the visitors on these service quality dimensions. This indicates the areas which can be used to improve service quality. This improvement would be indicated by a reduction in the gaps in future surveys, assuming that the actions taken to improve service quality are successful.

Comparison of Visitors' Perception

and Expectation of Service Quality
According to the definition of service quality by Parasuraman et al. (PZB. 1990), service quality is the difference between the *Perception and Expectation scores.*

The gaps between *Perception* and *Expectation* in the visitors survey were very small. They varied from "0.38" to "-0.22" (Refer to Figure 3, Page 70). A positive score signified that the service quality was meeting and exceeding the expectation. A negative score meant that the service quality was not meeting the expectation of visitors.

Gap analysis of *Visitors' Perceptions* and *Expectations* in Figure 3, page 70 showed that all the measures for *Visitors' Expectations* on tangibles and reliability were being met and exceeded. According to the visitors' view, the positive service quality gaps identified were:

- *"The services provided by the cafe and shop"* (SQ7:0.38)
- *"The physical appearance of the facility"* (SQ 1:0.34)
- *"Visitors feel comfortable during the visit"* (SQ14:0.27)

The negative *Service Quality Gaps* were small and varied from -0.03 to -0.22 " (Refer to Figure 3, page 70). These negative gaps indicated the areas that visitors felt that their expectations were not met. The major negative gaps were:

- Information - *"Visitors are informed about when the services will be performed"* (SQ10:-0.22) and *"The information provided by staff is accurate"* (SQ9:-0.20)
- Car Parking - *"There is adequate car parking for visitors"* (SQ22:-0.20)
- Signs - *"Outdoor signs make it easy to locate the building"* (SQ21:-0.16) and *"Signs in the building make it easy to find your way around"* (SQ20:-0.12)

Car parking and signs were identified in the previous section where visitors have higher expectations. Information has the highest *Service Quality*

Gap. These *Service Quality Gaps* confirmed that in these areas their needs were not being met during the visit.

Comparison of Visitors' Perception and Expectation of Service Quality Using Weighted Service Quality Gap
A *Weighted Service Quality Gap* method was used to determine the degree of importance of a particular service quality gap as assessed by management and visitors. The gap analysis has the advantage that a relatively large gap may be identified in an area of low importance. On the other hand, a smaller gap in an area rated *"Very Important"* is probably more significant. Therefore, to highlight the gaps in the areas of greater importance, a *Weighted Service Quality Gap* analysis was used.

It should be noted that there is relatively little difference between management and visitors' assessment of importance, except for the road signs and car parking. The results in Figure 4 have been sorted in ascending order.

The negative *Weighted Service Quality Gaps* shown in Figure 4, page 70 were:

1. Car Parking - *"There is adequate car parking for visitors"* (SQ23).
2. Signs - *"Signs in the building make it easy to find your way around"* (SQ21) and *"Outdoor signs make it easy to locate the building"* (SQ22).
3. Information - *"Visitors are informed about when the services will be performed"* (SQIO), *"The information provided by staff is accurate"* (SQ9)
4. Reliability - *"Staff have the knowledge to respond to visitors' requests"* (SQ16)

In summary, the data collected from the survey has identified areas where visitors' needs are not being met such as access, signs and information from the staff.

This result was consistent with the 1995 pilot test (Tan et al., 1996). The four highest negative gaps of service quality dimensions identified during

the pilot test were: Information, Signs, Access and Car Parking with the exception of access factors.

Management and Staff Knowledge of the Availability of Service Quality Standards
To establish the level of knowledge amongst staff about the service quality procedures and standards at The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum, a survey on the availability of standards was carried out using the five service quality dimensions as shown in Figure 5, page 71. The standards may be either formal (written, explicit and communicated to staff) or informal (verbal, implicit and assumed to be understood by staff).

Staff and management were asked to evaluate their perception of the availability of standards in each of the service quality dimensions. The results shown in Figure 5, page 71 indicate a wide variation of knowledge on the availability of standards. These ranged from "O" -"do not know"to "4"- *"have documented standards".*

The majority (52%) of the staff knew that there were informal standards for all the service quality dimensions. 25% of the staff identified that formal but not documented standards exist in Tangibles, Responsiveness and Assurance.

The management knowledge on the availability of standards was not evenly spread throughout the organisation. Where there are no formal documented standards, the management should investigate whether there is a need for written standards.

The results suggest that there is room for further training of staff in the procedures and processes of quality of service expected by management and visitors. The results appear to show a significant gap between management perception of the quality of service requirements and the service quality expected to be produced by staff. This gap is classed as gap number two by Parasuraman and his colleagues (1990), i.e. the gap between management's perceptions of customers' expectations and service quality specifi-

cations. This happens when the specifications for service quality are not well defined and left to the interpretation and initiative of the staff. The outcome of service delivery may not be the same as what management expected.

APPLICATION OF THE RESULTS TO SERVICE QUALITY IMPROVEMENT

To make use of this information management should identify the formal service quality improvement programme as follows, which is based on the Juran Trilogy (Juran, 1992):

The trilogy suggests that quality is achieved by the use of the three management processes of planning, control and improvement.

The first step, therefore, is to establish action plans for the quality improvement process. The Juran trilogy operates in three areas: "Quality Planning" in which quality goals are set, customer needs are identified and processes which can respond to these needs are developed. In some ways, The Science Centre & Museum is already carrying out these aspects as part of its normal operations.

The second part of the trilogy involves the establishment of "Quality Control" by evaluating actual quality performance and comparing the actual performance to quality goals. This is the purpose of the survey. The final step of the second phase, i.e. quality control, is to act on the difference. This is the next step which should be taken to make full use of the survey results. From the survey of visitors, we have established a set of priority areas for improvement and deficiencies for attention.

The third phase of the Juran trilogy is "Quality Improvement" which would involve raising the quality performance to *"unprecedented levels"*(Juran, 1992). Juran suggests that this involves a series of universal steps namely,

- Diagnose the cause
- Stimulate establishment of rem-

edies
- Establish controls to hold the gains

In the case of The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum, these procedures lead us into what would be a fairly well defined programme. Starting at the second phase of "act on the difference", the proposed sequence of events would be:

1. Establish work group discussions with staff using brain storming sessions to generate ideas for action to achieve improvement.
2. At the same time, the brain storming sessions would identify areas where standards are lacking and new procedures are required using the information from the survey.

It should be noted that this was a repeated survey carried out in the modified SERVQUAL format. It is possible that some questions were not emphasised sufficiently or that others were overemphasised. An important element of the brain storming session is to evaluate such factors and use the results for the improvement of the quality measurement process.

In establishing the infrastructure management system, it is necessary to secure continuous quality improvement or as Juran puts it "critical" quality improvement. The major deficiency identified by both the surveys was *"information provided by staff is accurate"*. This could be related to voluntary staff training which could be improved by providing more supportive documentation and information to the voluntary staff. This moves the quality management process to the quality improvement phase - phase three of the trilogy.

From the brain storming sessions, projects are established to improve the specific areas such as signs and accesses identified in both surveys with well defined goals. These projects diagnose the cause of the deficiencies, and establish remedies and controls to hold the gains.

The proposed project teams do not need to be large but should be effective

and have clear goals and responsibilities. It is important to take steps to solve the problems. It should be an ongoing process - it is an essential factor for any successful organisation.

CONCLUSIONS

The visitor survey represents a methodology that allows The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum to establish and identify their customers, their needs and how satisfied they are with the services provided. In particular, the gap analysis approach can be used to identify the difference between management perception and customers' expectations. This method of performance assessment is quite different from the traditional visitor surveys carried out world-wide in the museum community which is collecting visitors' numbers and demographics. The traditional method will give an indication to the museum who their customers are, but not how they feel about the services provided or whether they are satisfied with the services provided.

This research shifted the focus of performance assessment from the institution to the customer. The ultimate aim is to help management identify customer needs and set plans to meet, and exceed these needs. This form of visitor survey is designed to help the institution identify the current status of its service performance. Before embarking on the improvement, it could be used to find out what level of service quality their customers expect. This provides the basis for a continuous improvement program for service delivery to the community.

Based on pilot test results carried out in 1995 which identified a high correlation between *Importance* and *Expectation* (0.89), and between *Satisfaction* and *Perception* (0.95) (Tan et al., 1996), the *Importance* and *Satisfaction* section were deleted from the 1996 survey questionnaire. The length of the survey questionnaire has been reduced by 50%.

The two surveys have shown a consistency in the evaluation of service quality performance by the visitors to The

Science Centre & Manawatu Museum using the modified SERVQUAL model. The negative service quality gaps identified by the visitors of the institution were similar for both surveys. Three highest negative gaps in service quality dimensions identified during the surveys were:

Car Parking - *"There is adequate car parking for visitors".*
Signs - *"Signs in the building make it easy to find your way around" and "Outdoor signs make it easy to locate the building".*
Information - *"Visitors are informed about when the services will be performed" (SQ10), "The information provided by staff is accurate".*

Those negative service quality gaps also appeared in the 1995 survey which highlighted problem areas where visitors' expectations were not being met.

According to a US study of human behaviour carried out by TARP (Technical Assistance Research Programs), the average unhappy customer who has a problem with an organisation tells nine or ten people about it (Albrecht and Zemke, 1985). Of the customer who registers a complaint, between 54% and 70% will do business again with the organisation if their complaint is resolved. A satisfied customer will tell an average of five people about the treatment they received. This research finding shows that 49% of respondents found out about the place through word of mouth. Therefore, it is important for the management to focus in improving the service and use word of mouth to retain old customers and attract new visitors to the institution.

A systematic quality improvement process based on Juran Trilogy is recommended. It is a well defined and well tested quality improvement process used in both manufacturing and service companies.

The management of the United Kingdom Museum has recognised the importance of customer care in the museum and heritage organisations (Conway, 1992). Every member of its

staff is seen as an ambassador for the museum. Their attitude and approach influences the way the museum is perceived by the visitors. Therefore, two important factors will affect the service performance of the institution, these are: the system and the people who work within the system. The system sets guidance and control of the functions performed by staff through standards, procedures and instructions. The people working in the system should be trained and be familiar with the standards and procedures used in the institution. This provides the basis for a continuous improvement program for service delivery to the community.

In summary, the general levels of service quality provided by The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum was confirmed as very good and management has a good understanding of their customers. However, there are areas which were highlighted as negative service gaps by the visitors to the institution. A quality improvement program could be used to establish plans for improving policies on service quality to meet the customer's needs. The modified SERVQUAL model could be used as a tool to monitor the on-going improvement in service quality performance of The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum.

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Figure 1. Gap Analysis of Management and Their View of Visitors' Expectation of Service Quality
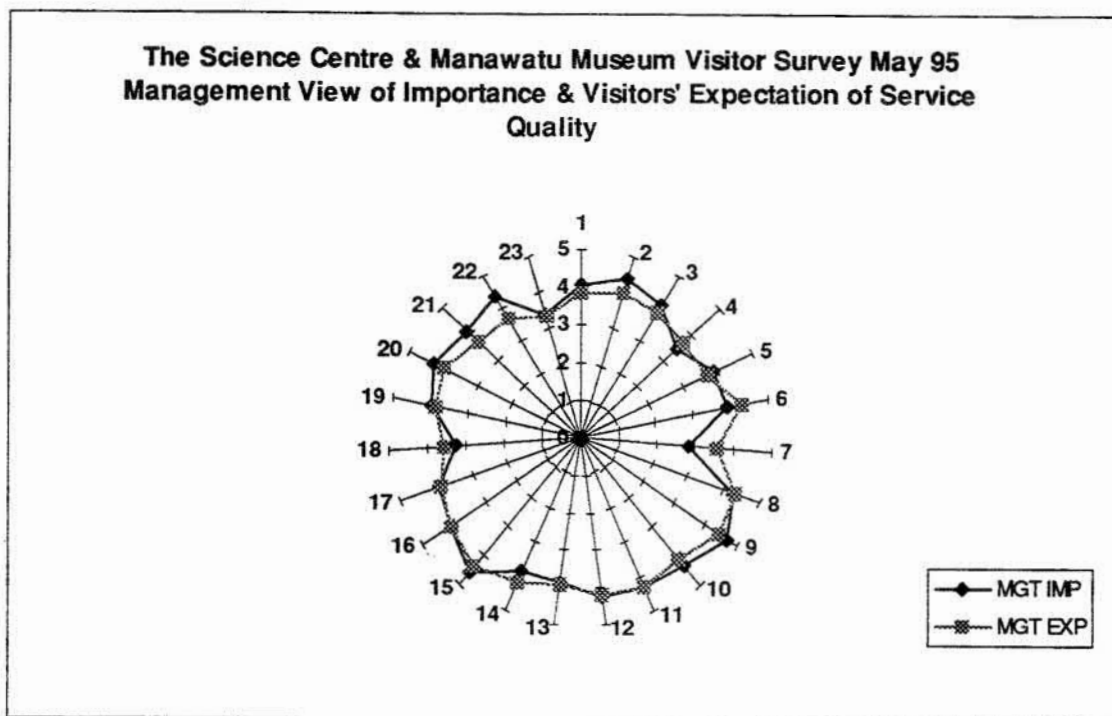

The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum Visitor Survey May 95
Management View of Importance & Visitors' Expectation of Service Quality

Figure 2. Gap Analysis of Management and the Visitors' Expectation of Service Quality

The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum Visitor Survey April 96
Management View of Visitors' Expectation & Actual Visitors' Expectation of Service Quality

Figure 3. Visitors' View of Expectation and Perception of Service Quality

The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum Visitor Survey April 96
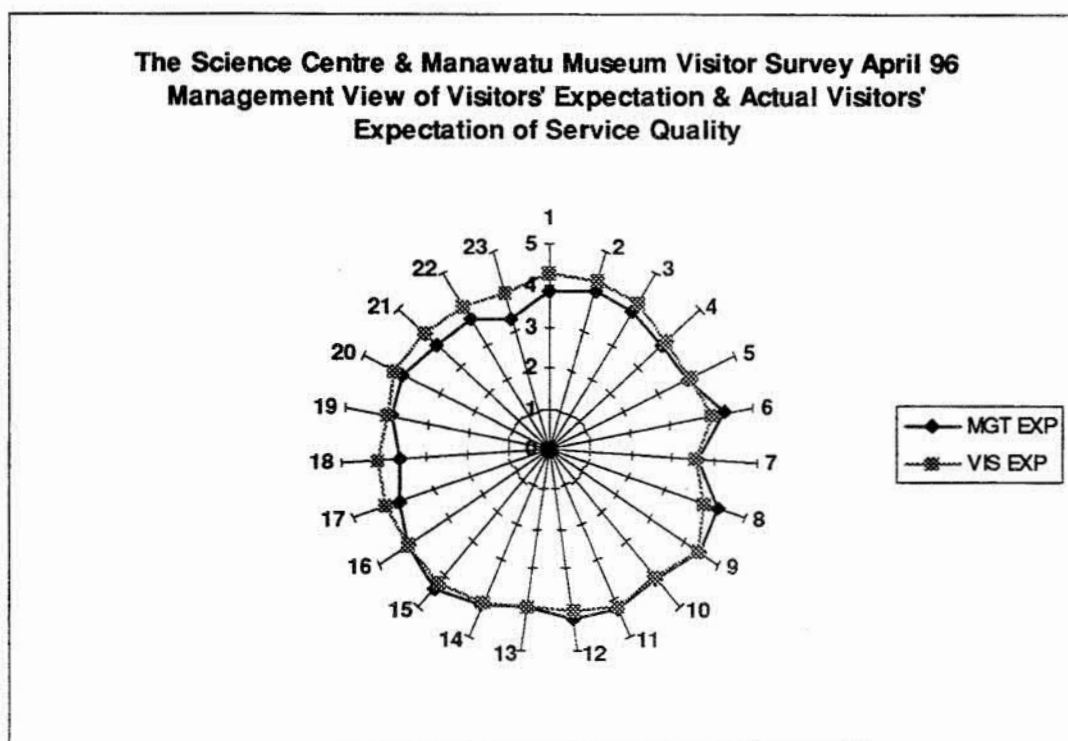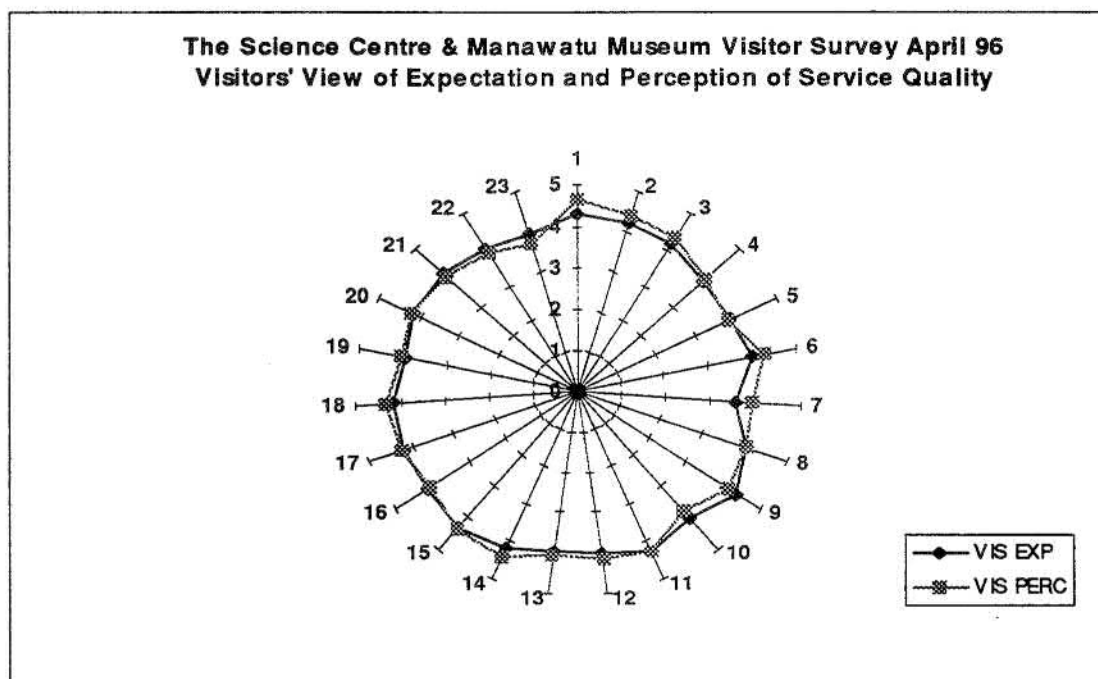Visitors' View of Expectation and Perception of Service Quality

Figure 4. Comparison of Management and Visitors' View of Service Quality Using Weighted Service Quality Gap (Sorted by Gap Order)
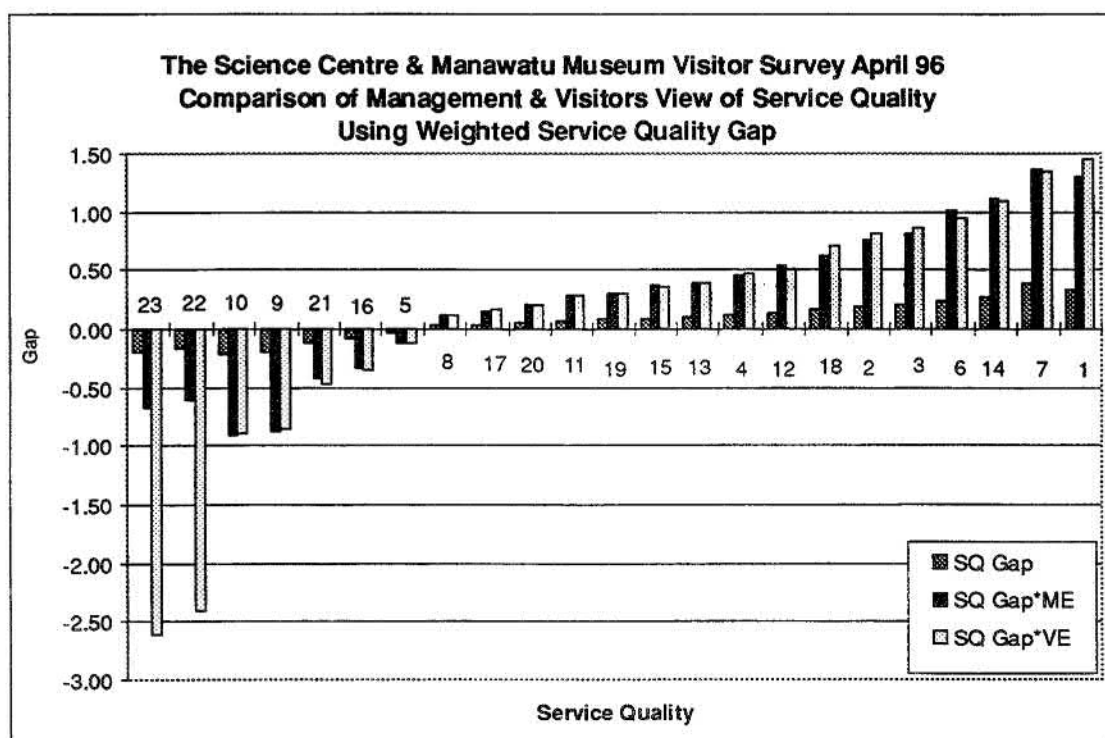

The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum Visitor Survey April 96
Comparison of Management & Visitors View of Service Quality
Using Weighted Service Quality Gap

Figure 5. Management and Staff Knowledge of the Availability of Service Quality Standards

The Science Centre & Manawatu Museum Visitor Survey April 96
Management Knowledge of Availability of Standards
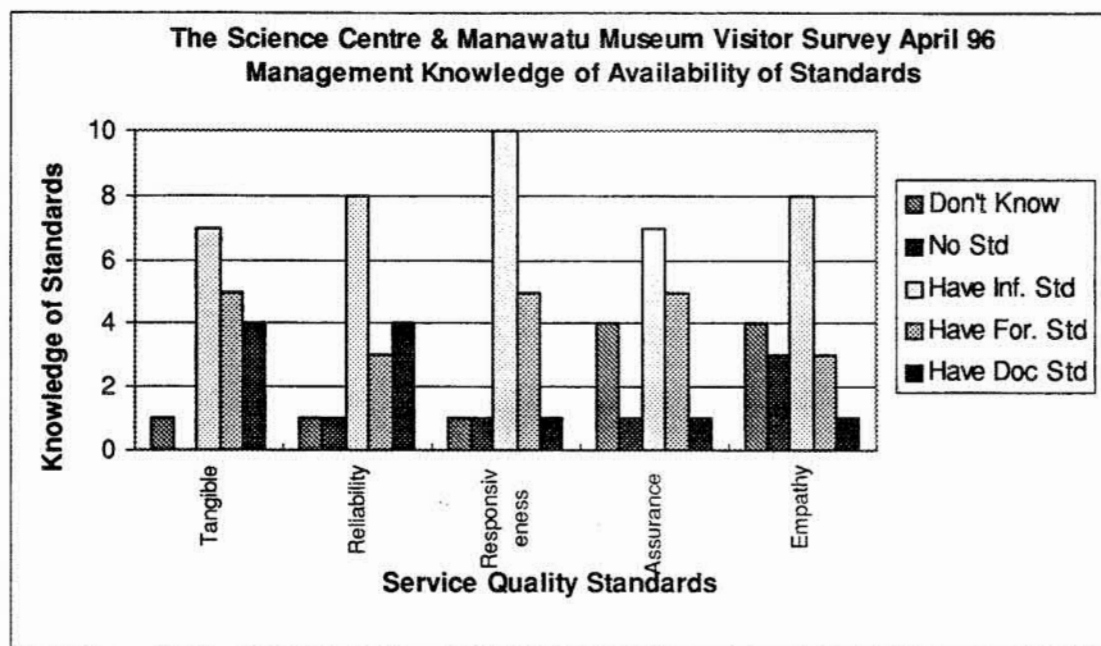
GORE DISTRICT COUNCIL MUSEUM SERVICES

Jim Geddes, District Curator, Department of Arts and Heritage, Gore District

On July 1 1996 Gore District Council phased in the first stage of a new strategy to manage district museum services with the establishment of a Department of Arts and Heritage. This development was in reaction, not only to an increasing need to fully evaluate the district's cultural holdings and investments, but also to a requirement to identify a common purpose for all local organisations and facilities.

Gore District currently hosts six society run museums, as well as three private concerns. The six public facilities have enjoyed some degree of local authority support - from simple rating discounts to staff and operations finance. It became obvious, however, as collection and structural developments came to light there was some inequality in the apportionment of council subsidised resources.

Historically, Gore's support for cultural property had much in common with other small towns - localised collections developed by dedicated individuals and cared for as society or individual holdings. Council support for such interests tended to stop at an annual commitment to a city based institution with a collection brief covering the entire province - in Gore's case Invercargill. As late as 1983, 100% of Gore's financial support for museum services was centred on Invercargill.

But from 1984 onward, Gore based museum and art facilities began to form and expand. The Eastern Southland Gallery was established in that year, closely followed by the Eastern Southland Community Arts Council. The relocation of the Gore District Historical Society collection to a Main Street site took place in 1988, and Hokonui Pioneer Park's major display building extensions opened in 1992. Subsequent heritage developments have included Mataura's successful Clematis Cottage, Croydon Aviation Heritage Trust's significant collection of vintage de Havilland aircraft, and plans for a museum/visitor attraction to interpret the history surrounding 'Hokonui Moonshine' whisky making (indigenous to Eastern Southland).

This rapid proliferation hasn't, however, caused the competition and overlaps one might expect; each museum has developed its own brief and there is a clear demarcation between collections and the local histories they serve to interpret. Collectively they have the capacity to present a cohesive district history but for a passive funder of museums this is a nightmare for a district council with a population base of just 13,500.

From 1984, in addition to a grant to Southland Museum & Art Gallery, Gore District began funding local facilities, principally the Eastern Southland Gallery. Although beyond their employment brief, Gallery staff had made a point of assisting other local museums with the long term aim of instigating some form of funding recipe that might ultimately appeal to a local authority and appease local societies.

The Gallery had a useful profile in this regard - that of an active cultural centre which assisted in bringing recognition to heritage concerns beyond the confines of art practice. Multi-media presentations such as 1995's 'Mataura Valley Exhibition' featuring collections and resources from a number of

local facilities gave rise to very serious consideration of a formal and adequately funded service base for everyone. The fact that an 'exhibition' could incorporate marae and museum based projects, public art programmes and visiting artist commissions (with the aid of vintage de Havilland aircraft for topographic research) highlighted the existing goodwill between local groups and strengthened notions of contracted co-operative coexistence. All that was required was an appropriate 'tool' to facilitate a new order of sustainability for all.

That 'tool' came in the shape of an inspired and expansive report '*Museum Services in the Gore District*' commissioned by Gore District Council and prepared by Otago/ Southland Museums Service Liaison Officer Gerard O'Regan. Examining objectively what local museums had to offer, the report made numerous recommendations with regard to short and long term development, and improvements in collection management practices. But more importantly, it emphasised the role of Southland Museum & Art Gallery as a provider of specific services which could not be efficiently replicated at a local level.

In anticipation of this evaluation taking place, staff had developed a complementary proposal to feed the local authority district plan process in the event of council expressing a resolve to reorganise the funding of museums. The sobering prospect of Gore District's increasing inability to staff and finance ever-developing local and provincial facilities led to the formulation of a department structure which addressed the basic needs of all operations, while remaining attractive to

funders and attentive to facility and collection requirements.

After the formal adoption of the O'Regan report and supporting local submissions, staff ceased to work for local museums and instead became employees of Council. Management boards, committees and staff clarified their roles and responsibilities, and undertook serious strategic planning exercises to identify the 'public' and 'private' good within their operations - to complement the council based funding policy analysis as directed by the impending Local Government Amendment Act.

In short, Council would supply staff for basic programme, collection and development management of three facilities, and programme, collection and development assistance for the remaining three (while retaining a level of support for Southland Museum & Art Gallery, and basic 'public' good facility operations grants). As far as the funding of programmes and activities were concerned - museums were on their own.

Council was not a collector of art or artefacts, and not a provider of arts and heritage activity, but it was (as stated in its District Plan) a supporter of cultural initiatives and a concerned supporter of the district's heritage. In establishing a departmental 'service' structure Council was fulfilling its obligations as itemised in its District Plan, and giving its museums a very clear understanding of where their responsibilities lay. The district owned the museums and collections, and the Council managed the management of those. The community owned the programmes and activities, and met the associated costs.

Initially, council administration found the Department of Arts & Heritage useful for 'tidying up' some 'peripheral' activities. The Creative Communities, Historic Places, and Heritage Register 'bucks' were passed in our direction, but rather than burdening us they offered the opportunity to direct their inherent values to a community advantage. Like museum and arts facilities they ceased to become 'problems', but rather affordable assets. Rather than being 'consulted' as part of the district planning and community development process, we began to be asked to generate ideas and directions in the broadest of terms - from town planning to parks and recreation planning, from district marketing strategies to economic development.

Indeed planning has become the department's principal short term task and apart from sustainable strategies for programmes and activities, the very real structural design and capital funding processes for $2m worth of pending district museum development has proved a rewarding and absorbing occupation. The trust of the community has been paramount in this successful equation, especially with regard to corporate capital works investors - and we feel such an administrative structure provides the secure 'bottom line' so necessary in regional arts and heritage activity.

CAPITAL E - A FIRST FOR WELLINGTON & NEW ZEALAND

Jude Benson, Director, Capital E, Wellington

CONCEPT DESCRIPTION

Capital E is a unique and exciting concept - an inner city children's events centre.

It is a facility that will deliver a changing programme of challenging experiences, events and exhibitions for children aged five to twelve years, their families and communities.

"It will be a venue where many things can happen, rather than an institution. We will have more in common with a multiplex than a museum, with many choices for children under one roof. The concept does not include any permanent collection or fixed exhibits.

"Capital E's programs and activities-based approach is a very flexible model - spatially, financially and in terms of the greater choice to be offered to audiences. It is designed to offer broader opportunities and experiences to families, and to promote fun and participation."

The centre's reputation will be based on delivering diverse quality activities/products for children and will also encourage usage of the venue by many different community groups. Schools, museums, existing events and other organisations will be able to use the main floor for challenging activities for children. These will be in addition to a strong programme of new experiences already in development.

The key strengths of the concept are its flexibility, its potential for theming and ability to achieve cohesion of spaces, activities and opportunities. The promotional strategy reflects these strengths through the adoption of these themes:

- thinking outside the square
- expect the unexpected
- if you don't keep coming back, you could miss out

Capital E will be different, and celebrate its difference. The open-ended nature of the exciting activities we might invent, attract, adapt or import will position us at the leading edge, not only in what we offer, but how we operate. We will be more about enterprise so that we can continue to invest in challenging experiences for children.

Many choices under one roof

The concept will bring to life all existing floors of the facility and complete a number of key elements that were not fully realised in the past.

Each floor will be dedicated to specific objectives and activities:

Level One - a no-charge, fun area that includes highly visible choices of activities and a large children's toy shop with play experiences.

Level One will:
- Highlight the changing range of exciting opportunities available on other levels.
- Offer a series of free play and challenging mini-experiences for family visitors seven days a week.
- Display "Flying Fantasies" designed by Weta Productions (local model makers) to catch the attention and imagination of children. (These Fantasies will change to suit major exhibitions or events.)
- Provide a themed, safe, imaginative and attractive retail space for children, operated by Hocus Pocus Toys, a well established, quality Wellington toy shop.

As well as pedestrian through-street access from the Square, Level One will include front of house facilities, staff offices, toilets and a time-out area for parents.

Level Two - a generous, flexible space for events and exhibitions, and a children's television studio (Children ONTV) provided by a major partner - Saturn Communications.

Level Two will:
- Provide for an exciting range of exhibitions and events in the very large main floor space able to be configured into smaller spaces with different uses. These could range from a small gallery showcasing the creative work of children, large participative events for families, tricycle challenge courses for under fives, through to staging an imported 950 square metre commercial blockbuster exhibition.
- At times the space can also be used by community groups for children's events.
- Establish a working television studio that offers school students real experience of national news and weather production, including all aspects of technology and presentation through to final filmed delivery. Here groups of up to 35 students, guided by an education co-ordinator, would collect, select, process and prepare raw information with the aim of presenting the news and weather to camera at the end of their visit. The school could take away their final presentation on video.

A weather station would be positioned on the roof garden of the building so that hands-on readings could be taken

and processed.

The rationale behind this choice of experience for schools is that:
- news and weather are well known, accessible concepts
- the concept would make an everyday process transparent
- news and weather change every day, but will always offer great potential for developing Essential skills and making curriculum linkages
- the concept would offer strong weekday potential for half and full day bookings, for activities which cannot be done at school
- useful education resources could be developed around these themes.

At times the Children ONTV studio could feature student news and weather presentations, so that children's achievements could be viewed by wider regional TV audiences. For some special events, such as the opening of a major exhibition, the room would operate as the real base for live coverage of the events by children.

Level Three - a space where the magic of drama is made easily accessible to children

Level Three will:
- Comprise a permanent, professional children's theatre which would finally realise the potential of the auditorium. This space can accommodate an audience of up to 100 - an ideal size for a company targeting children.
- Provide a permanent base for a small group of professionals as well as provide a venue for other established theatre groups to offer productions at times. The Capital E theatre group could also tour through schools and community groups in the region, and produce special shows for incoming schools during weekdays.
- A number of production seasons will be offered every year, including one month of a major Christmas production, which would become a Capital E signature event.

Target Audiences:

The prime audience for Capital E is children aged 5 to 12 years, their families and communities; Hocus Pocus Toys and a range of other special events will present many opportunities for the under 5's.

Programme Opportunities

From 28 June, 1997, our exciting new concept opens the door to a huge number of programme opportunities. We will create our own participative events, many of them original and some of them tourable throughout New Zealand. We will also become an inner city venue for existing successful events keen to find a permanent home.

The main objectives for programming would be to encourage:
- fun
- participation
- challenge.

Many successful programmes would become signature events and exhibitions, so that families could return year after year to enjoy family favourites with their growing children, as well as trying out new initiatives.

At this stage we are only able to reveal limited information, but we will open with:

- An imported blockbuster exhibition, second only to dinosaurs in audience-pulling power this year in Australia. Capital E will be the first New Zealand showing of this very participative exhibition
- "Wet Weekend Sanity Savers" - signature weekend-only events series, including indoor main floor challenge courses for under fives, using tricycles and pedal cars.
- "Children's Showcase Gallery" - signature exhibitions.

We will feature a wide range of creative work from school children working in art, craft, technology and model making. Activities would be specially co-ordinated through local schools and

a collection service would be available.

COMMUNITY LINKS

With the emphasis on family participation, the community will be intrinsically linked to the new centre. There are other key links to the community through outreach programmes and regional tours, through services provided by the retail outlet, through the hosting of local events and exhibitions, as well as the use of the Children ONTV studio for televising inhouse and external community events

Links with regional schools will begin to be established before opening.

EDUCATION OPPORTUNITIES

The main exhibition and events floor will at times provide high quality educational opportunities relating to specific exhibitions. These exhibition packages will include curriculum linked education resources which will (with local teacher input) provide excellent learning opportunities. We will also be developing some of our own resources to support home-grown exhibitions.

The children's theatre will also attract school groups for drama experiences, and local schools may at times wish to use the facilities to stage their own productions.

In addition to the above, Capital E recognises the importance of providing a separate core of challenging and curriculum-linked education activities that are primarily designed for school use. These experiences will be original, exciting and exclusive, and based in the Children ONTV studio.

This studio will provide open-ended and flexible opportunities for challenging learning experiences for school groups. It will link with a wide range of new curricula and provide experiences which directly contribute to the development of selected essential skills such as communication, information, social and co-operative and problem

solving skills. A fulltime education coordinator will lead these experiences

PROJECT PARTNERS

The new facility is opening with committed and long-term partners to support its activities.

Project partners are:
Saturn Communications - a Wellington-based cable television company covering the Wellington region, owned by United International Holdings, a leading provider of multi-channel television and related business in 25 countries worldwide.

Hocus Pocus - a Wellington-based retail shop that allows its young customers a unique "hands-on" experience within themed play areas and fantasy environments.

WELLINGTON MARITIME MUSEUM DEVELOPMENTS

Ken Scadden, Director, Wellington Maritime Museum

The Wellington Maritime Museum is on the threshold of an exciting new era. Founded in 1972, by the Old Wellington Harbour Board, the Museum has always been housed in the Harbour Board Head Office and Bond Store on Queens Wharf. Initially two small rooms, the Museum has grown and developed, and now occupies two floors of the existing building.

Since its foundation, the Museum has gathered an enormous collection of maritime objects and archives, and is recognised as one of the premier maritime research institutions in the country.

When the Wellington Harbour Board went out of existence in 1989 funding provisions were made with the Wellington City Council to strengthen and refurbish the building, and to provide an on-going operating budget. Plans for the redevelopment, strengthening and retrofitting of the Museum have evolved considerably since 1989, and as a result of two reviews which occurred in 1994 the Maritime Museum is now under the management of the Wellington Museums Trust.

In addition to the Wellington Maritime Museum, the Wellington Museums Trust manages the City Art Gallery, Capital E (formerly known as Capital Discovery Place) and the Colonial Cottage Museum in Nairn Street.

Over the next two years the existing building will be vacated and the collection relocated elsewhere. There will be a front of house facility established somewhere on Queens Wharf, and the building will be earthquake strengthened. It is envisaged that base isolation technology will be used, and the building will be turned into a func-

tional museum with the addition of climatic control, lifts, disabled access, etc.

A concept design by Hewitt Design of Sydney has been adopted by the Trust and the existing Museum will be transformed into a state of the art museum. The mission has been widened from one of solely maritime to incorporating stories of Wellington and its history. The history of Wellington and its waterfront are, of course, inextricably intertwined. The new mission is "preserving, presenting and promoting Wellington's heritage, harbour, city and sea."

Once the building has been strengthened, the interior will be fitted out and the Museum will at last be able to take its rightful place on the Wellington Arts and Cultural Heritage stage.

The refurbished, strengthened and retrofitted Museum is expected to open late in 1998. By virtue of its location, collections, community support and revised mission, the Museum will see its current visitor numbers double from the present 50,000 to over 100,000 a year. By virtue of its public programmes and linkages with other Wellington institutions, the Museum will be taken beyond the existing four walls.

The redevelopment of Queens Wharf has seen the profile of the Museum building diminished. A crucial feature of the redevelopment, therefore, will be to reclaim the precinct by putting nautical objects, (perhaps including ship masts, anchors, buoys and other nautical material), on the wharf which will have the effect of providing a linking theme for a disparate range of architectural styles on the wharf. It will also provide a consciousness rais-

ing of maritime history/museum story telling for those people using the Wellington waterfront.

It is a very exciting and innovative project, and I urge you all to watch this space.

KEITH W. THOMSON SCHOLARSHIPS

The National Committee of ICOM New Zealand (International Council of Museums) is pleased to offer up to eight scholarships to assist New Zealand museum personnel to attend ICOM's 18th General Assembly and Conference in Melbourne, Australia, from 9 - 16 October 1998. The theme of Conference is "Museums and Cultural Diversity: Ancient Cultures, New Worlds".

The Keith W. Thomson Scholarships honour the name and the outstanding contribution made to museums in New Zealand and to the professional development of their staff by Professor Keith Thomson.

Keith Thomson had an enduring interest in the development of New Zealand's museums which can be illustrated by his roles as Council member or Chair of the National Museum and Art Gallery, the Manawatu Museum, Manawatu Art Gallery, the Historic Places Trust and AGMANZ.

Professor Thomson was instrumental in the establishment of the Museum Studies programme at Massey University. He was a generous benefactor donating works of art to the Massey University Collection as well as a number of other public collections. His book, *"A Guide to Art Galleries and Museums in New Zealand"*, published in 1981, still stands as a useful history of museums in New Zealand. His long involvement in internationl museum associations includes substantial contributions to the International Council of Museums and Commonwealth Association of Museums. These scholarships honour his lifelong dedication to museums and museology.

ICOM

The International Council of Museums is the international, non-governmental, professional association representing museums and the museum profession. Founded in 1947 it is located in Paris and maintains close ties with UNESCO as well as educational and cultural bodies worldwide. A significant feature of its organisational structure is the formation of National Committees in about 100 countries and 23 International Specialist Committees. The majority of these specialist committees - ranging from Applied Art, to Science and Technology, Documentation, Education and Museum Training - will offer a separate conference programme in Melbourne.

Eligibility

All Museum personnel currently engaged in museum practice in New Zealand, including recent Museum Studies students and volunteers, are invited to apply. Some preference will be given to those in the formative years of career development.

At least one scholarship will be provided for Pacific Islands Nations.

It is anticipated that applicants will be able to demonstrate strong interest in the programme offered by at least one Specialist International Committee.

The Scholarships

Each Scholarship will cover the cost of early Conference Registration Fee and a year's subscription to ICOM. Each scholarship is valued at approximately NZ$750.00. Airfares, accommodation, additional fees levied by specialist committees and living expenses are the responsiblity of applicants.

How do I apply?

Applicants should complete no more than an A4 sheet (double-sided) and include the following: name, address and contact details; reasons for attending the General Assembly; nominating Specialist Committee meetings in which you will participate; benefits to be gained personally, professionally and for the institution to which you are attached.

This statement should be accompanied by:

(a) a letter of support from your museum's Director outlining the nature of institutional support (e.g. any financial contribution, professional development leave with full pay, etc) and the benefits of you attending;

(b) your recent curriculum vitae, including information about your contribution to the wider museum community.

Applicants will be expected to submit a brief report to ICOM NZ on their return reflecting on experience, highlighting particular points of professional interest and practice.

Applications close on 1 February 1998 and should be addressed to:

ICOM New Zealand Secretariat
Museum Studies Unit
Te Putahi-a-Toi
Massey University
Private Bag 11-222
Palmerston North

Further details about the General Assembly can be otained by Internet: http://www.vic.gov.au/ icom/icomhpge.html or by e-mail: ngallow@mov.vic.gov.au (Noelene Galloway) or by writing to: The Executive Officer, ICOM '98 Ltd., 18th floor, 222 Exhibition Street, Melbourne Vic 30001, Australia.

MUSEUM STUDIES MASSEY UNIVERSITY 1998

Recent Developments

The deaths of Mina McKenzie and Professor Keith Thomson have been a great loss to the Museum Studies programme. Our Kuia and Koroua were a very important part of the programme and it will take us some time to recover from their passing. Those of us who had the benefit of their teaching, advice and support will treasure those memories and they will live on in our hearts and minds.

Susan Abasa has been appointed Lecture in Museum Studies. Formerly Senior Exhibitions Officer and then Senior Exhibitions Officer at Queensland Art gallery, Susan was for some years Executive Officer of the Art Museums Association of Australia. Before coming to New Zealand Susan had been in private practice as a Museum Consultant. Her research interests are broad though she has a particular interest in the policy and practice of art museums. Susan is teaching 67.743 Museum Management and 67.744 Museums and the Public.

During 1996 Massey appointed a new Vice Chancellor, Professor James McWha. Professor McWha has initiated a number of organisational changes including the amalgamation of small academic units with larger departments. After much consideration of the options it was decided that Museum Studies should approach Maori Studies with the proposal that an amalgamation should be considered. Maori Studies considered this proposal and agreed to enter into discussions. After several meetings a formal proposal was drafted and sent to the Vice Chancellor for approval. The Vice Chancellor accepted the proposal. Museum Studies formally became part of the Department of Maori Studies 1 January 1997 and moved into the new Maori Studies building, Te Putahi a Toi, after it was officially opened 8 March 1997.

During 1996 a small committee had been considering the further development of the Museum Studies curriculum. One recommendation from this exercise was to create a new compulsory paper for the Diploma/MA in Museum Studies which would provide an introduction to Maori heritage perspectives. Museum Studies approached Maori Studies staff with this proposal and received a very positive response. In 1998 the internal postgraduate Museum Studies programme will include 50.715 Taonga Tuku Iho. This paper will be team taught by Maori Studies staff. The first semester will consist of two week sections on Te Tiriti o Waitangi, Te Marae me Te Whanau, Te Reo, Te Ao Turoa, Taonga Tuku Iho, Korero a Iwi, and Toi Maori. Semester Two will examine the role of government in heritage management including heritage policy, departmental responsiblities, heritage legislation, national collecting institutions and contemporary indigenous development. The second semester programme will take a broad approach which will include consideration of Maori and non-Maori heritage management including heritage policy, departmental responsibilities, heritage legislation, national collecting institutions and contemporary indigenous developments. The second semester programme will take a broad approach which will include consideration of Maori and non-Maori heritage management. This paper will be available to extramural students in 1999.

1998 Extramural Programme

Two of the core Diploma/MA papers will be available in 1998:

67.741 History and Philosophy of Museums

The Course Coordinator for this course is David Butts, Director of Museum Studies. Semester One involves a weekly programme of reading and two essays. The weekly reading focuses on the following topics: Cabinets of Curiosity; Origins of the natural History Musueum; Origins of Public Art Museums; Early American Museums; Museums and Colonisation; New Zealand Museums to 1900; Contemporary New Zealand Museums; Museums, Treaty of Waitangi and Tangata Whenua; Government and Heritage; A Decade of Review; and The Professional Context.

The second semester provides the opportunity for each student to develop a proposal for a research essay on a topic of their choice and to submit a 5000 word essay at the end of the semester. These essays may be in the form of a literature review or they may involve a small primary research exercise. In past years students have chosen topics which include; Management issues arising from the relationship between the tourist industry and those responsible for maintaining heritage resources; Exhibiting controversy; Representation of women in exhibitions; Public access to art museum programmes; Volunteers in museums; Concepts and models for Maori Museums/Cultural Centres; Museums and their Tangata Whenua; Museums and indigenous peoples; War and the protection of Cultural Property; Evaluating visitor experience; An evaluation of the writings of Michael Ames; Museums and the Internet.

This paper is fully internally assessed. The research essay is worth 50% of the final grade.

67.744 Museums and the Public

Susan Abasa, Lecturer in Museum Studies, is coordinator of this paper. Museums and the Public is designed to provide an introduction to the relationship between museums and their communities, exhibition development, public programmes and user studies and evaluation.

Section one of this paper, Museums and Society, was first prepared by Duncan Cameron when he was Teaching Fellow in Museum Studies in 1995. Cameron's material has been further developed by Susan Abasa. It includes topics such as: A useful framework for the analysis of museums; museums for education and propaganda in democratic and totalitarian societies; la nouvelle museologie and alternative museums; audience, ownership and authority.

Section Two of the course includes: Museums - access and participation; Audience development; Partnerships; and Visitor Surveys.

Section Three of the course includes: Why Exhibit?; Exhibition as communication; Exhibition planning; Creating the exhibition experience; Museums and blockbusters; Museum languages; Evaluation.

Assignments include a range of exercises and an individual exhibition project.

Other papers available in 1998 include:
67.761 Special Topic - an individual programme of reading and essays
67.762 Research Project - small primary research project
67.790 Advanced Research Practicum - museum based resarch project
67.796 Dissertation
67.799 Thesis

For further information about the Diploma or MA in Museum Studies or individual papers request a copy of *Museum Studies Information Booklet: Extramural courses* from:

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