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Contents

Review Article

Book Reviews

Instructions for Contributors

Introduction: The Cultural Politics of Antipodean Museums

Kylie Message and Ben Dibley

Located in leisure economies, subjected to state politics, dedicated to the demotic, demarcated by social distinction, committed to the civics of multiculturalism, endorsed by an ethics of reconciliation, determinedly focused on "the cutting edge", enduringly concerned with preservation, the cultural politics of contemporary museums are, to say the least, complex in their effects and challenging in their analysis. The central aim of this edition of *New Zealand Sociology* is to critically engage with this multifaceted terrain by focusing on developments in the Antipodes. As complex sites of meaning making, museums in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia are contingent on distinctive interplays between global flows, nationally specific institutions and locally meaningful narratives. The contributors to this volume analyse antipodean museums in relation to the historical legacy of settler colonialism and the current regimes of globalisation by exploring how these interplays are represented in particular museum practices, and how such cultural institutions attempt to account for the effects of this cultural traffic.

Navigating this traffic gives the contributors not so much a common methodology – which would be unlikely since, characteristic of the field of museum studies, they come from a range of disciplinary backgrounds – but rather a loosely shared orientation that might be called an antipodean optic (Beilharz, 1997). Analyses work through a complex interplay of the global and the local, the metropolitan and the provincial, and the north and the south, demonstrating that cultural identityand difference is not fixed, but relational and resulting from a historical past that is both shared and discrete. From these southern perspectives the essays collated here investigate a range of topics and sources including: contemporary public art commissions, exhibition design, new media and ethics, museum architecture, memorialisation, issues of governance, community participation, and visitor reception. Contributors examine the rhetoric and

logic by which these exhibitionary practices operate as democratic spaces of representation and participation. They interrogate claims made by museums that they offer postcolonial models of exchange, and investigate new methodologies for trans-cultural expression and dialogue. They reflect on the possibilities these might open up for self-representation and for more adequate forms of participation for previously marginalised communities. Perhaps, most importantly, contributors provide insight into why museums maintain their priority in community, governmental and academic spheres as sites for addressing the cultural predicaments of the contemporary world. In pursuing these lines of inquiry the essays included here represent emerging theoretical and political positions on antipodean museological practices. These are valuable both for illuminating the distinctiveness of such museological activities and for the analytical optics they propose and advance.

Paul Carter opens this volume with a reflection on his experience as a designer of recent significant public artworks in Australia, notably *Relay* (Homebush Bay, Sydney Olympics), *Nearamnew* (Federation Square, Melbourne) and *Solution* (Docklands, Melbourne). As a theorist and practitioner in public art, Carter's project seeks an ethics that will diffuse this field's conventions. In his view, narratives of place associated with a particular public space, risk effacement in design briefs that would have art symbolise the achievements of capital or the state. In subverting such briefs, the post-representationalist art practices advanced by Carter seek to generate public artworks that acknowledge local narratives seemingly obliterated by the new. Carter wishes to establish new alignments between those who commission, produce, interpret or otherwise engage such spaces, advocating an interpretative frame between cultural institutions and public artworks, whose recollection of the narratives of place is a duty charged to cultural institutions through "care at a distance". Carter hopes that through this ethic a more democratic sociality might be promoted in the public culture of Australia's urban spaces.

Investigating the complexities of indigenous use of new media technology for expressions of Maori cultural identity, Deidre Brown explores a rather different set of ethical relations in which cultural institutions are engaged. In pursuing her analyses, Brown positions these contemporary deployments

of digital imaging in a longer history of Maori appropriation of non-Maori technology and locates this new media in a "whakapapa of imaging". In this she is interested in the relations between customary knowledge, the technical capacities of digital media, museum practice and the law. The interplay of these relations shapes the production and regulation of an element of Maori culture she terms "virtual taonga". Reflecting on the various protocols – customary, institutional and legal – which produce and protect the interests of those invested in virtual taonga, Brown explores the opportunities digital imaging technologies provide for the preservation and promotion of Maori culture.

If Brown is concerned with questions of cultural identity and its position in the intersection between global cultural traffic, cultural institutions and the production of locally meaningful narratives, Elizabeth Rankin offers a rather different set of observations on this theme. Reflecting on the imperial ecumene through the matrix of war museums, Rankin's essay charts shifts in the memorialising of war dead in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa. Through her comparative lens she focuses on the establishment, architecture, and practices of war museums in these countries, and reflects on their role in shaping national identities through the remembrance of war within the context of the British Empire. This has ultimately culminated in the decisions of Canberra (1993), Ottawa (2000) and Wellington (2004) to bring home an unknown soldier/warrior from the European theatre to memorialise national loss. As Rankin observes, this effectively undoes the symbolic hold of the Westminster Cathedral's Tomb of the Unknown Warrior as that which represents the sacrifice of British subjects "at home and abroad". She reflects on the interplay between an imperial ecumene, national institutions and the construction of local identities as successive generations engage the poetics and politics of remembrance.

Christine McCarthy's comparative perspective focuses not on the space of empire, but on the architectural spaces of institutions in the nation's urban centres: Auckland Museum, Wellington's Te Papa, and Dunedin's Otago Museum. She examines in detail the cultural politics at stake in the shifting boundaries that constitute what she calls "museological interiorities". McCarthy charts the dichotomy of interiority and exteriority whose

dynamics have decisively shaped museum architecture. She argues that it is "engaging with and shaping *all* of these exchanges across categorical boundaries" that will "impact most dramatically on the future physical construction of built form".

Concerned not with architectural structures but the structures of governance, David Butts analyses the cultural politics surrounding the recent governance reforms at the Whanganui Regional Museum. He offers a fine-grained case study that examines the contestations between the museum's stakeholders as they become embroiled in debates over how a community's cultural resources are to be imagined and managed. Charting in detail these machinations, Butts positions the museum as a contested site in struggles over the performance of local identity as multi- or bicultural. He analyses how multicultural pluralism is expediently deployed by opponents of the reforms in an attempt to weaken the locally salient commitment to the bicultural which was driving institutional change. From his regionalist perspective, the Whanganui institution offers a model for a process of postcolonial reconciliation. In this, Butts celebrates the eventually implemented reforms as being a demonstration of "the capacity of the community to pursue experimental solutions to complex social and political issues in the context of [museums] ...even in the face of sustained and powerful opposition".

Conal McCarthy's closing essay returns us to what is arguably the central relationship of museums – that between the objects housed and their constituency. In the context of indigenous struggle for self-determination in Aotearoa New Zealand, he investigates the re-articulation of Maori cultural objects as taonga which have decisively shaped exhibition practice over the last thirty years. Analysing what he terms a "culture of display", he puts the case for reading exhibition-going as a process of subjectivisation, but with the postcolonial twist, that taonga now interpellate Maori visitors "to take up new positions within a resurgent Maoritanga".

All of the papers gathered in this volume provide critical insights into the processes by which public cultures and social identities are constructed and contested in the antipodes. Each essay observes contemporary aesthetic and cultural transformations from an antipodean optic by scrutinising the connections (and points of rupture) between global/local flows, while looking

at the roles that national and regional institutions play in the production of locally meaningful narratives. Each offer a critical engagement, analysing the roles museums play in highly politicised dynamic and changing contexts. Not only do these essays reflect emerging theoretical and political positions on museological practices, they offer new insight into the production and analysis of museums in the antipodes that will surely have resonances for the evaluation of cultural developments elsewhere.

Acknowledgements

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Writing Public Space: Design, Philosophy, Art

Paul Carter

Abstract

Among the factors explaining the emotional poverty of contemporary urban spaces is the dissociation of those who think, design and adorn them. Using his experience in designing high profile public artworks in Australia, notably *Relay* (Homebush Bay, Sydney, 2000 Olympics), *Nearamnew* (Federation Square, Melbourne) and *Solution* (Docklands, Melbourne), Paul Carter argues that a new dialogue between designers, philosophers and artists is urgently needed. The basis of this dialogue will be an expanded notion of graphicality, a new engagement with the discursive character of public space, and the evolution of post-representationalist art practices that make surface the psychic violence and cultural waste involved in the provision of new functionally-defined "places". This paper traverses a number of projects: *Relay* (1998-2000), *Nearamnew* (1998-2003), *Solution* (2002), *Save the Wall* (2004-) *Golden Grove* (2004-)

Writing Public Space

Public spaces emerge in mysterious ways. This is especially true of those large-scale civic, ceremonial and institutional spaces whose functionality cannot be simply defined. Functionality here is not an aesthetic or sociological category: it is notable that private development is allowed entirely to sidestep questions of environmental (let alone psychic) utility. It refers to the political efficacy of the proposed new space or structure. To what extent does a new stadium, square, park or other signifier of urbanity satisfy the interests of a political culture whose agenda is never quite articulated – partly because the discourse of public space is attenuated, fragmented, and, under the present conditions of democratic life, utopian. The chief external symptom of this discursive vulnerability is the tendency (ably assisted by the media) to narrate, defend and promote these redesigns of the public domain symbolically. This explains the disproportionate attention that the public art associated with these developments draws to

itself. As the symbolic value – the yield in terms of political prestige, social cohesion and improved land values – of stadia, bourgeoisified docklands or brightly-appointed public spaces is hard to measure, public art serves as a symbolic lightning conductor, the point where diverse, energetic, and hard to contain political differences meet and are discharged, often quite destructively.

One of the difficulties in discussing public space is the matter of definition. What would a non-symbolic description of public space look like, one that supposed it produced, rather than represented, something? Rosalind Deutsche's argument – that it is a symbolically content-free index of the vigour of democratic life – is attractive, but, unless it outlaws planning entirely, it throws little light on the poetics and politics of place-making (Deutsche, 1996, pp. 269-332. See also Carter, 2002, pp. 180-85). Public space is, both historically and operationally, a political concept, but it is too precious to leave to politicians. In Deutsche's analysis freedom of speech sounds dangerously like the play of the free-market economy, and it is unclear who monitors the incipient privatisation of the right to articulate in public the look of a differently-constituted society. In terms of content, historically-founded characterisations of public space fare little better. The tendency has been to place certain famous urban experiments (Pericles' Athens, Lorenzo's Florence or Jefferson's America) within a genealogy of potentially democratic places whose latest expression is the globalised landscape of the internet. This sidesteps the fact that the imagined public spaces of governments, media and their democratic constituencies, and the discourse about them, remains lineally descended from the conceptual terms and operational practices associated with such names as Holbrecht, Wagner and Le Corbusier. Imagined public space has expanded geographically and leapt from earth to heaven: stars, sunlight, cloud pattern, oceanic currents, brutalised rain-forests, and their exploited human and natural resources, are now topics in a globalised public-space discourse. Considered in terms of their potential role in securing a better life for all, they are the ameliorative argot of educated democrats everywhere.

One consequence of living in Australia is a heightened awareness that public space has a third genealogy, one indicated by Aboriginal scholar Marcia Langton. When whitefellas suggest that Land Rights claims

constitute "special pleading" out of place in a democratic society – we do not have "native title" – Langton likes to reply, "But you did, back in the UK before it was extinguished" (Pers. comm). A parallel exists between the pre-Enclosure English Commons and the system of land tenure in pre-invasion Aboriginal Australia. The parallel is not simply structural but is based on similar conceptions of social relations. The techniques of mapping, subdivision and alienation used to "close" up the land in Australia were those used to enclose the English countryside in the interests of individual property rights and profit. Lost in translation is any notion of property as a social relation. Discourse about the ancient Commons is frequently so suffused with a kind of William Morris nostalgia for organic society, that the point of contemporary significance is lost: the "Commons", like the land in Aboriginal society, was not a territory held in common but the *form* that a culture's self organisation took. It was a collective mental place, the discursive domain in which social, political and economic relations made sense. Founded in mythic associations, it was a multiple topos whose constitution, maintenance and renewal were poetic.

In terms of writing, or re-writing public space, it is this third conception of the public sphere that interests me. Deutsche's argument – that public space is a "phantom", a product of a form of society, "where meaning continuously appears and continuously fades" (Deutsche, 1996, p. 324) and to be afraid of the phantom, to wánt to invent a "lost public sphere ... where private individuals gather and, from the point of view of reason, seek to know the world objectively" (Deutsche, 1996, p. 326), is to be guilty of a kind of ideological agoraphobia – disregards the historical enclosure acts that have made "public space" a far from neutral, ideologically-inflected concept. The same criticism can be made of the description that places contemporary public space in a line of descent from the Greek agora: the invisibility within it of women, slaves and the implicit clearing away of obstacles outside it (environments, cultures) is too obvious to require further detailing. The third conception – public space as the performative locus of constantly renewed, but always changing social relations – mediates between these. It recognises that Deutsche's public sphere easily merges into Jean-Francois Lyotard's "megalopolis" where no-one "lives", he says, and which "does not permit writing, inscribing" (Lyotard, 1991, p.202).

It follows that public space, *Öffentlichkeit*, in these conditions, stops being the space for experiencing, testing and affirming the state of a mind open to the event, and in which the mind seeks to elaborate an idea of that state itself, especially under the sign of the "new". Public space today is transformed into a market of cultural commodities, in which "the new" has become an additional source of surplus-value. (Lyotard, 1991, p.202).

It also recognises that the idealised conception of public space with its respect for "diversity, pluralism, *difference*" (Marquand, 2004, p.141), achieved by way of an "accountability through Voice" fails to deliver "common places" because it fails to ask: what kind of Voice? If, as David Marquand argues, "Differences need protection. Pressures for centralisation are omnipresent; and they have been enhanced, not weakened, by the communications revolution" (2004, p.141), then the difference of the "Voice" of those differences needs advocacy. In theory, this difference was originally forged in the Greek agora – that is why the discourse of that public space is called allegory, or other speak. But allegory has long been banished from the Plain Speak of public life (Carter, 2005a, pp. 240-65). If "other speak" is to find a place now it will be in what, in *Repressed Spaces*, I called "the other 'other places'" of modern life (Carter, 2002, p.162). These are not to be imagined outside the presently constituted public sphere and its local, regional and global spatialisations but inside them, taking the form of "inscriptions" in Lyotard's sense, performative traces that conform somewhat to Deutsche's desideratum, continuously appearing and continuously fading, but nevertheless creating over time "a sense of place". Such a conception recalls Jean-Luc Nancy's notion that community (and the chora) are to be understood performatively – as time taking place, as happening (rather than events). This means abandoning representations of community. Instead, community has continually to be imagined – brought – into being: "At the heart of things we are hardly ever together. It is not a question of being present to ourselves. It is always a matter of coming-together, clearly, of deciding to say 'we, now'" (Nancy quoted in Wurzer, 1997, p.97).

Still, these meetings have to be posed and placed, comings together choreographed to some degree. And, to this degree, the public space that incubates them is *graphically* produced. It is not simply that public space

is protectively outlined so as to secure an empty stage where the public can live theatrically: the drawing of lines, and the writing of social relations, produce the place of meeting because both are discursive in nature. Thomas de Quincey gives a visionary description of the way in which the ephemeral traces of passage I am evoking here can, through a mysterious localisation in the collective imaginary, become a site of imagined community. Maintaining that all "reasoning [...] carried on discursively is 'mediate'" – "that is, *discurrendo,* – by running about to the right and the left, laying the separate notices together, and thence mediately deriving some third apprehension", he likened it to the tracks that trading vessels leave in the sea – "so many thousands of captains, commodores, admirals [...] eternally running up and down it, and scoring lines upon its face." If these ephemeral traces could be preserved, the weave of them would yield a pattern, and, "in some of the main "streets" and "squares" (as one might call them) their tracks would blend into one undistinguishable blot" (de Quincey, n.d., p.131). In de Quincey's thought experiment, the two meanings of the Greek word *graphein* – to draw and to write – are both invoked: discourse, materialised in the to and fro of coming-together, is at once the means of drawing people together and of inscribing their subjectivities into the fleeting, constantly changing face of the chora.

In this case, the phrase "writing public space" has secreted within it a radical proposition – public space originates as writing. Writing understood in the Greek sense is the act of drawing the line that makes the difference. It is cognate with the Roman practice of demarcating the bounds of the urbs with a furrow. The evolution of writing technologies has consistently tended towards the de-materialisation of the calligraphic line. Similarly, urban design and documentation techniques have progressively divested the line of its materiality. In both cases, dematerialisation has aided the generalisation of concepts. The modern line, as Claudia Brodsky-Lacour skillfully shows, is a design. It is a line of thought. It does not copy or produce an image. It draws out a thought. In this sense an architectural design is not a symbolic representation, but a method of thinking. It is, indeed, the "writing" which discourse draws out. As she writes of Descartes' "architectonic line", it "is a specifically one-dimensional construct without plastic reality. It does not illustrate the forms of nature, but [] translates

thought onto an empty surface. It reiterates nothing and represents no pre-existing process, but commits an unprecedented form to being. Rather than develop inevitably from a given material core, *it is drawn*" (Brodsky-Lacour, 1996, p.7). Here, then, an enriched graphic practice is invited. Lyotard's megalopolis, which does not permit writing, is a logical outcome of Descartes' design. Its smooth surfaces forbid the plastic practice of drawing a line: as thought is dematerialised, so are the surfaces of the city. Instead of providing writing surfaces, they prefigure the effacement of the trace. Instead of incubating undistinguishable blots, they aim to remain empty, unoccupied, unscratched.

In this amnesiac context the nocturnal traces of the graffiti artist represent a return of the repressed democratic impulse to mark and be marked. Nor is this psychoanalytic language out of place. In Greek mythopoetic thinking, the demiurge or public worker – the one who opens up the chora, making a place available for change, exchange, indeed intercourse of every kind – is identified with Eros – to attribute the desire to write and rewrite public space to an erotic impulse is not far-fetched. The act of writing public space involves an enriched conception of graphicality, in which the act of drawing is reconnected to notions of education, or leading out – to philosophy as such. A rematerialised conception of drawing and writing endows these techniques with social and political significance. Articulating the erotic formation of public space, it rejoins them to democratic process – as Horkheimer and Adorno reminded us, "[i]f fear and destructiveness are the major emotional sources of fascism, eros belongs mainly to democracy" (quoted in Burch, 2000, p.175). When someone spraycans, "I need my own history", the impulse is not narcissistic. It is embodied in an act of public inscription that invites the passer-by to remember what has happened at that spot. The accumulation of these tags is a design on the design, asserting the reiterative, performative character of inhabiting a place discounted when public space is conceived in terms of lines that reiterate nothing. The effect of even one tag, disturbing the smoothness of the surface, is to remind us that in the megalopolis preserving the veneer of reason depends on repeatedly cleaning off the traces of presence, in this way subverting the emergence of an undistinguishable blot.

Design, Philosophy, Art

To define the writing of public space in this way gives back to design its philosophical aspect, its value as a way of knowing the world. The Cartesian line was only one line of thought. Following Brodsky-Lacour's argument, other ways of drawing lines ought to produce other kinds of logic – other ways of representing the relation between bodies. The undistinguishable blot is not a destination that can be marked on the map, but its scribble can represent a process of rhythmic, spatio-temporal concentration of immediate practical value, not least to traffic engineers. Cartesian geometry, as we know, seeks to unify and codify the folded spatio-temporal terrain of subjectively-apprehended relations. By contrast, the blot privileges impressions, in more sense than one. Oddly, Descartes captured the character of these impressions somewhere in a letter to Antoine Arnauld where he pointed out that unevennesses in the ground could still count as tracks even if they were not recognisably shaped like the human foot (Descartes, 1970, p. 234)`. This distinction seems to acknowledge that when stamping (whether of feet or of typeface) is considered materially, then the matrix not only retains impressions but in some ways writes back. The depth of the stamp counts, but so does its repetition, the multiple of prints partially canceling one another out; and this multiple, constituting a new pattern, is unthinkable without the active receptiveness of the matrix.

Lacoue-Labarthe argues that this is to be taken literally – human character can be likened to the "prescribed" shape of a character, a letter or piece of type. Just as the materiality of the letter is ignored in its reading, so with rationalised accounts of human relations – including the discourse of public space design – they ignore what he calls "the unconscious as a system of traces, marks, imprints." George Herbert advised his Country Parson not to look at the back of his letters, but to concentrate instead on their spiritual import: my proposition, both philosophically and as an artist, is to reverse this advice. Lacoue-Labarthe suggests that the "form" of letters evokes a quality he calls rhuthmos – "form at the moment it is taken by what is in movement, mobile, fluid" (Lacoue-Labarthe, 1989, p.200). But to read this it is necessary to take account not only of the distribution of letters but of their depths. The reader who wants to get on the trail of what is registered there needs to be a tracker. The tracker, unlike the

transcendental reader (or the practitioner who uses dimensionless lines to represent reality), is interested in the nearness of objects in time and space; and s/he is located within an undistinguishable blot of comings and goings. As Hannah Nyala remarks, "as we track, we too are being tracked" (Nyala, 1997, p.3).

Evidently, a public artist who has reached these conclusions about the writing (and reading) of public space will be dissatisfied with the present role assigned to public art. Broadly speaking, the inception, organisation and realisation of large infrastructure projects involving taxpayers' money embody notions of financial management, material procurement, resource deployment and measurable outcome whose method goes back by way of Jeremy Bentham's Utilitarianism to the scientific method associated with the names of Bacon, Descartes and Newton. The fundamental assumption within this governmental-administrative culture is that the field of operation is a tabula rasa whose character must be built up from scratch: the method of organising this is the dimensionless line of reason – and, as that "line" is, as we have seen, a theory of design as well as a mode of discourse, it is not surprising that the place to be made is from the beginning conceived in architectonic terms. In this environment of what Donald Levine calls "univocal communication" (Levine, 1985, 2ff) there is no room – no need – to protect the other Voices, the undistinguishable blot of comings and goings that contradict the operational assumption that the space is a blank. From the perspective of outcome-driven utility, that larger community of differences – the motive-force of democratic life, is an obstacle to progress that must be weeded out.

If, as I said, public art associated with large-scale public space design initiatives attracts undue media criticism and public scrutiny, it is because, in terms of the organisation of the project, and the definition of priorities, it is last in and first out. Like the design of the landscape, with which it is often associated, public art is in these highly-politicised contexts, often cast in an apologetic role. The justification for erasing the pre-existent site-inscription is that the new assemblage of smooth surfaces and places provides a better environment for public writing: the role of public art is to demonstrate this. This explains why public artists are expected to communicate a redemptive message, one that asserts the importance of an

institutional practice, a place, a social heritage, or an historic event, which it is in the interests of the commissioning party to strengthen or commemorate. Their work, along with that of the landscape designer, is expected to give meaning to an eidetically, kinetically and haptically depleted lineally-designed, managed and produced environment. But the idea that symbolic forms can satisfactorily induce these kinaesthetic modes of being is mistaken. The effect of the stand-alone artwork is to petrify the erotic impulse. The only way to incubate fantasies of attraction and exchange in these places is to avoid the Medusa's stare of the publicly-funded tubular knots, and other magnified and monumentally-rendered minutiae of everyday life, whose effect, if encountered, is instantly to transform the meeting place nested invisibly inside public space into a museum of disappointed hopes.

These were challenges confronted in making *Relay*, a Sydney Olympic Co-ordination Authority public art commission, installed in 1999. The apologetic function of the work was evident in the brief, which called for a text-based public artwork that would "celebrate the meaning of the Olympics to Australians". In other words, an overtly symbolic work was sought which, in the wake of the construction of the new sports facilities, would glorify and justify the massive investment of public funds in what, after all, was likely to prove a fiscally most unsound venture. We were, in a sense, to inscribe the site in advance with a meaning, ironically, to preserve and promote the smoothness of its surfaces by inscribing them at the outset with evidences of long-held affection. There was also an historical erasure closer to home that our words seemed likely to conceal: our site was called Fig Tree Grove, an arcadian coinage that disguised the fact that the four tiers of stone bleachers and wedges of water designed by Hargreaves Associates excavated, occupied and buried the site of the former Homebush metropolitan abattoir. Some of the fig trees that shaded cattle queuing for slaughter now dappled our letters and filtered the sun beating down on melanoma-prone bodies.

In this context the public artwork *Relay* (1999) was conceived as an unwriting of the site, as an unravelling of accreted assumptions about its legibility – and about the act of reading generally. The twenty-four lines of poetic text sandblasted into the vertical faces of the granite bleachers were

intended to induce a kinaesthetic response. They relayed the first and last letters of words, reviving a *scriptio continua* style of public inscription originally associated with acts of reading aloud at that place. They subverted the epitaphic associations of the monumental stonemason's upper case font, using a carnivalesque six colour palette. The scale of the letters, and the paratactic grammar of the inscriptions, obliged readers to be walkers. The tiers were inverted stadia, in which the spectators ran the race around the perimeter of an arena composed of solid letters. The object of these devices was to invest with a quality of *rhuthmos*, something Lacoue-Labarthe says "between beat and figure that never fails to designate mysteriously the 'ethical'." *Relay* served an ethical purpose if it materialised the act of reading as a ritual of walking and remembering at that place. The physical qualities of the artwork expressed the poetic message of the work. *Relay* defined the meaning of the Olympics to Australians not in terms of stand-alone patriotic achievements but through the evocation of the ethical import of the athlete's *rhuthmos*. As one passage prays, "BEATHLETESTOURWANDERINGEYE STAYTIMEDANCESPACEOGRAINSTANTSTARTHEIREVERLASTIN GRACE". And *Relay* advanced a further proposition: that the athletes' own writing (their signatures and monograms) contained within it a non-linear design on the ground that embodied a rhythmic conception of place, placing and the orchestration of "coming together" occasionally and ecstatically. As I wrote then, "it was striking that the athletes seemed to draw designs appropriate to the element in which they operated. The swimmers produced amphibious imagery, while the jumpers and sailors favoured cloud patterns. The runners, pre-eminently Betty Cuthbert, scored the earth with visionary lines in which time first stretched out, then coiled up under the resistless pace of her nearing feet."

The idea of scoring the earth with visionary lines recalls de Quincey's physical image of discourse as a running about to the right and the left, the trace of this activity "mediately deriving some third apprehension." I can't help feeling that there is a connection between his "third apprehension" and the "third genealogy" of public space I described earlier on. In both the concept of "writing public space" is understood in a strong sense. Philosophy, the gymnastic of enquiry, is a design on communication: it patterns exchanges into a form that might resemble the time-trace of a

ball's trajectory as it is propelled back-and-forth between players. Design, on the same argument, is not simply a design on place but involves a philosophy of placing, a notion of well-being expressed in terms of pose, passage and the multiplication of these in the undistinguishable blot of public life. Design of this kind represents a philosophy of public life. The implication of this is that the tools of design, like the tools of writing, are understood materially, not as dimensionless outlines but as local impressions – not as prescriptions for building but as inscriptions of potential meeting.

Solution (2002), a public space strategy I developed at Melbourne's Docklands for the property developer Lend Lease was conceived in these terms. While *Relay* incised its forms into landscape architecture, accepting this matrix as given, *Solution* suggested that the matrix was all potentially writing, and the marks made in the surface, while illegible as prescriptions for built forms, implied the emergence of forms in-between them. The ground pattern, or "global template", was the first sketch of a site conceived as the stable trace of many movement histories. The pattern involves the reinvention and transposition of two movement forms meeting at that place. One is a composite of unbuilt harbour plans and developments, a palimpsest of unrealised ground figures. The other comprises a series of rotation figures derived from the apparent annual motion of certain locally-symbolic stars. Neither movement form, even less the interference pattern resulting from their intersection, figures forth a "history". They materialise certain lines and ideal proportions *as traces*. They inscribe a tradition of passage, and in this sense the linearism of the design is a kind of conceptual pun.

The ideology of "transparency", in which designers treat sites as blank sheets on which they draw their free imaginings, encourages a graphic literalism. Lines may be ideal projections but, in the context of a plan, they are read as outlines of *a future something*. Tracks, and the "lines" that represent tracks, cannot be interpreted in this way. The character of their materialisation remains undecided. Within placist ideology, they may be marked as a negative impression. If marked positively, the inscription may be dispersed, plural and unpredictable. Tracking, Rodolphe Gasché points out, draws differently, sometimes over and across itself. Its discourse is composed of potential crossroads, *"always already* and *always not yet"* (Gasché, 1999, p. 267). The interrupted double line of the track is both a

way of drawing places, and a way of thinking about them. "The chiasm is one of the earliest forms of thought: it allows the drawing apart and bringing together of opposite functions or terms and entwines them within an identity of movements" (Gasché, 1999, p. 273). Its rhetorical counterpart is the riddle. In Greek, the riddle takes its name from a kind of fish net – "the riddle is braided in the same way as a fishnet, [] through intertwinement of opposite terms" (Gasché, 1999, p. 369, note 34). Rather than prescribe the outlines of buildings, "Solution" indicates a multiplicity of possible meeting places.

In relation to the client's demand for a design in which different functions are clearly prescribed, it may be said to set the exchange rates, marking points of cross-over, gathering and leaving between different, but adjacent zones. The physical expression of this movement form may be fixed – in the hard form of differentiated material treatments and the localisation of various functional objects, but these placements will be seen under the aegis of migration, as traces of time. In this sense their inscriptive practice will be embodied in the unpredictable acts of grouping they choreograph. Without origin, the reinventions of a past that by definition remains futural, these groupings would faithfully capture the sailors, the trader's – migrant's – constitutional experience of coming from elsewhere: "A successful grouping is chiasmatic, like the agora. It is poised between growing more dense or diffusing. In this moment of accidentally achieved balance, a maximum ambiguity obtains. The space between figures is flirtatiously charged. A surplus of possible paths of propinquity opens up" (Carter, 2002, p. 199).

In a more recent work, *Golden Grove*, a public artwork being developed with Melbourne-based landscape architects for the public domain of the University of Sydney, I have tried to give the conceptual *rhuthmos* such a ground pattern indicates an eidetic registration sufficiently intimate to impinge on the spatial behaviour of those using the place. Franz Kafka once observed, in relation to the gigantism of modern urban spaces, "[i]f one builds such large spaces only out of arrogance, why not also build a stone railing that could lead through the square?" (Salfellner, 1998, p.76. For discussion of this, see Carter, 2002, pp. 76-80). I take this as an insight into the fact that modern public space design produces places that are

pathless. To cross them the sensitive walkers need to construct a path of their own. The fact that the path should take the form of a wall is a symptom of the conflict such spaces create between an instinctual desire of "propinquity" and a fear of self-loss in the presence of another. Paths must be materialised as traces of all the potential passages they might hold – linear blots or radiating fronts. Then the distance which the linearly-conceived road or thoroughfare pretends to reduce (but in reality opens up) turns out to be a form of potential nearness; and this flash, this breakthrough towards sociality, instead of inducing a neurotic tendency to rush across the empty space, produces a desire to defer meeting, to choreograph the approach. It is the double movement – towards but always around – that *Golden Grove* essays, and which Robert Smithson articulates in his famous description of making *Spiral Jetty*: "I took my chances on a perilous path, along which my footsteps zigzagged, resembling a spiral lightning bolt" (Smithson, 1993, p.323).

Nearamnew (2003) at Federation Square, Melbourne, a public artwork realised in collaboration with Lab architecture studio, and constructed within the landscape designed by Karres en Brands, also features a ground pattern. The purpose of this is explained in *Mythform* in now familiar terms. Glossing the phrases sandblasted into the surface – THIS IS MY COUNTRY DO NOT FEAR THESE GHOSTS ARE TREES THEIR SHADOWS BREATH COME OVER DANCE WHICH WAY SHALL I WALK YOU MAKE IT UP – I comment, "[t]he idea is that by walking the place in the proper way you take part in a ritual that brings it to life. This is one function of the global whorl pattern – to create lines of force that 'induce' a current in the people visiting Federation Square such that they gather and dissipate according to its pattern". But the movement is not "free" or aesthetically-determined. (For this passage and its expanded discussion, see Carter, 2005b, pp. 2-8.) To walk these tracks is to revive certain memories – certain patterns of social and environmental organisation at this place that colonisation has respectively eliminated or enclosed – hence the "ghosts" and "shadows". The pattern engages with the *discursive* constitution of the place – with the fact that Federation Square not only commemorates a political milestone in the evolution of the Australian state but is a site where democratic questioning is supposed to be reinvigorated or, at least, not side-lined. In

this sense *Nearamnew* embodies an aspiration of the architects who, espousing what they called post-linear design techniques, rejected economically linear, stand-alone building envelopes in favour of "assemblages". *Nearamnew's* textures and fields of lines produced out of redundancy, superfluity, and excess are related to Lab's own advocacy of "architectural lines [that are] increasingly multitudinous and excessive"; and both a graphic analogue of the "redundancies, overlap, disproportions, inconsistent distribution of powers" which, writes Frenkel, characterise federal systems (Carter, 2005b, p.13).

I hope, though, that the ethical function of *Nearamnew* is not too earnestly exposed or prescribed. Much of the work's inspiration was material. It was the character of the Kimberley sandstone, the chromatic calligraphy of its "marble cake" structure – nature's writing – that mediated the political pretensions of the work. American political scientist Morton Grodzin had compared the distribution of powers in a federal system of government to a cut through a marble cake (Carter, 2005b, p.11). The eventual interflow of zones in the global whorl pattern – and indeed the "federal" organisation of the work into global, regional and local components that implicated one another – did imitate federalism's discourses, but only because the material allowed it. It is out of this genial matrix that a federally-informed, performative public space might unwind. Referring to the executive and legislative "sub-system 'wholes'" within the federal system, political scientist Ralph Chapman comments that "[t]he actors are continuously involved in mutual transfers creating thereby an additional set of structures and processes, extra-constitutional and, in many cases, extra-parliamentary" (Carter, 2005b, p.14). So, it is to be hoped, with the associations formed at Federation Square. The function of the public artwork is to supply the unconscious ground of meetings that, while they must remain unpredictable, contribute to the reinscription of the undistinguishable blot of democratic sociality.

Parasites

The account I have given of *Relay, Golden Grove* and *Nearamnew* might suggest that they are not "public artworks" in any conventional sense. They should be classified, like *Solution*, as parasites on landscape design. Even

though they were commissioned as public art, I have no objection to this objection – not because of any disrespect for the artists who *have* managed to occupy our large public spaces with symbolic forms, but because, as must be clear, I am interested in dissolving, or perhaps diffusing, the category of art called "public". The diffusion I have in mind relates not only to the space occupied or to the integration of the design into the programming of the place. It refers to a desire to overcome the "last in, first out" stereotype of public art. In my view, as a form of "value-added design", a public art emancipated from models of art and artistic production borrowed from the museum and the gallery should be part of the discursive environment out of which public space projects spring. Public artists should not be asked to respond to a brief whose parameters have already been established architecturally. Nor should they be expected to produce objects that act like screen memories, deflecting the public from the actual destruction the new facades have entailed. The function of public art might be instead to dissolve the figure-ground distinction that continues to characterise public space design even when internally it contests that distinction. *Nearamnew* may diffuse the artwork into the total built environment, but Federation Square is, within the urban fabric, an island, a figure bounded by a ground of streets on the edge of whose grid it stands safely insulated.

The kinds of design I have talked about are constitutionally weak. They diffuse as much as concentrate. They are dependent patterns – hardly objects at all. They presuppose the other of performance. At the same time their weakness is hardly passive. It is intended to be active and educational – in the primary, choreographic sense of encouraging a "leading-out". The arrangement of aphoristic phrases sandblasted into *Nearamnew* or *Relay* or stenciled into *Golden Grove* is envisaged rather archaically, as a multiply-voiced dedication mediating a new contract between the place and those who occupy it. It is based on remembering the undistinguishable blot of histories that constitute the heterogeneous character of the place. While the object of these stone arrangements is to secrete the words in a way that is enigmatic, and conducive to repeated exploration, reconfiguration and interpretation, it is obvious that the stories themselves have educational value in a more conventional sense. Indeed, it is unclear why a public art program would commission a work about the meaning of the Olympics to

Australians, if it did not intend to communicate the results to "the people". Lend Lease was at least as interested in the heritage of stories that *Solution* refigured as they were in the provision of a design template for the production of a multiplicity of meeting places.

My experience has been that the educational potential of these works fails to be realised unless the commissioning body undertakes to promote it. However, these bodies are generally governed by the stand-alone orthodoxy. They are dissolved on delivery of the project, and the projects themselves languish for lack of care. I recently suggested that this waste of opportunity could be avoided if the public art brief was raised in association with a cultural institution. This is not appropriate for every kind of public space intervention, but it would make sense for a museum, an art gallery, a well-established festival or even a university to stand *in loco parentis* to work whose materialisation of the past in memorable forms is so akin to the kinds of cultural production they already curate. The experience I have had at Federation Square, in which the National Gallery of Victoria has "adopted" *Nearamnew*, treating it as a kind of "third apprehension", mediating between the symbolic discourse of objects housed and arranged within the gallery and the physical discourse of bodies *discurrendo* here and there on the plaza outside, suggests something more – a new role for the contemporary museum or comparable cultural institutions: not simply the sponsorship of collections of art outside their own doors, but the development of a concept of "care at a distance". This new function would be timely: now museums and galleries can no longer carry on as their 19th century predecessors did, collecting wherever and whatever they want, they find they have to develop increasingly sophisticated powers of *recollection*, skills in replacing the items in their collection back in the contexts from which they were wrested and which gave them their symbolic currency. Indigenous calls to repatriate culturally-sensitive material are a reminder of the sullied origins of our museum holdings. They are also a challenge to develop techniques of remembering that meet the ethical challenge represented by the repatriation lobby.

It's not a good idea to introduce new material in the final section of an essay, but to explain what I foresee, let me just add the following information about the global whorl pattern in Federation Square. One source for it is a

detail of an indigenous bark etching collected about 300 kilometres north of Melbourne near Lake Tyrrell in the 1860s – in fact, this remarkably post-linearist motif is said to be a representation of the lake. Inscribed into the square is the trace of another place, the recollection of an environment (and a graphic tradition of spatial representation) that our Cartesian coordinates of time and space would normally regard as unrelated to the Federation Square. I won't take up time here explaining the many other mythopoetic filaments that join this etching to our design. My point is only that, in undertaking to promote the educational program of *Nearamnew*, the National Gallery of Victoria would be, in effect, assuming a duty of care to a landscape (and a cultural heritage) that is not on its doorstep but geographically distant (Carter, 2005c, p. 173,188). Whether this evolution from collection to recollection will occur, and a new generation of cultural institutions emerge, defining its charter globally, as a responsibility to environments and cultures at a distance, remains to be seen. It is an intriguing prospect – the strange involutions performed by the public treading/reading the ground would be a kind of "honey dance", conveying information about places geographically-distant but inscribed emotionally, ethically and poetically into our public space.

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"Ko to ringa ki nga rakau a te Pakeha": Virtual Taonga, Maori, and Museums

Deidre Brown

Abstract

This paper is concerned with the application of digital imaging media, with a particular focus on three-dimensional augmented reality (AR) and virtual reality (VR), for the preservation and promotion of Maori culture in museum contexts. Digital technologies offer tremendous opportunities for indigenous people to recover, record and enhance their cultural heritage. Maori themselves are makers and participants in this process, creating objects, people and environments in virtual reality. These virtual taonga (treasures) challenge standard collection management procedures, and this paper suggests models from Maori custom, architecture, law and pertinent museum practises, as possible solutions.

Introduction

Digital technologies offer tremendous opportunities for indigenous people to recover, record and enhance their cultural heritage. Maori themselves are makers and participants in this process and the destination for their work has primarily been museums. For some time, Maori have been using new tools to record and archive their culture for the benefit of succeeding generations. For example, the aural arts of whaikorero (formal oratory), waiata (singing) and moteatea (poetic expression) were recorded on dictaphone cylinders, between 1919 and 1923 by the Dominion Museum, and acetate-coated aluminium discs in 1938 by the New Zealand Broadcasting Service, on the instruction of the parliamentarian and ethnologist Sir Apirana Ngata (McLean, 1996, p. 340). He believed that the voices of kaumatua (elders), their oral memory and their pronunciation needed to be archived. Even earlier, between 1859 and 1861, three hui (congresses) were held in the Wairarapa region at which Ngati Kahungunu tribal kaumatua and tohunga (experts), concerned about the future of their oral history, wrote down their customary knowledge (see Thornton, 2004).

This paper is concerned with the application of digital imaging media for the preservation and promotion of Maori culture. My particular focus is on three-dimensional augmented reality (AR) and virtual reality (VR) as forms of new media that can create virtual objects, people and environments made from, or based on, real world examples, for playback in three dimensions within our field of vision. In a museum context, this new type of taonga (treasure) – be it an object, person or environment – presents several challenges to the standard processes of production, storage and display. This paper examines virtual taonga made for museum situations as they might be viewed from a Maori perspective, with reference to the historical appropriation of non-indigenous technologies by Maori. It also considers the potential location of digital technologies within a Maori paradigm, and virtual objects, people and environments as a form of Maori cultural expression. I will discuss how a bicultural consultation model might be used in the production of virtual taonga for museums, and comment on how this taonga might be displayed, accessed and stored. While much of this argument rests on the future proposed by pilot projects and likely applications, it also refers to Maori customary knowledge and artistic expression, project management, museology, intellectual property law and practical experience with AR and VR Maori projects.

Key terms used in this paper are:

- *Imaging technologies*: refers to digital renderings of three dimensional objects, people and architectural or natural environments.[1]
- *Virtual reality* (VR): is an immersive digital environment made by either animation or recordings from the real world, or a combination of both.

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1 There have been significant advancements, with museum designers, curators and art academics adapting technologies from other industries, such as medical imaging, car manufacturing and the military, to suit particular projects: the hand held Fastscan three-dimension scanner employed to make "virtual patu" (see below; figs. 1-3) was originally developed as a medical diagnostic tool; a rotating scanner, used by the University of Potsdam to scan Egyptian antiquities, is derived from the automobile industry; and the "Magic Book" (figs. 1 & 2), that allows readers to interact with its characters, was developed from the interface technologies found in fighter pilot helmets.

- *Augmented reality* (AR; also know as mixed reality): is the insertion of three-dimensional virtual images, which can be recorded from the real world or animated, into one's field of vision. Whereas virtual reality creates an entirely virtual field of vision, augmented reality combines elements of the real and virtual worlds (fig. 1).

- *Interface technology*: the most common interface with the electronic world is two-dimensional, through screen, keyboard and mouse. This paper is concerned with three-dimensional interfaces such as head mounted displays (HMDs, or VR glasses, fig. 1) or binocular glasses (like electronic opera glasses), which can offer stereoscopic views of AR or VR worlds, and allow for the possibility of movement around an object, person or environment.[2]

Fig 1 "Virtual Patu", visualised using 'Magic Book' augmented reality technology developed by the Human Interface Technology Laboratory. © HIT Lab (NZ) 2002.

2   Most HMDs and binocular glasses used for AR have a small camera mounted into the frame that relays real time electronic views to television type lenses, a computer processor inserting the virtual elements into the live feed. A tracking device, which may be magnetic, acoustical or optical (for example a mark on the floor), communicates to the interface where the viewer is relative to the virtual images so that the three-dimensional AR elements or VR environments are in the correct position as the viewer moves around them.

Maori appropriation of new media

Historically, new imaging tools and techniques have been most successfully employed by Maori themselves, especially when these new media are used within an appropriate cultural framework and put towards projects that have an immediate application for the community (Brown, 2001). High-technologies are not incompatible with tikanga (Maori custom); indeed there is a long history of new tools enhancing Maori cultural expression. Since the introduction of metal tools by James Cook and his crew in 1769, for example, Maori have been interested in the possibilities offered by new "offshore" technologies, and digital media is no exception. The technologies have been used to support rather than challenge cultural initiatives so that these appropriations are not considered by Maori to be demonstrations of assimilation into western or global cultures. In the same way that customary whakairo rakau (Maori woodcarving) experienced a rapid period of decorative development on the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century East Coast, following the adoption of metal chisels (Neich, 1996, pp. 76-7), Maori art made for museums is currently being reconceptualised and redeveloped with the adoption of electronic technologies.

With this observation in mind, the *Hiko: New energies in Maori art* (1999)[3] and *Techno Maori: Maori art in the digital age* (2001)[4] contemporary Maori art exhibitions sought to identify connections between Maori visual cultural heritage and digital technology. Four trends were noted: first, digitisation pervades the full range of customary and westernised Maori art practices, as subject matter, tools and work management systems; second, even those Maori artists who were not using computers spoke about giving their work a "digitally-inspired" clean and precise finish; third, Maori artists who were completing, or had finished, their schooling at the time of the introduction

3   Held at the Robert McDougall Art Gallery, Christchurch. Curated by Deidre Brown, Jonathan Mane-Wheoki and Felicity Milburn and featuring the work of: Darryn George; Kirsty Gregg; Eugene Hansen; Lonnie Hutchinson; Grace Voller; and Keri Whaitiri.

4   Held at City Gallery Wellington and the Pataka Museum of Art and Culture, Porirua. Curated by Deidre Brown and Jonathan Mane-Wheoki and featuring the work of: Shane Cotton; Darryn George; Oliva Haddon; Eugene Hansen; Dean Hapeta (a.k.a. The Word); Robert Jahnke; Maureen Lander (with John Fairclough); Ngahiraka Mason; Michael Parekowhai; Reuben Paterson; Nathan Pohio; Rachael Rakena; Lisa Reihana; Natalie Robertson; Peter Robinson; and Keri Whaitiri.

of computers to the classroom in the mid-1980s treated digital culture as a subject of wonder, while younger artists regarded it as a tool to convey other concept; and finally, Maori artists see digitisation as a heterogenous, rather than homogenising, process. As noted in the *Techno Maori* CD-ROM catalogue, the work of Maori digital artists:

> challenges the perception that indigenous people can only retain their identity by using primitive technologies. They are not only literate in using the most advanced media to hand, they have also adapted its use to suit their art practices, both customary and Westernised, and historical and contemporary. Most importantly, they have appropriated a global technology to express their own unique concerns, illustrating landscapes in a supposedly flat and featureless electronic domain, depicting their unique identities in an environment purporting sameness, and bringing humanity to media that were thought to be devoid of culture (Brown, 2001, CD-ROM).

A number of Maori artists including Michael Parekowhai, Nathan Pohio, Eugene Hansen, Maree Mills and Lisa Reihana, have sampled filmic western and science fiction cinema to characterise this digital world as a new land ready for colonisation by indigenous people. AR and VR offer another "frontier" for the potential exercise of cultural enhancement.

Digital technologies in a Maori cultural paradigm

Technologies utilised for cultural enhancement have been more than just useful, they have also been incorporated within a greater paradigm that imbues them with value beyond their immediate application, connecting them to origin stories and core Maori values. For new technologies to be seen by Maori to be culturally appropriate in a museum environment they must be located within Maori custom. All Maori arts derive mana (importance) by having origin stories located in the distant ancestral past. For example, the Ngati Porou tribe describes whakairo rakau as a practice obtained for the mortal world by the ancestor Ruatepupuke, who removed poupou (wall posts) from the underwater house of the sea atua (god), Tangaroa (Ellis, 2002, p. 30). Ngati Porou can then recite a sequence of celebrated tohunga whakairo (master carvers) from Ruatepupuke to the

present day, illustrating an unbroken line of carving tradition. Ceramics, by contrast, is an art introduced to Maori by Pakeha (New Zealand Europeans). Nevertheless, contemporary Maori ceramicists recognise the atua Ruamoko, the god of volcanoes, and the primeval mother, Papatuanuku, as the respective providers of fire and clay, and have therefore, retrospectively, created a whakapapa for their art (Tamati-Quennell, 1994, p. 4-5). Ngai Tahu tribal kaumatua, Te Ari Brennan, has identified the Maori Creation story as the potential beginning for a whakapapa (genealogy) incorporating digital technologies into a Maori paradigm, imbuing them with mana, and value, from a Maori perspective (Brennan et. al., 2002, n.p).

Although there are many different tribal variations of the Creation story, most describe a staged process from which te ao marama, the contemporary world of light, emerged from a pre-Creation void, known as te kore, that was preceded or could be part of a dark universe.[5] I have elsewhere argued that te kore, described by Maori scholar Ross Calman as "the emerging of thought and sentient life from the darkness of … chaos," could be likened to the virtual realm (Brown, 2001, CD-ROM; Calman, 2004, p. 5). Brennan also suggests that the act of emerging from an electronic void is similar to the emergence of te ao marama, created after the separation of Ranginui (the sky father) and Papatuanuku (the earth mother) from their marital embrace (Brennan, pers. comm., 2002). In particular, he sees a parallel between the world of light and the reflected light data recording technologies of AR and VR, and is keenly aware that bringing the first indigenous virtual objects, people, and environments into being, through museum pilot projects requires a connection to the Creation narrative.

Maori regard the world as an animated environment, with every element within it considered alive through a whakapapa that connects it to Creation. The rendered image is similarly regarded as a living presence as both an object and an agent of its subject matter. This is apparent in whare runanga (Maori meeting houses) and museums, where carved and photographic representations of ancestors and the more recently deceased are addressed

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5   This description of the Creation narrative is derived from Ross Calman's extensive research on Maori tribal mythologies and their commonalities. See Calman, 2004, pp. 1-11

as if they were the people portrayed. National policies now expect museums to store and display moving and still images of Maori people, and to lesser extent objects, in a manner that is culturally responsive to Maori perceptions, although there is no universally agreed method by which this is achieved (National Services, n.d., Section 2.8). In an age when simulation is generally judged on its truth to form, AR and VR offer an even more "real" experience, and it is perhaps timely to ask what essential Maori qualities are transferred from an object, person or environment to their digital copy?

In attempting to understand the situation of taonga Maori in museum situations, Paul Tapsell, currently Tumuaki Maori (Director Maori) of Auckland War Memorial Museum, has sought to identify the essential characteristics that animate such treasures: mana; tapu (protected; sacred; prohibited); korero (oratory; narratives); karakia (recitation; incantation), whakapapa (genealogy; systematic framework); wairua (everlasting spirit); mauri (life force; life essence); ihi (spiritual power); wehi (to incite fear and awe); and wana (authority; integrity) (Tapsell, 1997, pp. 326-31). None of these qualities are visual, throwing into doubt the contemporary labelling of many taonga Maori as "visual arts," although ideas of craftsmanship and beauty are inherent in all of them. Using the Maori response to photography as a guide, it could be argued that all of these qualities, except perhaps mauri, can be transferred through digital imaging processes.

In the late nineteenth century, Maori sometimes made reluctant portrait sitters either hiding from the camera or turning their back to it, fearful that their mauri would be taken from them (King, 1991, p. 2). It was eventually realised that photography could effectively replicate the wairua of a person for the benefit of posterity, and from observing the way that photographs are regarded by Maori it becomes apparent that the image is regarded as having its own mauri separate to the life force of its subject. For example, a portrait is venerated as an ancestor, yet, while great care is taken in its material wellbeing, it is not provided with offerings to sustain it as if it were human. New digital technologies, such as AR and VR, can be viewed as the next sequence in a whakapapa of imaging, beginning with the carved form, then photography and, more recently, video. As AR and VR become commonplace they will also be regarded as taonga with their own mauri.

Virtual taonga as cultural expressions

Two AR and VR pilot projects, one completed and the other continuing, have created three-dimensional Maori objects, people and environments.
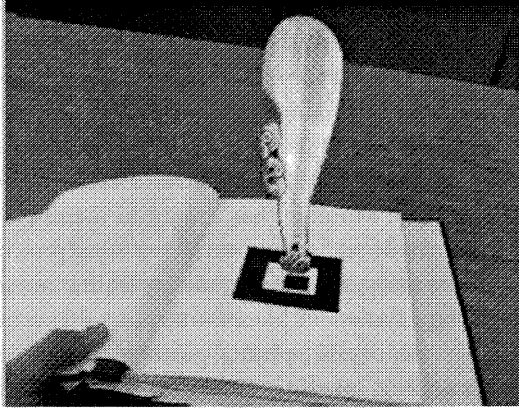

fig 2: "Virtual Patu", visualised using 'Magic Book' augmented reality technology developed by the Human Interface Technology Laboratory. © HIT Lab (NZ) 2002.
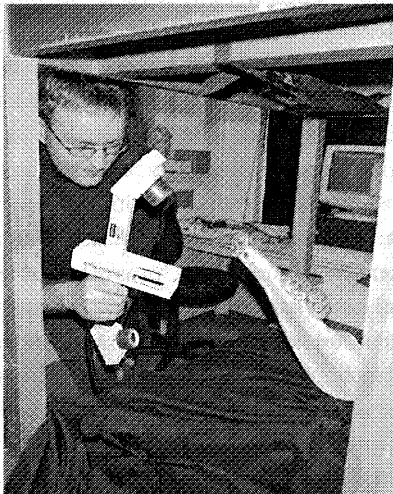
Fig 3: Mark Nixon from ARANZ, Christchurch, contour mapping the Canterbury Museum wahaika in the first stage of creating the 'Virtual Patu". © HIT Lab (NZ) 2002, photography Eric Woods.

Virtual Patu

A virtual whalebone wahaika (cleaver), digitised from an unprovenanced original held in Canterbury Museum, was made in 2002.[6] The ARANZ fast scan hand-held scanner, which triangulates the surfaces of an object using infra-red light, was used to "contour map" the surface form of the wahaika (fig. 3), while digital photographs of the wahaika were electronically applied to the virtual contours as a "texture map".[7] "Virtual Patu" (a generic name for cleaver), as the wahaika is now known, is manifested as an AR object using the Christchurch-based Human Interface Technology Laboratory's "Magic Book" interface format (figs. 1 & 2). In this format, virtual objects appears to spring from the page of a book, and can be viewed from any position by turning the book to any angle or moving around it, although other types of visualisations are possible with the data.

AR and VR are most effective as museum display technologies when they replicate objects, events and scenes that are difficult or impossible to realise or access otherwise, as simulation for the sake of repetition offers no value and incites little interest.[8] In an exhibition context, digitised replicants of unique objects are likely to appeal to a general audience; however VR's greatest contribution will be in the replication of objects for remote study, curatorial work, conservation and repatriation. A substantial number of taonga Maori, over 90,000 objects, are held by Aotearoa New Zealand museums, and of this number almost 70% are in Auckland War Memorial Museum and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Wellington) (O'Regan, 1997, p. 38, 42). Major and minor collections of taonga also exist overseas. Research funding for New Zealanders to travel to these collections

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6   Participants in this project included myself, Eric Woods from the HIT (Human Interface Technology) Laboratory New Zealand, Roger Fyfe from Canterbury Museum and Mark Nixon from ARANZ (Applied Research Associated New Zealand).

7   A number of techniques are currently under development for scanning three-dimensional objects from hand-held to fixed devices, as are scanners that marry the currently separate tasks of contour and texture mapping. It is envisaged that scanning devices will eventually become either simple to operate or so commonplace that collection management staff will be able to digitally replicate objects without the assistance of a technician.

8   This was the general finding of research undertaken by Barbara Garrie into the reception of AR and VR technologies by Canterbury Museum's curatorial, management, interpretative and conservation staff. See Garrie, 2003.

is limited and highly-contested, and an opportunity exists for virtual replicants of museum-held objects to be sent through the post, or even cyberspace, for study.

Curators and curatorial students can also insert virtual objects into digital museum spaces to experiment with different display possibilities, the 1999 Philip Guston exhibition at the Kunstmuseum in Bonn an early example of a virtual prototype realised (Eckel & Beckhaus, 2001, pp. 171-82). When it becomes possible to digitise the physical properties of different materials (a current project in medical VR), experimental conservation practices could be applied to virtual objects in preparation for work on the original. These would augment, and possibly replicate, second-generation conservation techniques that move away from manual intervention towards using bacterial agents, radiological imaging and laser beams. Because scanners only touch the object surfaces with light, VR also offers a less invasive and lower risk alternative to the molding of replicas, which are sometimes made from rare, delicate or highly-valuable museum-held objects. The data can then be used to make a three-dimensional print of the object.

Conservation applications can also be extended so that incomplete objects could be rebuilt virtually, as an educative and display tool. Virtual objects could also assist in repatriation projects, which are sometimes central to the process of reconciliation between indigenous communities and museums. In this scenario, the data may remain in the museum while the original is returned, or a tribal archive of virtual objects could be created.

Te Ahua Hiko

"Te Ahua Hiko" ("The Digital Form") is a pilot project digitising, in three dimensions, real Maori performers, who are then electronically inserted into a Maori animated environment, to be played-back as an AR display in Canterbury Museum.[9] The performance is "data captured", or recorded, within a blue screen room from many angles by a number of cameras, their images digitally "stitched" together using special software to make

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9   Te Ahua Hiko is currently funded by the Ministry of Research Science and Technology and Creative New Zealand "Smash Palace" Fund. The research team is comprised of myself, Dave Brennan (brother of Te Ari) of Kotare Maori Experience, Eric Woods from the HIT Laboratory New Zealand, Rachael Rakena from Massey University. Te Ari Brennan acted as project kaumatua (elder) and performance producer during the project's conception in 2002.

one three-dimensional view. In keeping with his cultural perspective of virtual reality, the project kaumatua, Te Ari Brennan, selected the Maori Creation narrative as the performance concept. His brother David, director of a Maori tourism venture, is producing a performance around this theme to be performed by kapa haka (customary performance) dancers, while the multimedia artist Rachael Rakena is creating a context for the performance that will appear as a virtual environment.

AR and VR using real people has been limited to short demonstrations of people in motion, although the technology is ready for application to performance arts and narrative, and lends itself to playback in informative public display settings like marae (open air forum) and the museum. With these new tools there is the possibility of recording tribal narratives from elders in a way that is more tangible than audio or video, of three-dimensionally visualising Maori arts that have few practitioners, and of demonstrating narrative-based performance for wider audiences. The key advantage of AR and VR is that unlike standard methods of digitisation such as photography and video, three-dimensional imaging technologies maintain the ahua (three dimensional form and physical integrity) of the body. A virtual body can perform on command for an unlimited amount of time, and can be easily and cheaply transported to another site in a way that a real body cannot. While there are many advantages in these possibilities, people who have their bodies digitised will need to demand due recognition so that their virtual bodies are not exploited and so that they do not supplant the use of real Maori performers in institutional or other types of space.

By layering or replacing the real environment, virtual environments offer a challenging alternative to the built world. The challenge is not only physical, but also financial. Virtual environments are more cost effective than real environments, and for indigenous peoples they offer the ability to realise spaces of significance without many of the financial, social, and cultural constraints associated with obtaining sites or buildings. The reconstruction of heritage areas for remote relocation is already possible, and extensive research has been undertaken to improve the production techniques, image and spatial quality, and the accessibility of this type of imaging. In the near future, existing marae spaces could be digitised and packaged as interactive

programmes to instruct tribal members of the architecture, heritage and tikanga (customs) of their cultural landscapes (Pool, 1991, p. 153). Embedded in this concept are issues relating to the significance of a virtual environment that must also become subject to consultation. The introduction to one's tribal marae via a virtual environment may oversimplify and devalue the importance of a personal journey of discovery back to one's turangwaewae (place of origin and standing). Yet it could also be argued that few, if any, people would confuse a virtual environment for that of a real one, and may instead feel more encouraged to visit their tribal sites after they experience them digitally.

Bicultural production of virtual taonga

There are many "architects" when it comes to the production of digital interpretative material, and in the foreseeable future it is unlikely that the producers of virtual taonga will all be of Maori descent. Virtual Patu and Te Ahua Hiko were created by bicultural teams comprised of curators, technical experts, artists and advisors. The museum standards authority, National Services, advocates a bicultural approach to the storage and display of institutionally-held taonga Maori (see *New Zealand Museums Standards*), and it follows that biculturalism should also be an important consideration in the production of virtual taonga. Bicultural consultative and production procedures borrowed from architecture, have been used in the Virtual Patu and Te Ahua Hiko projects. The building industry model is highly-developed, and has evolved through practical engagement on large and often complex institutional projects, such as mental health, corrections, education and museum facilities, which are usually built in accordance with local and central government bicultural charters (Brown, 2005, pp. 100-109). Registered architects are also bound by a professional code of conduct that requires them to balance social responsibility with artistic integrity and client needs (Architects Education and Registration Board, 1998, n.p.), which are also ideal conditions for the production of indigenous cultural expressions made for a museum environment.

In virtual taonga creation, as in architecture, consultation is the most critical part of the production process, and for Te Ahua Hiko the mandate of the local iwi (tribe), Ngai Tahu was sought. Te Ari Brennan was also

appointed as project kaumatua at the inception of the project to not only provide advice as to its cultural framework, but to initially lead the cultural performance element. After consultation, Maori participation is also an important factor for the cultural integrity and "ownership" of the project. Rachael Rakena, responsible for the virtual environment aspects, and David Brennan, performance producer, are both of Ngai Tahu descent, while I am from Ngapuhi, and act as the curatorial and intellectual property advisor. The project leader and AR and VR expert, Eric Woods, is Pakeha, and works in open dialogue with all of the other participants.

The process of creating a taonga is normally accompanied by a kawa, or protocol, which protects the wellbeing of the participants and may affect their actions during the period of production, as well as accompanying and welcoming the new taonga into the world through karakia. Maori carvers and weavers, for example, recite karakia continuously from the moment they harvest their raw materials to the presentation of their final work. Aotearoa New Zealand museums have already made some effort in incorporating kawa (protocol) into the management of their Maori collections. Kawa has been developed for the opening and closing of Maori art exhibitions, from formal powhiri and poroporoaki (ceremonial welcome and conclusion) to whakawatea (blessings) and mihi (greetings). There are many considerations concerning how kawa might be extended into the digital domain. Those protocols related to the opening of a new whare runanga (meeting house), or the ritualised karanga (call) performed during birth, or the karakia recited during ancestral wood carving may all be suitable kawa for ensure the safety of an object, person or environment during replication.

The display of virtual taonga

Bicultural architecture has also produced two distinct aesthetic models, based on functional needs, which offer some interesting possibilities for the future appearance and use of Maori multimedia displays (Brown, 2005, p. 106). The first is an "integrated" approach, in which customary and institutional needs are combined, and often presented using a westernised aesthetic that is informed by Maori cultural concepts. Contemporary Maori art can also be described in these terms. In the case of virtual taonga, this

might mean that a patron may engage with a digitised object using a western style interface, but obtain an insight into matauranga Maori (Maori knowledge) through an engagement that is tailored to their cultural perspectives or languages. The second approach separates customary and institutional needs. In this scenario, while the exhibit might be based in the museum, a cultural briefing may precede an approach to the virtual taonga, which can be activated through a device that is Maori in design, and deliver content that is wholly Maori. While operating differently, both models appear to work just as effectively in architecture, and this may also be the case in future virtual taonga museum projects.

As is already the practise with real objects, museums should also give consideration to the physical and social context of the virtual person, whether in storage or on display, to minimise the potential of whakanoa (to make profane or to violate tapu). Mana is denoted by relative size and physical elevation in customary Maori art (Neich, 1996, p. 91), so scale and viewing angle are critical. Front and side views are more desirable in some performance and visual arts, since back views are associated with whakapohane (a customary insult).

Digital environments offer the possibility of inserting displayed taonga, such as whare whakairo (decorated houses), pataka (storehouses) and waka (sea, lake or river vessels) into AR environments that are more like their original circumstances. Recent literature on museum-held buildings and boats, which were considered essential elements in the "completion" of a Maori collection a century ago, has been critical of their dislocation and consumption within institutional buildings. The reasons for recontextualising these taonga needs to be carefully thought through so that the technology does not seem to be complicit in their continuing removal from their people of origin by suggesting that their place of origin can somehow be simulated within the museum. The most effective digital environments may prove to be those that do not provide scenic heritage backdrops, but instead show a developing history around collected taonga that connects their Maori origins with their institutional present and perhaps even their future, whatever or wherever that may be.

Indigenous digital environments present a new understanding of display space, which is not fixed but capable of transformation, since AR and VR technologies allow existing spaces to be transformed with the electronic insertion of new backgrounds into the visitor's field of vision. Electronic environments are more affordable and flexible than purpose built solutions, and as such offer more interpretative opportunities to museums and galleries with limited budgets, such as Maori-run institutions. The technology has the potential to undermine the business of theatre-inspired museum design, which relies on lighting and optical effects. If the diorama is interpreted as siting on the threshold between photography and three-dimensional still life, then AR and VR could be conceived as the high-technology development of the former, while contemporary museum display design is the logical conclusion of the latter.

A point of discussion that has arisen during the Te Ahua Hiko project is whether a virtual taonga functions as a cultural tourism or aesthetic device in a museum setting. Within the Maori community there exists a tension between tourism "products" and art "objects" when taonga are presented to a wider general audience. Both are made for audience consumption, so what is at issue is not the taonga itself, but the rhetoric, environment and expectations surrounding its display.

Maori cultural tourism has a language heavily inflected with terminology derived from the retail and commercial worlds. We now have a Maori tourism "industry," in which performance and interpretation are described as "products," venues as "market places," and audiences as "consumers" (see Te Puni Kokiri & the Office of Tourism and Sport, 2001). In Aotearoa New Zealand, the Maori tourism industry is an integral part of "front of house" metropolitan and regional museum operations, Maori performers and performance groups sometimes contracted to provide live performances and cultural interpretations for visitors. Indeed, the museum has always been a cultural theatre since, like zoological parks and botanic gardens, they were established initially as entertainment venues and continue to act as such, their roles as forums for public education and scholarly inquiry being more recent functions. Therefore, it seems culturally and institutionally acceptable to discuss virtual taonga as entertainment and information products.

However, virtual taonga can also be conceived of as art objects within a museum environment. The 1984 *Te Maori* exhibition of customary taonga Maori that toured the United States and Aotearoa New Zealand forever shifted the local curatorial perception of taonga from ethnological artefact to that of aestheticised art object (See Mane-Wheoki, 1995). For many Maori, particularly those involved in the visual arts, to describe a taonga Maori as a product is to return it to a non-aestheticised, and potentially kitsch, state, with a consequential loss mana and tapu. Once again, Maori consultation on a case-by-case basis is the recommended method to find a middle ground, as each virtual taonga carries the korero that will determine its most suitable production, storage and display values.

Accessibility and storage of virtual taonga

There are no generally agreed guidelines on the appropriate accessibility and storage of real taonga, only a set of general responses to Maori needs, which may also be the approach required for the treatment of virtual taonga. As with the display of digitised Maori culture, access and storage approaches may vary depending on whether the taonga is an object, person or environment in virtual form.

Online collection databases have already dealt with issues pertaining to the accessibility of two-dimensional Maori images. Metropolitan organisations, such as Auckland Art Gallery, Christchurch Art Gallery and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, display a small number of taonga on their websites, when compared to their total Maori holdings, in response to Maori concerns about unrestricted accessibility to tapu items (see http://collection.aucklandartgallery.govt.nz/index.jsp). Auckland Art Gallery requires online patrons to agree that they will not view their online Maori images if they are in close proximity to food, a noa (free from tapu) element, in an attempt to minimise the possibility of whakanoa (making ordinary). This echoes storage practices at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, where the taonga Maori store is located well away from rooms where food may be prepared or consumed, and ablution facilities. A hand basin is also provided so that people handling taonga Maori can remove transferred tapu before they leave the storage room.

Given that people, unlike objects and environments, have a direct voice, many of the access and storage protocols for virtual people can be determined by liaising with the original participant, and their whanau (extended family) or community, to determine how they would like their virtual body treated. Death is the most tapu state, and many restrictions are placed on institutionally-archived images of deceased Maori. While these restrictions would also relate to digital replicants, there is corporeality associated with three-dimensional virtual bodies, even as data, that two-dimensional portraiture does not seem to possess. The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa does not regard koiwi Maori (Maori human remains) as part of their collections and has established a temporary restricted access repository as the resting place for remains awaiting repatriation to their people and lands of origin (Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, n.d., n.p). But perhaps the difference between koiwi Maori and the virtual bodies of people since deceased is that human remains are in a state of tapu due to a loss of mauri, whereas a digital replicant has its own independent mauri. Somewhere between photographic and koiwi protocols a culturally responsible way to store and display virtual bodies can be found.

Recent international discussions concerning the role of intellectual property law in the protection and promotion of "traditional cultural expressions" may add some interesting legal models that are applicable to the accessibility and distribution of virtual taonga.[10] Cultural properties, which are valuable as originals, are distinguished from intellectual properties, which can be replicated perfectly with each copy being as valuable as the first. A real taonga is therefore a cultural property, while a virtual taonga is an intellectual property, each being subject to different laws and conventions.

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10 The World Intellectual Property Organisation (WIPO) has held nine intergovernmental meetings on "traditional knowledge, cultural expressions and genetic resources", the most recent in April 2006, at which have been discussed the possible extension of intellectual property law to indigenous objects, people and environments. A summary of WIPO's activities in this area can be found at http://www.wipo.int/tk/en/.

Copyright and related, or neighbouring, rights are property laws that have the most application to virtual taonga and their originals. The people who make the original objects, create the original performance involving virtual bodies, or design original virtual environments would be legally defined as the "author"/"creator"/"owner of rights". Through the creative act their work automatically becomes subject to copyright and they can control how it is used from then on. Under the New Zealand Copyright Act 1994, they have "moral rights" and "economic rights". Moral rights allow them to be identified as the author, and protect their work from derogatory treatment, as well as assert their "economic rights" pertaining to the copying of their work, the issuing copies to the public, and public display of the work.[11] For example, the producer of a Maori performance which is performed by virtual people, or the maker of a real Maori object that is digitised as a virtual object, may object to its storage (as data on a physical device) or display in a context associated or adjacent to food or ablution areas because of the dichotomy of tapu and noa. Economic rights allow them to decide whether they use the works, or license to others these uses, or conversely prohibit another person from using them. In this instance, the creator of a real object or performance may prohibit their work from being three-dimensionally digitised, or only license their virtual work for "one-off" displays. A "royalty" can be charged by the creator for licences. In New Zealand, economic rights have a time limitation of fifty years from the end of the calendar year in which the creator dies, while moral rights can be assigned to another person on the death of the creator.

There are many complex copyright issues associated with the creation of a virtual object, performance or environment for public display. The first pertains to underlying copyright, that is the copyright for each element seen or heard in the work. For example, any object, building, or image, and any composed sound, will have its own copyright owner/s. The producer must ascertain whether permission is required to use each of these elements, and if it is, what negotiations are possible and necessary with the copyright

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11 New Zealand is a party to the 1994 TRIPS agreement, 1928 Berne Convention (Rome Act revision), the 1952 Universal Copyright Convention. It is not a member of the 1961 Rome Convention, but is a de facto member of the 1971 Geneva Convention.

owner/s to realise the new work. If copyright is not applicable, as might be the case if a recording used as a soundtrack is more than fifty years old, there may be other permissions or arrangements that the producer wishes to seek as a matter of courtesy or cultural respect.

As a production of component parts, a virtual performance like Te Ahua Hiko would not be considered a single new work with a copyright owned by one person. If the data from the virtual performance is adapted to suit another multimedia format or captured/fixated, a new work is produced which will have its own copyright issues, and if the work is broadcast, for instance through webcasting or television, further copyright considerations associated with communication will also apply. The producer may negotiate for future uses, with the copyright holders of all the constituent parts, in anticipation of the virtual performance's adaptation. A contract can take into account the interests of all the participants, and potentially alter the defaults in the Copyright Act if a different approach is agreed upon, which may be likely when dealing with a taonga that is also subject to cultural considerations.

Related rights belong to people who act as intermediaries or communicators of works, such as performers, who in many instances communicate words and actions that they did not create. Performers have limited rights to control the "exploitation" of their performance if it is being recorded, displayed, broadcast or copied in a way to which they did not consent, and these rights remain for fifty years from the end of the calendar year in which the performance took place (Copyright Council of New Zealand, electronic reference). Performers who have been digitised may demand remuneration for replay, as is the standard for other performance-based activities in theatre, film, television and radio. Often this takes the form of a lump sum payment or a fee for each use of the performance. Participants in AR or VR museum projects would need to carefully consider the relationship between live and recorded performances as part of their remuneration, in the same way that thespians acknowledge the difference between theatre and film. Maori employed as full time performers at museums and heritage sites, correlate the intensity of a performance with the reaction of the audience, hence the "live" aspect of the performance is a

critical consideration financially and artistically. Remuneration should then be set at a level in accordance with film-based acting, and replay possibly restricted to a limited number of locations.

In both the case of copyright and related rights, once the time limit has expired the works are in the public domain and are accessible to all. However, clauses in recording contracts may allow for the return of virtual people, after the original person's death, in the form of their uncompressed and compressed data, to their whanau. These recordings would, almost without doubt, become tapu through their status as taonga and association with the essential qualities of the original person. Regulation of replicants will be most-likely modelled on the types of procedures that are already used to control the publication of archived photographic, video and audio recordings, in which participants, and their whanau, have the final approval on applications for the reproduction of images.

Conclusion: the reception of Maori new media displays

New technologies have begun to influence cultural heritage at a time when museums are beginning to engage with and involve Maori in the management of taonga, and address almost two centuries of appropriation of objects, people (both living and dead) and environments. While some may fear the homogenising effect of global technologies, a number of Maori – including the participants in the projects discussed here – are intrigued by the possibilities and opportunities for cultural preservation and promotion offered by these new media. History illustrates that Maori have always demonstrated an interest in imported technologies, using them as tools for cultural enhancement, rather than assimilation, and appropriating them into a validating ancestral context. Pilot projects, involving the creation of virtual Maori objects, people and environments, have variously used bicultural production processes, modelled on those used in other industries, and are cautiously negotiating issues regarding the definition of virtual taonga as "art" or "product" in a museum context. Discussion concerning how these new media treasures might be institutionally stored, accessed and displayed, is increasing as AR and VR technologies becomes more financially and technologically accessible. This approach may mimic, for example, the discussions of the Rongowhakaata tribe when they first applied

metal technology to their wood carving practice in 1769, or Ngati Kahungunu when they decided to put tapu knowledge on paper in the 1860s, or kaumatua confronted with a Dominion Museum dictaphone in remote early twentieth century Aotearoa New Zealand.

Perhaps some endorsement of indigenous use of new media in museum environments can be found in the 1949 instruction of Sir Apirana Ngata, the first Maori to exercise significant influence over national museum policy, who implored young Maori to: "ko to ringa ki nga rakau a te Pakeha hei ara mo te tinana, ko to ngakau ki nga taonga a o tipuna Maori hei tikitiki mo to mahuna"; "Arm yourself with the media of the Pakeha as a path (way of living) for the body (physical welfare), your heart to the treasures of your ancestors as a chiefly decoration for your head ..." (Ngata, Letter of 10 November 1949, in Foster, 1991, p. 192).

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War Museums in the British Dominions: Conceptualising Imperial Allegiance and Colonial Autonomy

Elizabeth Rankin

Abstract

Not content that the Imperial War Museum planned in 1917 would represent their contribution to the Great War, the British Dominions initiated their own collections and museums. Although varied in form and chronology (South Africa inaugurated its museum only after World War II), they embodied the duality of colonial identity, particularly in the early purpose-built memorial museums in Auckland and Canberra. While colonial war museums were assertions of independent aspirations, they also demonstrated close ties with Empire, not only in telling the stories of shared wars, but in their dependence on western architectural traditions, and in their deployment of commemorative concepts developed in Britain, even still used at the 2005 Canadian War Museum.

War trophies have been collected for as long as wars have been fought. At the most basic level they were booty to pay troops. Put on display they became signifiers of conquest, as in the triumphs of Ancient Rome when imperial generals paraded the spoils of war through monumental triumphal arches, which stood as a permanent record of their victories. The emergence of museums in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provided new sites for war trophies, which, like the museums themselves, could embody nationalist agendas. Displaying the Rosetta Stone in the British Museum signalled English successes over the French as well as over hieroglyphics, and Napoleon's systematic looting of artworks for the Louvre demonstrated the superiority of both French armies and French culture. More obviously war-related artefacts, such as arms and armour, were typically part of general exhibits constructing – and reconstructing – national histories, or held in collections associated with the prowess of military institutions. The establishment of public museums devoted to war came later, particularly

spurred by the enormity of World War I. When the stakes had been so high and the sacrifices so great, war museums and collections of battle trophies were a way to affirm that the war had been of value. Within the British Empire, the Dominions of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, and somewhat later South Africa, were spurred to develop such collections and museums to house them.

Although it will be argued that war museums in the British Dominions had a significant role to play, it must be acknowledged that they were only a small part of extensive cultural developments in response to the Great War. The huge number of fatalities had meant that almost every family, certainly every community, had suffered loss, and numberless war memorials were erected in cities, towns and villages throughout the British Empire. They were the most prevalent manifestations of grief – and pride – countering the deprivation of a focus of personal mourning which would have been provided by the burial of loved ones.

While war memorials and the complex roles they have played at an individual and national level have been given wide attention in the literature, war museums have had less consideration as a part of post-war culture. Yet they too were a part of the process of remembering that was, as Jay Winter has put it, "an act of citizenship" (1995, p. 80), defining and affirming the identity of community and nation. Individual histories of a number of war museums in the British Dominions have been researched in considerable depth,[1] and it is not the intention to expand on those here. Instead, this essay undertakes a broad comparison of the establishment of these institutions, their architecture and their practices, as another example of the remembrance of war and the concomitant shaping of national identities within the British Empire.

The decision not to bring home the war dead but to create cemeteries at the battle sites for British and colonial troops had been a practical one in terms of the logistics of providing proper burial for each body that could

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[1]   In particular, the Australian War Memorial has had considerable attention from McKernan (1991) and Inglis (1985, 1988) who has written extensively on Australian war memorials. The Auckland War Memorial Museum has been the subject of a number of theses, such as Worthy (2001), Summers (2003) and Cooke (2004), and recently Richard Wolfe has published a short history for its 75th anniversary (2004). Cameron Pulsifer is currently preparing a history of the Canadian War Museum.

be recovered – it was also more democratic. Earlier practice had usually reserved individual graves for officers, but now the role of the ordinary soldier was more fully acknowledged. The burial sites reflected this egalitarian purpose in their design: repeated from cemetery to cemetery, replicated headstones and iconic symbols, such as Blomfield's Cross and Lutyens' Stone of Remembrance, developed an identifiable visual language of mourning to be shared by all – officers and men, British subjects at home and abroad. Memorials at home also drew on a recognisable visual repertoire, such as obelisks and arches and sculptured military figures, which had historically celebrated great individuals, but were now rallied to honour all the dead, who were also commemorated nationally in the empty catafalque of the Lutyens' Cenotaph at Whitehall, and the unidentified body interred at the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Westminster Cathedral. The new concept of the war museum formed a part of these widespread post-war cultural manifestations which addressed British society at large. Although the museums were few compared with the ubiquitous memorials, high visitor numbers to their exhibits, particularly in the years immediately following the Great War, suggest their wide appeal and that they had a potent and distinctive part to play.

In their outward form, war museums built in the post-war period were not significantly different from memorials. They too used familiar visual conventions in their design – albeit on a larger scale – in order to act as a focus for conflicting emotions of pride and grief, both national and personal. But in addition war museums had a compelling purpose to document, explain, and possibly justify the actions of war, able through their displays to expand on the notions that underpinned the more symbolic visual forms of commemorative architecture and sculpture. Samuel Hyman points out that "[i]n the construction of a myth of war, memorials play a very small role and personal narratives a very large one" (1999, p. 207). It is a concept that can be extended to the more public narratives of the war museum. Museums played a part in shaping national consciousness and the construction of collective memories of war, not only through the symbolism of their built forms but also through the content of their displays.

There are parallels in the ways the Dominion war museums pursued these objectives, embodying a strong relationship to British culture but also a burgeoning sense of distinctive character which had intensified during

the war years. It seems to have been taken as a given that the colonies would serve in the war, playing their part as members of the Empire. Even South Africa's Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, with the Anglo-Boer conflict little more than a decade behind them, felt an obligation to support Britain. Yet, alongside this sense of overwhelming allegiance to the British realm, it has been widely claimed that the Great War was a powerful foundation myth in the forging of distinct colonial identities,[2] generating potent nationalist icons, such as Gallipoli for both Australia and New Zealand. These aspirations do not seem to have been perceived as conflicting with affiliations to Britain, but rather as intertwined aspects of the nature of colonies and colonial subjects, who still thought of themselves as part of their founding culture at the same time as they were forging their own. Examining the establishment of war museums in the Dominions provides further evidence that such apparently inconsistent impulses of loyalty yet independence were not mutually exclusive.

The initial idea of a war museum in Britain was conceived as a statement for the whole empire – indeed the national effort depended on the backing of all its subjects – but took little account of any independent colonial ambitions. Established in 1917 when the war was going badly for Britain, and by the British War Cabinet rather than any cultural body, the establishment of a National War Museum was probably as much a clever tactical move to bolster support for the war as an earnest attempt to record it. [3] Nor was this goal limited to the home front. When seeking cooperation for its project, the National War Museum Committee emphasised not only considerations of different regiments and arenas of the war, but "the Esprit de Corps of Colonial troops" (Kavanagh, 1988, p. 82).[4] It set up a Dominions

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2   This is so widely stated of the colonies as to be almost a truism: it is even found on the website of the Imperial War Museum itself: "A war ... fostered among them a new sense of national identity and the increased confidence to view the Imperial relationship with a critical eye" (www.iwmcollections.org.uk – Commonwealth – Forging Nationalities).

3   It is noteworthy that a suggestion that the museum might have a memorial function was rejected by Cabinet. Rather this was to be a collection predicting, then confirming, victory.

4   Kavanagh (1988) recounts the founding of the Imperial War Museum in detail, and discusses the possibility that it was related to a need to boost flagging recruitment.

Sub-Committee to represent that contingency, a group which no doubt played a part in a change of name from the National to the Imperial War Museum in 1918.[5]

There is considerable evidence that there was colonial resistance to being homogenised into imperial records and imperial museology. Even while the Dominions served on the National War Museum Committee, they challenged the idea that Britain should be the war repository for the whole empire. Indeed it might be said that they pre-empted any British initiative to play this role. Canada, for example, set up an independent war records office in 1916, soon followed by Australia (Kavanagh, 1988, p. 120-21).[6] Across the Dominions there were early suggestions that this war deserved some particular form of record at home, and indeed the National War Museum Committee acknowledged that Canada and Australia – and Scotland[7] – were already thinking about their own war museums. No intention of this kind is recorded for South Africa,[8] no doubt understandably when anti-British feeling had led sectors of the Afrikaner community to resist entry into the war. But as early as October 1916 in New Zealand the Minister of Internal Affairs had written to the Minister of Defence suggesting

5   The committee also included India, but that country does not seem to have developed a museum in response to the world wars, although the All-India War Memorial Arch (1921-31), designed by Lutyens in a form that echoed his smaller Rand Regiments Memorial of 1913 in Johannesburg, was erected in Delhi to commemorate Indian soldiers who died in World War I. I could find reference only to a small military museum in the Red Fort at Delhi including items associated with British rule.

6   New Zealand was initially attached to Australia's War Records Section, but became an independent unit after Australia moved the site of its office in late 1917.

7   Scotland registered an early intention to develop a museum in relation to the Scottish National War Memorial, similar to Australia's project. Although that did not come to fruition, a Scottish Naval and Military Museum linked to the Memorial at Edinburgh Castle was opened in 1930. The National War Museum of Scotland, as it is known today, covers Scottish military history in general and falls under the National Museums of Scotland. I am grateful to Edith Philip of the museum for this information.

8   The website of the South African National Museum of Military History is non-committal on the reasons, merely noting that "the state neglected to preserve a record of [South Africa's First World War] role in the form of a museum and, unfortunately, much of the material heritage relating to this period was dispersed. This failure was recognized because in 1940, shortly after South Africa's entry in to the Second World War (1939-1945) Capt J Agar-Hamilton was appointed official historian ... then formed an Historical Research Committee... laying the foundation for the eventual establishment of a museum" (http://www.militarymuseum.co.za).

that "the Dominion Museum in Wellington should obtain a collection illustrating the part that New Zealand is playing in the present European War" (Fox, 1987, p. 10). Relics of the war would confirm the contribution of these young nations. Every colonial town wanted to have its trophies[9] – even South Africa was to display its share.[10]

It is an indication of the perceived significance of trophies that, even at the height of the conflict, effort was expended on items that could not be recycled for military use, with salvage units transporting them from the sites of conflict to the Ordnance Depot at Croydon in England. Britain laid claim to first selection to furnish the Imperial War Museum. But the colonies wanted to be assured of receiving representative collections, and felt they should have entitlement to at least those items captured by their own units. As these were often hard to identify, various strategies to mark captured trophies were adopted, such as stencils used by New Zealand's Mounted Rifles Regiment in Cairo, still visible on objects today. Australian troops were even issued with labels on which they were encouraged to record details of capture. For Australian collecting had been imbued with a particular purpose.

Already during the Gallipoli campaign, war correspondent Charles Bean, later Australia's official war historian, had conceived the idea of collecting relics for a museum that would act as a national memorial to the colony's fallen. Bean saw the value of records "rendered sacred", as he put it, "by the millions of gallant, precious lives laid down in their making" and recognised their importance "for future generations to see forever the plain, simple truth".[11] There was an edge to his last comment: "Bean's diary is full of complaints about the refusal of the British to give due recognition to Australian achievements .... That a museum in London might for all time give a less prominent role to the Australians than ... justice demanded became a spur to the development of ideas for an Australian museum"

9   Writing of New Zealand, Aaron Fox remarks humorously, "[w]hile the numerous war memorials now appearing throughout the Dominion were expressing the sentiment 'Lest We Forget', the fear amongst local authorities was 'Lest We Miss Out' in the forthcoming distribution of trophies" (1987, p. 63).

10   Items were installed at various civic sites, and at the Union Buildings, Pretoria.

11   The words are taken from an article Bean wrote for the *Commonwealth Gazette* in September 1917, quoted by McKernan, 2001, p. 42.

(McKernan, 2001, p. 40). No doubt many colonial contingents felt that their contributions were undervalued, or merged into accounts of overall British achievement.

Systematic collecting by the colonies commenced while the war was still underway, with special appointees for the task. The Australian effort was particularly well coordinated, with field officers overseeing the enthusiastic participation of servicemen. Bean had a sense of the need to capture individual experience, reflected in his collecting even "an Australian uniform still caked in mud and taken from a soldier as he emerged from the front line" (McKernan, 2001, p. 24). The museum's future director John Treloar asked collectors to record the stories of the objects they submitted, because, as he put it, "a good description transforms a piece of salvage into an interesting relic" (McKernan, 2001, p. 44).[12] Thus Australian exhibits had a strongly narrative underpinning from the outset. They were also given distinctive form through the popular "picture models" which were conceived by Bean and Australian war artists at the front, and later built by specially appointed sculptors. The choice of battles for these small-scale dioramas underscored Australia's contribution. And, in contrast to more conventional records of war, they, like the cemeteries of the western front, emphasised the role of the troops at large rather than picking out the achievements of individual officers and men. They also avoided glamorising conflict. It was Bean's admirable goal, later adopted by the museum, that "[i]n keeping with the sombre commemorative tone of the Memorial ... it should not be seen to be glorifying war or triumphing over the enemy".[13]

Despite active collecting and the envisioning of museums during the years of conflict, bringing them to fruition was a lengthy process. Canada claims a very early origin for its national war museum, dating it back to the establishment of a small publicly funded Military Museum at the Ottawa

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12 Treloar was officer in charge of Australian War Records in London from 1917.
13 This quotation is taken from the current museum website (http://www.awm.gov.au): it represents Bean's idea from the outset and was ratified in the principles outlined in a document on policy in 1953 which stated that "[e]xhibits should be chosen to 'avoid glorification of war and boasting of victory' and they should also be chosen to 'avoid perpetuating enmity ... for both moral and national reasons and because those who have fought in wars are generally strongest in their desire to prevent war'" (McKernan, 2001, p. 223).

garrison drill hall in 1880, which formed the nucleus of a war collection. But, although the Dominion archivist Arthur Doughty lobbied for a national museum and was appointed Controller of War Trophies in 1917, the realisation of a Canadian War Museum had to wait until the 1930s,[14] and it opened in the War Trophies Building beside the Public Archives only in 1942.

Canada was not the only country to find itself faced with the incongruity of opening its museum for "the war to end all wars" during a second world conflict. Despite Charles Bean's initiative which gave such impetus to an Australian collection, its accommodation was delayed by the very nature of his conception: to act as a memorial, it required a specially built museum, and economic and other difficulties delayed completion until 1941. But the collection, including the picture models, was successfully exhibited to large crowds in Melbourne and Sydney in the 1920s. This paralleled a similar process unfolding in Britain. In the aftermath of the war, funding for a new museum was not available, and temporary premises were found in 1920 in the old Crystal Palace at Sydenham, where the exhibits attracted two and a half million visitors in the first year. Only in 1936 was the Imperial War Museum belatedly assigned a permanent home. South Africa's war museum opened even later, in 1947, although there no attempt had been made to establish one until after the Second World War.

So it came about that it was in far flung New Zealand that the first purpose-built museum to commemorate the Great War was opened and, based in Auckland, it was regional rather than national.[15] There had been talk of a national museum, but it too was overtaken by post-war realities. While a national war memorial was established in Wellington, only many decades later in the 1970s was the equivalent of a national war museum established in New Zealand at the Queen Elizabeth II Army Museum, not

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14 A building was created earlier to house the war records at the Public Archives. I am grateful to Cameron Pulsifer for sharing his research on the history of the Canadian War Museum with me.

15 See Fox, 1987. It is noteworthy, however, that a full national roll has been recorded for later wars, in Korea, Malaysia and Vietnam, and for the South African War chapel which was added during the 1950 extension programme, suggesting that the Auckland War Memorial Museum has gradually taken on more than a regional status.

in the capital city, but at the country's largest military base in Waiouru, with associations no longer focused exclusively on the World Wars.[16]

Auckland War Memorial Museum, Portico and Court of Honour with Cenotaph

That Auckland was able to realise the concept of commemorating World War I so rapidly was opportunistic. By the turn of the century, the city's museum of natural history and ethnography was in need of larger premises. When building was delayed until after the war, the organisers did not want the proposed memorial for the Auckland district competing for available funds, so proposed that the two be combined. The double agenda expedited the process and the new museum with its special memorial sanctuary opened in 1929.[17] But, although the first to open a World War museum, Auckland's commitment to its traditional holdings meant that focus on the war was limited to only a part of the museum and there was no active development

16 The fortress-like appearance of the museum seems an overt expression of its military purpose.

17 Shortly before it was due to open, it was found that there were insufficient funds to complete the Court of Honour with its Cenotaph, modelled on the Whitehall design. Public outrage forced the hurried repair of that omission, but the inscription of the names of the dead on marble panels in the memorial hall had to await additional fund-raising, and was completed for Anzac Day, 1931.

of the war collection.[18] The memorial sanctuary was situated on the top floor with a Hall of War Trophies alongside it, the military artefacts it housed given New Zealand significance only by their proximity to the Roll of Honour inscribed on the sanctuary walls. The collection was an inert display, mute unless given voice by verbal explanation, and quite unlike the dynamic dioramas created for Canberra. The 1950s extensions which were necessary to provide a second memorial hall for World War II at Auckland introduced further space for exhibiting long rows of large-scale armoury, but continued to rely largely on the knowledge and memories of visitors to give them meaning. Only in the 1990s was a full-scale narrative exhibition developed – *Scars on the Heart*, which underscored the human cost of war, and renewed the memorial mission of the museum. It also made explicit a New Zealand emphasis in its rich range of stories, which open with the colonial wars of the nineteenth century and close with the country's current peace-keeping activities.[19]

But if at colonial war museums, such as those at Auckland and Canberra, the overall story of the world wars was inflected with exhibits which emphasised the nation's particular role, the forms of the museums which housed them were more generic. This was inevitable when buildings were not purpose-built, such as Ottawa's Public Archives Building that became the home of the Canadian War Museum in 1967, its style related to the Tudor Gothic favoured at Westminster. This reutilisation of a public building was not unusual. Britain's Imperial War Museum itself was not purpose-built, and the choice of building there had less apt associations for its new role than Canada's: it seems an unfortunate irony that it was housed in London's old Bedlam Asylum. But, past purpose aside, this building with

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18 The Auckland War Memorial Museum appointed its first full-time history curator with responsibilities for the war collection only in 1992. I am indebted to Rose Young who holds this position for sharing with me her research of the early collections and exhibits of this material at the Museum.

19 Like Auckland, the displays of the Canadian museum at Ottawa include internal wars as part of their narrative, and the South African museum also makes reference to internal conflicts. But the Australian War Memorial at Canberra has elected to omit settler-aboriginal confrontation from the museum exhibits, considering that this lies outside its focus on the armed forces and their operations abroad.

its grand Ionic portico and crowning dome must have seemed appropriate to the imperial agenda of the museum, and the great guns in the forecourt make explicit reference to war. The deployment of the architecture of public buildings for museums, even if they were not custom-built, conveyed something of the status of the institutions.

This was not the case in South Africa, where the delay in the establishment of a war museum until after World War II suggests an ambivalent attitude to wars fought for Britain. It is also noteworthy that it was to be sited in Johannesburg, not one of the capital cities. Its belated inauguration in 1947 was no doubt encouraged by Field Marshal Jan Smuts, then Prime Minister, who had played a prominent role in the war, and whose opening speech still framed national pride within familiar imperial and ethical values.[20] Yet, instead of an imposing architectural statement, the South African War Museum, later renamed the National Museum of Military History, deployed aircraft hangers and open display. While one might say that the utilitarian setting was apt for its purpose, displaying aeroplanes and military equipment in a context more appropriate to their original use than the classical halls of museums, it led to public complaints about its unattractive appearance – perhaps because it lacked the potential to offer symbolic readings.

Nor has the opportunity afforded by recent expansion on the Johannesburg site been utilised to add any obvious aesthetic or metaphoric meaning.[21] The rectangular yellow-brick extensions with regular tower-like elements lack the presence of public buildings and might more readily be associated with military barracks or prisons with lookout towers, which might be construed to refer to another story of conflict in South Africa. But an emphasis on the extensive collection of World War military artefacts has

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20 Parts of Smuts' speech of 29 August 1947 are quoted at http://www.militarymuseum.co.za. Ironically just one year later his party was ousted by the Afrikaner Nationalists, who had resisted fighting for the British cause in this war also.

21 To the cynical eye, the extensions seem to have been motivated as much by the addition of a conference and catering centre to generate funds, as by additions to the museum itself.

been maintained.[22] The museum does give a national emphasis by adding the stories of historical wars in South Africa, such as the so-called Zulu wars and the Anglo-Boer war, but there is minimal reference to more recent South African conflicts. While there are some large armaments from the "border wars", a scant single-cabinet exhibit is assigned to the ANC's Umkhonto We Sizwe, for example.

South African National Museum of Military History extensions

The task of more fully recounting South Africa's internal history of struggle has been taken up elsewhere, notably at the privately funded Apartheid Museum in Johannesburg. In the face of a dearth of authentic artefacts, this new museum relies on texts, photographs, simulacra and symbolic displays, from the signage that marked the constraints of petty apartheid, to an installation of 131 rope nooses representing the execution of political prisoners, while relentless video footage confronts visitors with the brutal realities of institutionalised discrimination and civil war.

22 In relation to this continuing emphasis on the World Wars at this museum, it is interesting to speculate why the South African government developed a new war museum in 1986 at the South African War Memorial site of Delville Wood in France: might it have been to remind old Allies of the role South Africa had played in the wars – Afrikaner opposition aside – at a time when international anti-apartheid boycotts were at their height?

While there seem to have been few ideological changes at South Africa's National Museum, a memorial aspect was introduced into the extensions. A double volume vestibule roofed with a shallow dome enshrines a lamp from Delville Wood where South African troops suffered possibly their greatest losses in the Great War – not a lamp burning with an eternal flame but an unlit lamp as a symbol of mourning and the futility of war.[23] Concepts of remembrance have always been associated with war museums,[24] even if Auckland and Canberra were rare in explicitly combining museum and memorial. But overt memorial displays like the one at Johannesburg have been widely introduced more recently, perhaps as a way to ameliorate messages of military aggression and triumph with concepts of loss and a desire for peace. At the Army Museum at Waiouru in New Zealand, a 1995 memorial installation of water running over a wall of indigenous jade, *Roimata Pounamu (Tears on Greenstone)*, suggests the sounds of mourning, accompanied by a continuous recording intoning the names of the war dead.[25] Another striking example is the Memorial Hall in Canada's new War Museum which opened in May 2005. Its walls are demarcated by the repeated shapes of the standardised headstones at the western front cemeteries, and the hall is oriented so that at the precise time that marked the end of the Great War, 11 am on 11 November, a shaft of light will fall on the actual headstone taken from the grave of the unknown Canadian soldier brought home from France for burial in Ottawa in 2000.

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23 The solemn commemoration this suggests is somewhat undermined by the use of this area for the museum's ticket sales and enquiries. The exigencies of museum tourism create some tensions with the commemorative intentions of all the museums discussed. At Auckland, too, the reception area is in the memorial vestibule, with the museum shop and café adjacent, although the fortunate decision to situate the memorial sanctuaries on the upper floor has insulated them to some degree from the bustle of visitors and tour buses.

24 For example, in his speech at the opening of the South African museum. Jan Smuts said, "[w]e are gathered here today to open what may not unfairly be looked upon as a memorial to the greatest united effort our country has ever been called upon to produce. Memorials ... serve to remind us of what is past, of great deeds of heroism and sacrifice; they also serve as a pointer and sometimes as a warning to the future" (29 August 1947, quoted in http://www.militarymuseum.co.za).

25 Instead of a traditional Roll of Honour, visitors search for the names of relatives on a computer database, and an individualised Memorial Certificate can be ordered from the museum.

At the museums in Auckland and Canberra, where the intention had from the outset been memorialisation, the whole building was designed to embody such messages. The architects for the Auckland War Memorial Museum were chosen in an international competition, sponsored by the Royal Institute of British Architects in London, stressing the colony's affiliations with Britain. The winners were New Zealand architects, Grierson, Aimer and Draffin, but their design did not differentiate them from architects elsewhere in the Empire, other than in some of the decorative detailing. Their choice of Greek Revival style was a conventional one in terms of museum architecture, common in institutions such as the British Museum. But it was the stated intention of the architects, who had themselves seen war service, to evoke the temples glimpsed on promontories by New Zealand troops en route to Gallipoli. The choice of the sober Doric order for the portico based on the Parthenon, rather than the more decorative Ionic or Corinthian, was well suited to the museum's commemorative purpose. And instead of a more celebratory triangular pediment, the building has a severe horizontal attic story, inscribed with Pericles' commemorative words for the Athenian heroes of the Peloponnesian war.[26]

Australian War Memorial, exterior view with Stone of Remembrance

26 The words were recorded (and probably amended) by Thucydides in his *History of the Peloponnesian War* (See Cook, 2004, p. 91).

THE WHOLE EARTH IS THE SEPULCHRE OF FAMOUS MEN
THEY ARE COMMEMORATED NOT ONLY BY THE COLUMNS AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY
BUT IN FOREIGN LANDS ALSO BY MEMORIALS GRAVEN NOT ON STONE
BUT ON THE HEARTS OF MEN.

The competition for the memorial museum in Canberra was limited to Australian architects,[27] which suggested greater colonial independence, but the designs also drew on historical styles to convey a suitable grandeur for the building to be set on an axis of national pride in the young capital city.[28] The selected design, suggesting a huge mausoleum, was Byzantine in style.[29] A sacred character is imparted by the copper-clad dome of the Hall of Memory at the heart of the building and the arcaded cloister that was extensive enough to record the names of the dead of both World Wars on its bronze plaques. Around the cloister courtyard small gargoyles represent indigenous motifs, but they are minor elements and easy to overlook.[30] In Auckland there was a more obvious effort to introduce a New Zealand aspect by incorporating Maori carving designs in the capitals and friezes of the exhibition halls, already markedly New Zealand because of their ethnographic and ecological displays. But the commemorative elements of the building are strongly classical in style, not only the exterior, but also the columned entrance area that stretches up to the memorial hall above, where links to empire are emphasised in the incorporation of the crests of all the Dominions into the leaded glass roof.

Thus, however much these museums were aimed at acknowledging the independent contributions of the colonies, it is only in detail that their architecture declares colonial difference; the building styles remain firmly placed in a western discourse, as though the weight of received history was the only possible signifier of commemorative dignity. In the memorial areas

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27 Even though "the competition was limited to British subjects resident in Australia or born here and living abroad", an English adjudicator was appointed, Sir Reginald Blomfield, one of the principal architects for the Imperial War Graves Commission (Inglis, 1985, p.104). However, as the entries failed to respect the very limited budget of £250,000, he was never called upon to judge the competition. A compromise design was developed drawing on the proposals of two architects, John Crust and Emil Sodersteen.

28 Parliament was at the other end of the axis, an arrangement still honoured in the new parliament buildings. The axis has been further developed in the installation of many war memorials flanking Anzac Parade which leads up to the Memorial.

29 Bean had conceived the museum as a structure of "white marble, in the purest possible Greek style, ... as the memorial to those who fell in our 'Thermopylae'" (Inglis, 1985, p. 103).

30 Their small scale might be counted fortunate today, as they incongruously include aboriginal heads amongst local fauna.

in front of the buildings, the link back to Empire is even more strongly stated. At Canberra a Stone of Remembrance repeats Lutyens' design and text for the cemeteries of the western front, "Their Name Liveth For Evermore", while Auckland has a replica of Lutyens' Whitehall cenotaph with its inscription "The Glorious Dead". Yet the ceremonies that take place there are particularly focused on ANZAC Day, rather than Armistice Day, thus asserting colonial distinction. This agenda has been fostered over the years since the introduction of a public holiday on 25 April in both Australia and New Zealand in the 1920s, and was reinforced in decisions to bring home their own unknown soldiers to the capital cities of Canberra and Wellington in 1993 and 2004 respectively. This act of reclamation defies the original assertion that the Westminster Tomb of the Unknown Warrior represented all the Dominions. But it replicates the same concept, so that once again colonial statements of independence have strong ties to British tradition.[31]

Canada, too, recently created a memorial dedicated to her unknown soldier, a renewed interest in commemorating war also reflected in the opening of a purpose-built war museum in 2005. Taking the place of the museum at the redeployed Public Archives building, the new project provided an opportunity to create a definitive architectural statement.[32] Unlike the memorial museums in Auckland and Canberra, the architecture no longer draws on familiar historical styles, but replaces the traditional registers of architectural language favoured for public buildings in the past with contemporary post-modern design – the new global currency in architectural style. Yet its forms are still symbolic, if evocative by analogy rather than by historical reference. The long low building has been compared to a bunker, and its fin-like tower to the tail of an aeroplane. Something less literal was intended by the architects: ideas of regeneration were embodied in the reclamation of the site on LeBreton Flats, the energy-efficient design of the building, the planting of self-seeding native grasses on the flat

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31 Australia and Canada have preferred the term "Unknown Soldier", while New Zealand has followed the Westminster form "Unknown Warrior".

32 It seems not unfitting for the concepts of reconciliation embodied in the museum that the chief architect was Raymond Moriyama, a Canadian of Japanese origin, who had been interned as an enemy alien in Canada during World War II.

museum roof, and the use of recycled copper from Ottawa's Parliament Library to clad the tower. Yet however contemporary the architecture of the Canadian War Museum, like Auckland and Canberra it too makes use of historical forms as part of its message. Aligned with the museum's tower-fin, Ottawa's old Peace Tower on Parliament Hill is part of the theatrical unfolding of the Regeneration Hall, framed by the tall windows, before the visitor descends to an area that displays the white plaster sculptural models for the Canadian Memorial at Vimy in France in a new context to impart messages of remembrance and renewal. A Canadian focus combines with more universal forms in the ingenious placement of windows and lighting to spell out in Morse code the initials of the museum and the messages "Lest We Forget", "N'oublions jamais". And, as already discussed, the Memorial Hall at the Canadian War Museum evokes the British war cemeteries of Europe.

The opening of the new Canadian museum means that all the British Dominions now have war museums that were purpose-built, while Britain's Imperial War Museum still occupies a "recycled" building.[33] That all four countries have dedicated war museums suggests the perceived importance of the recording and commemorating of the Dominions' role in world conflict, particularly in the wake of the Great War but even today, implying an ongoing significance in the defining of national distinction.[34]

Struggling to recover from the impact of the Great War in the years that followed, Britain attempted to acknowledge the contribution of the colonies, not only by including them in her plans for a war museum and by distributing war relics abroad, but by honouring all the fallen in the Westminster Tomb of the Unknown Warrior and the Whitehall Cenotaph, and in the creation of thousands of individually marked graves at battle

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33 This institution too has found an opportunity for a dedicated museum building with the establishment of the Imperial War Museum North which opened in Manchester in 2002. The new museum shares commonalities with Ottawa in its contemporary architectural form and the fact that both buildings have tower elements, suggesting soaring aspirations transcending conflict. Designed by Daniel Libeskind, Manchester's complex metaphoric meaning is based on a globe shattered by conflict, the shards representing the elements of air, earth and water.

34 This is also apparent in ongoing processes of renewal, such as the new Anzac Hall opened in 2001 at the Australian War Memorial and the continuing development of its memorial sculpture gardens.

sites[35] – a project costing the, for then, extraordinary sum of ten million pounds sterling. But these no doubt well intentioned efforts rested on the belief that Britain had the right to represent all the Dominions. This programme of nationalising the dead in the name of empire was challenged by the colonies in independent programmes of recording and commemorating, with the erection of many memorials as well as the museums discussed here. A sense of their own worth, if not a sense of national identity as such, made the Dominions determined to ensure that their contributions to the war were fully acknowledged, not only in written texts but also in war museums and their exhibits, which acted as a form of public history. Yet while the museums were established to recount the stories which the colonies believed were part of their autonomous character, this did not negate a sense of belonging to empire. And their war museums did not break away from imperial visual culture, but used recognised architectural styles and replicated the memorial forms devised by Britain to honour the dead. The weighty task of commemorating world wars and the human sacrifice they entailed seemed to demand architectural concepts that rose above regional interest to embody those universal values that both Britain and its Dominions had believed were worth fighting for.

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35 It might even be suggested that the decision not to bring home the war dead may in part have been respectful of the colonies where distance would have made repatriation even harder. The decision was no doubt also a response to the difficulty of repatriation when the bodies of so many thousands of the war dead could not be found, let alone identified.

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Boundary Arbitrations: Spatial Complexities and Tensions in Recent New Zealand Museum Architecture

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Abstract

This paper examines the shifting museological interiorities at stake in three New Zealand museums: Auckland Museum, Te Papa, and the Otago Museum. It considers how these distinct interiorities and their exteriorities locate the museum as a complex spatial condition which operates as a boundary condition which is held in tension between contradictory states. This is not simply an examination of the built fabric of the museums, but rather a consideration of both the built and unbuilt, the physical and unphysical manufacturing of space. It is driven by an understanding of interiority which determines an ability to define, categorise and comprehend distinct entities. Its contingent other, exteriority, contributes to impact on the museum boundary via public ownership, scenography and artefactual origins.

Introduction

A museum interior is perhaps most straightforwardly determined by its building's external envelope which forms a protective skin. In this crude sense "inside" is held within the line of built architectural perimeter. "Outside" is determined without it. Inside is a site where occupation is secure, protected, undisturbed, monitored, and controlled (temperature, humidity, access, and children's fingers). Outside is someone else's business unless a breach occurs (tourist, worker, thief, school group, acquisition, waterleak). The boundary is a point of limit, definition and regulation.

Interiority though is not simply determined by the status of insideness. Colomina's analysis of Swayze's Underground Home where "traditional windows were superimposed on 'dial-a-view' murals ... that could be changed at will ... with San Francisco's Golden Gate to the west and New York's skyline to the east" (Colomina, 1991, p. 18) points to the possibility of interiority which is not simply visual or spatial. Dickson's analysis of

space, shape, and movement as producing conditions such as enclosure independent of an inside (1982), and Wigley's identification of architecture as atmosphere rather than built construction (1998, pp. 18-27), both point to possible architectures defined by limits which are not physically built, and which are not dependent on conventional understandings of the interior as simply hinged to insideness.

In architectural practice Diller and Scofidio's Blur project (Swiss Expo, 2002), which constructed cloud vapour as building, invested in making "a building without form, without definite shape ... [which was] not stable in any way as an architectural form" (Simpson, 2005). Its volatile form moves creating wayward and vagrant interiorities and exteriorities, juxtaposed to a more constant built platform. It points to the richness of time-dependent and multiple interiorities which can cross and recross orthodox notions of boundaries. These examples raise the possibility of embedded interiorities within both material and immaterial facets of architecture, and to interiority as an abstract notion which transits through interior spaces (and at times exterior spaces: a bus stop, a shady tree, Darwin humidity) to identify space as interior. Interiority is "a theoretical and immaterial set of coincidences and variables from which 'interior' is made possible. It is not an absolute condition that depends on a restrictive architectural definition. Interiority is instead mobile and promiscuous. It is intimate with and contaminates every interior and every inside" (McCarthy, 2005, p. 112).

Interiority in a museum context likewise extends beyond the physical limits of the building. Marketing campaigns, newspaper articles, travelling exhibitions and the Friends of Te Papa (or Otago or Auckland Museums) bring the interior of the museum outside its physical walls. Equally, exteriority (a view, a tourist, a fabricated setting, or a fabric-eating bug) infiltrates and complicates the spatial coherency of a museum's insides. Acknowledging this distinct spatial complexity, Te Papa's first Chief Executive announced that: "Museums are not buildings. They are whole sets of visions, concepts, programmes and activities" (Sotheran cited in Finnegan, 1993, p. 9).

Examining the shifting interiorities at stake in three museums (Auckland Museum/Tamaki Paenga Hira, Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand (MONZ), and the Otago Museum), and their associated exteriorities maps a set of shifting boundaries which locate the museum as a complex spatial condition, held in tension between volatile and contradictory states. Such interiorities and exteriorities complicate conventional binary notions of inside and outside which can no longer be simply taken for granted.

Building

Otago Museum is the oldest of these three buildings, but has been significantly remodelled over time. This Scottish Greek Revival, David Ross designed, Government Museum opened in August 1877, and was altered with the addition of the Hocken wing in 1910, and the Fels wing in 1930 (Shaw, 1997, p. 62, "History", n.p.). The gifting of collections (Hocken's books, manuscripts and Maori artefacts) and the recognition of a benefactor (Willi Fels), conceptually increased the extent of the museum before the physical building of the additions. With the 1931 introduction of electricity to the museum, control over the building's light and heating extended beyond day-time into evening classes, stretching temporal interiority ("History", n.p.). Later extensions included the 1963 Centennial Wing (to accommodate the Pacific and Nature Galleries), and the two stage redevelopment (1993-1996, 1996-2002) which resulted in the large atrium core, a lecture theatre, increased storage, a special exhibition space, and the 1200sqm "Southern Land, Southern People" gallery. The hollowing out of interior space to produce the atrium generated an inner focus which now manages the museum's physical and organisational interiority, and exhibition spaces are predominantly premised on the familiar organisational strategies of geography, and chronology. A recent McCoy and Wixon redesign removed the external stairs to the first floor entrance, which visitors repeatedly ignored as the building's public entrance. Faces outside, pressed against ground level glazing, beckoned at staff and other patrons in outsiders' attempts to find a way into the building – the potential visitor having walked past the grandiose entrance stair, mistaking it for architectural sculpture without functional purpose. Now entrance is a continuation of the ground of Museum Reserve, easy wheelchair and visitor entry flow in from the park

which also pulls the interior of the museum out with cafe tables and chairs, and the two giant sound cones, entertaining children, and anticipating the scientific world which underpins "Discovery World" inside.

Gierson, Aimer and Draffin's 1929 Auckland Museum was extended in 1960. The 1929 Greek Revival museum and war memorial is an architectural re-imaging of the Parthenon, atop Athens' acropolis. Its architecture reputedly referred to the shifting loyalties of New Zealanders from the purported Motherland of England to their WWI experiences fending for themselves beneath the shadow of the acropolis, its elevational colonnade echoed in the museum's "portico of fluted, Doric pillars" (Shaw, 1997, p. 116). The building hence reflects nationhood in a context of isolation; the realisation that New Zealand was no longer simply interior (as an outpost) to Britain. The consecrated ground and Cenotaph in front of the museum also construct spatial relationships of enclosure, distinction, and interiority via notions of sacredness and memorial. Symmetry, axiality, and grandeur, traditionally appropriate for a public building of significance, dominate. The building's interior peristyle, constituted of "massive groupings of Ionic columns" (Shaw, 1997, p. 116) articulate the central foyer atrium space around which stairs fold up through three storeys and the smallest sound reverberates as unself-conscious children's voices reconstruct the interior as sounding instrument. In recent years Noel Lane's remodelling has begun "creating a truly world-class museum for the modern age" to enlarge the 1960s floor area to house the increasing collection ("Grand Atrium", n.p.).

Opened in 1998, Te Papa was the result of the relocation of the functions of the Dominion Museum and the National Art Gallery to Wellington's waterfront. The 1936 Dominion Museum, repository of nostalgic ideas about museums for generations of Wellingtonians, was designed by the Auckland firm Gummer and Ford. The architects for the new building (Jasmax) were decided by a 1989 competition, the outcome of which was controversial. A large rambling interior, described variously as "part trade show, part educational display," and an amusement park, with an entry reminiscent of international chain hotel foyers (an unplaced architecture of anywhere), Te Papa was modelled "on a shopping-mall complex" (Harper, 2002, p. 30, "Te Papa an amusement arcade", p. 3, Henare, 2004, p. 56). In seeming contradiction to this mall model, but in keeping with the fact that "Te Papa

is located on reclaimed land on Wellington's harbourfront", this museum persistently refigures itself as land, rather than building, its second floor reconstructing the earth's molten interior (Becton, 1998, p. 8). Progression to the upper fourth floor reveals the building (Te Papa) as ground (Te Papatuanuku)[1] to a marae.[2] Te Hono ki Hawaiki (the wharenui)[3] looks out from the marae over Te Whanganui a Tara (Wellington harbour). Building (Te Hono ki Hawaiki) is sited within building (Te Papa). Exteriority is relocated inside; the marae atea simultaneously made earth, ground, and carpeted. "Tukutuku" panels,[4] expelled from the inside of Te Hono ki Hawaiki, frame this inside marae space, making both the extent of the marae atea and the wharenui ambiguous. These complex spaces exemplify the spatialities of the site, where a landscape ("Bush City," Te Papa) is internalised. Open to the sky, but fenced and subject to incorporating strategies of labelling and signage, "Bush City" extends the interiority of the museum outside. While this landscape generates interiority as fabricated scene and museum interior, the remodelled art gallery space (firmly located inside) is said to be outside and foreign to Te Papa, as Jenny Harper notes: "Indeed, the experience is now of not being in Te Papa at all. Rather, it is more akin to the usual designed environments of conventional art galleries, anywhere" (2002, p. 29).

Museological interiority

Because they generate order, control and concentrated focus from which interiority is centred, uniformed staff, corporate identity, restricted back-of-house access, security monitoring, and identifiable hierarchy and structure

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1   The creation of the world occurred when Papatuanuku (the earth mother) was separated from the Ranginui (the sky father).
2   Marae has several meanings. Marae atea is the specific ground in front of a wharenui (meeting house). Marae also refers to the whole complex of spaces and buildings of which the marae atea is a part.
3   A wharenui is a specific form of Maori architecture which emerged in the C19th primarily from the architectural forms of the carved chief's house (whare whaikairo) and colonial churches. These are (like traditional wharepuni (sleeping houses)) unicellular buildings with gable roofs but were larger to accommodate the large numbers of people gathering, often in political response to the colonial situation.
4   Tukutuku is the lattice-work between the pou (carved posts) in the interior of wharenui.

produce interiority. Those aspects of the physical building which assist orientation and navigation (e.g. security, lighting, signage, planning, and access) also heighten familiarity and interiority. Yet simultaneously, such spatial and ideological directions of inwardness and togetherness are held in tension with traces of exteriority which infiltrate the building's boundary: physical artefacts from elsewhere bring an "elsewhere-spatiality" within. Visiting exhibitions and curators shift understandings of acquisition policies, while computer technologies (websites and electronic interfaces) provide a two-dimensional screen reality mistaken for an exterior spatial depth, or navigatable network. Souvenirs, now extended beyond the once restrictive range of New Zealand postcards, include opportunities to be: "photographed digitally in 3-D in one of a number of poses; pursued in a jeep by moas (huge, extinct flightless birds); riding a tyrannosaurus; riding a Harley Davidson; sitting in a Christmas stocking; with a condor landing on an outstretched arm; in a space capsule bearing the New Zealand flag" (Dalrymple, 1999). These images anticipate life outside the museum's space and time, while workers, local patrons, and tourists weave their exteriority (foreign accents and expectations) into the museum experience. As such the museum operates as an interface, a set of boundary conditions tied to place, architecture, and interiority, while desiring other outside worlds.

Client relationships, marketing, and target audiences are typical mechanisms used to strategically negotiate and cross museum boundaries, and have become increasingly more visible in New Zealand, perhaps exemplified by the naming of Te Papa's Director a "Chief Executive." At Te Papa, branding and naming fabricate interiority by alluding to inclusion and inclusiveness. Te Papa Tongarewa/Museum of New Zealand is rendered as "Te Papa-Our Place", while its fingerprint logo promotes exactly what museums have conventionally not been about: touching. Such statements of ownership (*our* place not *your* place), and associations with fingerprints (the tactile trace of criminality, and proof of identity), attempt to brand the museum in terms of national identity, and the collection as tactile and accessible. The collecting of New Zealand's dominant Pakeha culture (the 1950s Kelvinator now recouped as a retro fashion statement), effects an exhibition of artefacts which might be found in New Zealanders' homes, and further shifts the jurisdiction of the museum quite literally into "our

places."

Similarly the decline of the formal uniform of museum attendants (articulating authority and restriction), exemplified in the Te Papa "host" (helpfulness attired in Te Papa "T-shirts") has become a critical moment of visitor incorporation. In contrast, Auckland Museum employs older and more formally dressed security and information staff (white shirts and navy blue blazers), with younger red T-shirted "helpers" positioned in Discovery Centres. The term "Host," implicating "guest" (and a relationship formed around etiquette), contrasts with apparitions of security guard, custodian and discipline. Illusions of social (rather than institutional) mechanisms of control render "Our Place."

Accessibility

Interest in making museums relevant for a greater percentage of the population is a long rehearsed one, and reflects a nineteenth-century concern with civilising the working classes. As early as 1972 the *AGMANZ News* reported that:

> The Arts Council believes that every effort should be made to get people into galleries and museums and, quite seriously, is considering making it a condition of making available travelling exhibitions to galleries that no person be allowed in wearing a black tie. Nothing is more deadening than the impression created by stuffy exhibition openings. Artistic and cultural activity does not thrive in an atmosphere of moth balls and hair restorer (M.N., 1972, p. 6).

Specific strategies to attract, and to include, betray designs for interiority. Exhibition display and curation have emphasised accessibility through increasing levels of local content, the use of interactive, multi-media, cross-over displays, envirorama, multi-sensory techniques, and the strategic incorporation of galleries targeted at children and school groups. Exhibition and back-of-house tours, children's holiday programmes, and late night openings shift the time and space of museum encounter, demonstrating temporal and spatial measures of inclusion and exclusion. Te Papa's tours, rides, amusements, restaurant and other facilities, which evade museological engagement (conference facilities, community meeting rooms, cafeterias, book and souvenir shops, toilets), all operate independently of the traditional

notion of museum, and enable the attraction of a wider audience. In the case of Te Papa this has led to its description as: "a forum, a palace of pleasure and learning (in that order), what tourism experts call 'a destination in the new experience economy' – a paradigm shift which gives the stuffy, traditional museum image a much-needed kick up the exhibit" (Chamberlain, 2000, p. 48).

With this desire and insistence of the accessible, the communal, the culinary, and the commercial, to entertain and attract museum visitors, the boundary line between exhibit and the outside has slighted further inside, or perhaps attenuated, broadening to encompass strategies of spatial deferral. Its innermost edge is now pragmatically and clearly displaced internally, located within (rather than at), the built boundary of the museum. Physical location within the building does not fully and meaningfully place one within the museum space proper. This zone (for selling, and sheltering from the weather) is an ambiguous place where the relationship of occupants (cafe diner, tourist, bookshop patron) is indeterminate. Foyers and service areas are held without, as another line of scrutiny gauges a distance from museological taonga separating museological form from service industry in the physical building of museum.

The January 1999 introduction of a controversial "admission by donation" scheme at Auckland Museum, after 150 years of free admission (Perry, 1998, p. A6), exemplified this inward shifting line of privileged entry, matched with the need to generate new sources of museum revenue. While all three museums charge for special exhibitions, Otago Museum and Te Papa only charge for entry into "Discovery World" and virtual reality rides respectively, but both accommodate donation "boxes" in pride of place in their entry foyers without insistent barricades. Auckland Museum's admission fee (thinly disguised in the rhetoric of "donation"), is simultaneously ambiguous and distinct. Architecture (cash register, admission staff and entrance barriers) secures a boundary within the building between building entry and museum admission, undermining the terminology "donation." These lines both thicken the boundary and provide transition areas between the black and white of the inside and outside of the museum.

Collection

The specificity of museums as houses of collections, systems of classification, and elite knowledge, isolating and protecting artefacts, insideously inflicts interiority throughout their organisational space and time. According to David Goodman, the emergence of the scientific museum was "based on sound classificatory principles, out of the mire of the confused collections of curiosities that passed for museums in earlier times" (1999, p. 259). Classification into curated collections depends on an historic system of interiority which determines the line of inclusion and exclusion of each collection. This is exemplified and immortalised by Otago Museum's Animal Attic (dating from 1878) which "houses one of the world's finest displays of the full systematic arrangement of worldwide invertebrate and vertebrate animals", and the "only one of its kind in New Zealand" ("Animal Attic", n.p.). Such structures, as Mary Douglas notes, relate to sacred and fundamental understandings in society: "Holiness means keeping distinct the categories of creation. It therefore involves correct definition, discrimination and order" (1996, p. 54). Classification systems are about making the right connections, and constructing the right relationships. They are about making sense of the world, and controlling it through the beauties and elegance of a coherent and constrained explanation, providing a system to attribute value and significance, and hence the need or otherwise for protection.

This mechanism of classification – and its forging of connections and relationships – gives museological interiority its specific glue and the ability to determine the boundary conditions, coherency, self-sufficiency, and discrete identity of each collection. It also prevents certain combinations and connections. Harper notes that "[a]n unfortunate level of museum collection cataloguing and relatively little cross-referencing of items makes many objects inaccessible in practical terms to researchers other than the curator directly responsible for these collections" (1989, p. 30). Architectural space is similarly co-opted to preserve these classifications. Otago Museum's "Pacific Culture" galleries, the "Tangata Whenua" gallery, "Animal Attic," "Maritime" gallery and "Discovery World" all use architectural devices (walls, floors, ceilings, circulation paths, partitions, lighting), to enclose and contain, to isolate and prevent mistaken associations, enabling the distinction of

exhibition, gallery and museum to be possible at sequential scales. Spot-lighting, Pacific music, raised platforms, railings, display case architecture, label colour, format, font selection and size, all assist in the curation of discrete interiorised groupings because a discourse (or etiquette) of inclusion and exclusion is formally maintained. Auckland Museum's "Pacific Lifeways" gallery uses exhibition cases to divide and shape the gallery into distinct U-shaped areas, reinforced by theatrical gobos[5] used to project words of light onto the museum floor: "New Guinea Highlands," "Cook Islands," "Polynesian outliers," "Kiribati," "Samoa," "Tonga," "Subsistence," "Family & Goods," "Power," "Trade," "New Pacific." These draw, in the dimly lit exhibition space, pools of light as focal points to each subsection of "Pacific Lifeways." Atmospheric Pacific song acoustically ties the larger exhibition gallery space together.

The museum's classificatory system enables a museum to be read as coherent interior space. Te Papa's opening exhibitions, in particular the now infamous placing of "a 1959 Kelvinator fridge next to a Colin McCahon painting" (Chamberlain, 2000, p. 48) challenged this coherency in its attempt to make the historical context of McCahon's painting comprehendible by a "crossing-over"[6] of categorical boundaries. This "desecration" (placing high culture fine art next to low culture industrial design), breached traditional museological interiority, and was mirrored by the controversy over Tania Kovats' 1994 "virgin in a condom." These displays presented incongruities offensive to numerous critics and commentators at the time, prompting comments that "it was 'insulting' to house items of immense cultural significance among "the bric-a-brac that the majority of the museum displays" ("Te Papa an amusement arcade", p. 3). The mixings of McCahon, refrigerator, condom and the mass-produced statuette of the Virgin Mary, marked a vulnerability of classification's limit, the fragility of its coherence, and presented possibilities of contamination from outside

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5   "Gobo" is a theatrical lighting term for a strip metal stencil inserted into a lamp near the aperture. Gobos come in many shapes, but often include leaves, waves, stars and similar patterns.

6   Gielen defines "cross-over" techniques as "whereby so-called high and low culture, international and local frames of reference and so on, cross over each other" (Gielen, "Museumchronotopics", p. 150).

and across classificatory boundaries, breaching societal expectation and convention regarding desired museum audience. A strategic engagement with exteriority (those on the outside) was deliberately courted, threatening the collapse of a specific system of interiority. Despite this strategy Te Papa still retains clear divisions of departmental categorisation (Textiles and Dress Collection, Furniture, Flowering Plants and Gymnosperms, Archaeological Faunal Collections, Terrestrial Molluscs, and Tardigrades or water-bears), as do Auckland and Otago Museums (Copper Butterflies, Day-flying Moths, Solitary Wasps, Otago Ceramics, and Melanesian History). As Harper notes: "Most museums have built up collections of wide ranging types of material and, not surprisingly, these have been maintained in a variety of inconsistent categories ... It is probably impossible to operate without some categorization" (1989, p. 12).

The discourse of classification, and its incumbent aesthetic (of logical and objective uniformity, based on the grid, an apparently democratic structure lacking an obvious hierarchy), is worked throughout the Auckland Museum in its image as "firmly collection-rich .... New media and display technologies are [deliberately] second tier, so as to not detract from the primacy of the object" (Chamberlain, 2000, pp. 53-54). Displays of artefacts (spears, guns, and insects) conform to the beauties of alignment and of the repetitions of slight differences, organised into contemporary displays of order. Lines of clubs, spears, shields, paddles, canoes, and masks emerge from lower lighting levels to enact the rationale of classification systems. Richness is in the excessive nature of collecting and displaying types within species of objects. Intensity accumulates as massings of pistols, revolvers, polearms, long arms, swords & dirks, and Eastern weapons are suspended in glass cabinets. Interiority is engendered through displays of the formally similar, in formally similar ways (a Spitfire Mark XVI and a Mitsubishi Zero separately enclosed in severe room-sized concrete display boxes, with black and white war footage on a background screen), *and* the circular discourse of the making of familiarity; the ability through which rows of insects, birds or firearms find connections and evolutionary patterns, and detect difference and disorder to enable removal of the unlike – to classify. This interiority is that of the uniform adherence of a group to its members. It is the construction of bonds and relationships of recognition. Similarity

excludes as actively as it includes. It demonstrates an interdependence of interiority with outsideness or exteriority. The border which defines interiority (the wall, the bookcover, the change of lighting levels, the change of floor level, where paint becomes naked stone), also defines the becoming of exteriority.

Display

Museums re-site objects from outside. These foreign and secondhand artifacts bring their own "object-generated" exteriority via allusions to their places of origin which conceptually disturb the coherency of their new museum site. Not always knowingly, or astutely, museums have historically manufactured new understandings of objects, replacing context with classificatory groupings in an aesthetic denial of context (place, lifecycle, dance, custom, function, decay) or contextual disjunction where knowledge of past context competed with classifactory display. The former furniture displays at Auckland Museum, located behind ropes (in contrast to New York's Metropolitan Museum's period rooms), brought space and time from their former use into a museum which diluted it by imposing alien geometries of order and protection ("Do Not Touch" signs). At such incongruous jarring and disparity between artefact and context, an adhered exteriority lingers. Exteriority remains to bring foreign time as well as a foreign place into the museum, stretching the conceptual location of the artefact beyond the museum's walls. In New Zealand, this exhibited foreignness has traditionally been typified by: artefacts from "civilised" nations, natural history, "exotic" (non-European) cultures, and the prehistoric, acquisitions from distant shores, times, and wildernesses. In this way, museums are conduits to an outside (and often global and international) world which adheres to the artefacts, betraying exterior desires, *and* an introverted, windowless, climate controlled, architecture, which actively removes spatial traces of exteriority. Exteriority though exists insidiously. The entry into Hotunui[7] (requiring the removal of shoes on entering the wharenui to conform with cultural practice), has always been an entry into another world outside the museum, even if momentarily. It is a stepping into a shoe-less culture, and a dimly lit space, resounding (until recently) with waiata, singing foreign to the European museum.

In this context, interiority becomes complex and culturally specific. Maori artefacts, in particular wharenui, conceptually transport visitors from the museum, and into a specifically Maori space, counter to a western modernism which figures museum objects as decontextualised. Because of their scale and ability to be entered, wharenui recontextualise museum visitors, contesting a straightforward and unwrinkled interior museum space, despite their historic acculturation into museums. Their seemingly "naturalised" relationship with museology derives from a history of acquisitions by western explorers and missionaries' interests in artefacts as objects of display. As Henare notes in relation to Te Papa:

> The Maori galleries at Te Papa Tongarewa demonstrate a respect for artifacts that resonates strongly with the Museum's original purpose as a locus for the development of artifact-based knowledge … this is in contrast to those representing *pakeha* settler history and identity, where collections are somewhat overshadowed by the design of colorful graphics and text panels, dramatic lighting, reconstructed environments, and interactive technology, and are marked by what Jolly has described as "a scrupulous avoidance of the sacred" (2004, p. 59).

The exhibited wharenui (Hotunui, Te Hau ki Turanga, or Mataatua) bring their own contextual and interior space into the museum. These spatialities test the conceptual perimeters of the museum as a building which determines relationships between inside and outside. These wharenui also exist as venerated artefacts which have been translated into and consumed as museum objects.

In contrast, Te Papa's exhibitions which privilege Pakeha (non-Maori) culture exude impermanence in their favouring of spatial determinism, because their physical space-defining walls are aesthetically incomplete. The exhibited artefacts are not supported by the self-contained architectural objects of in-context displays (which diorama and period rooms produce), nor are they able to stand strongly distinct from the spatial machinations of the museum building. Instead they fray (ceilingless and half-height) to form the "tradeshow"[8] context of Te Papa. The "film-set" plan view of this space from the gallery above, discloses the fabricated nature of exhibition itself,

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7   Hotunui is a wharenui (meeting house) in Auckland Museum, built in 1878.

made explicit as ephemeral architectural artefact and context are seen as partial, propped up and dependent on the structure of the museum. In contrast, the "Mana Whenua" exhibition's spatiality is abstractly, but near seamlessly, constructed via the relationship of buildings in space, alluding to Maori pa (or villages). These "objects" suggest exteriority because space is shaped by surrounding buildings (wharenui, and pataka[9]), rather than the explicit interventions of walls. Lighting is critical in managing these transitions, as darkness ameliorates spatial disjunctions, and reduced lighting levels both assist in preservation measures and lure the visitor outside imagined notions of European space and time.[10] The interior of Te Hau ki Turanga steps below floor level; a perimeter of uplighting and the sound of waiata construct its interior atmosphere, transporting the visitor out of the museum and into a Maori context. These "objects" in space transit between the exhibit as an isolated object (abandoned in the museum space), and the object as contextually supported by explicit representations (paintings, models, computer or video imagery). Their representations of exteriority and interiority are sophisticated and volatile.

Abstractly rendered settings, painted diorama, and photographic backgrounds, supplemented with, for example, tussock grasses and gravelbeds, attempt to suture the artefact to the museum interior, to "naturalise" it, as wall surfaces and display case interiors take on two dimensional images of external sites. The image, for a moment, morphs into three dimensionality and elsewhere, taking the object and observer with it, as the wall is co-opted as space-inducing projection site. Moving video images also depict external places and times, and satisfy both illusions of space and illusions of life to supplement the authenticity of the object in media which we are trained by film and television to understand as entertainment proper to the cinema and the domestic living room. In

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8   "Tradeshow" is a term associated with Te Papa by a number of critics (e.g. Harper, 2002, p. 30)

9   A pataka is a storehouse or repository, they are most commonly raised above the ground.

10   Blythe notes that "The Maori were [considered] "timeless" in the sense that they supposedly had no concept of time until the Europeans arrived to provide them with one" (1994, p. 17).

Auckland Museum's "Hall of Memories" filmed candles (a moving "still life") respectfully flicker in perpetuity, swimming fish, penguins, and seals provide moving wallpaper to mounted marine animal carcasses, and film footage of WWII aircraft enliven static displays. At Otago Museum documentary film interjects in the "Southern People, Southern Land" exhibition, appealing to illusions of factuality. Contrasted to the static object, projected film animates the space it is exhibited in, testing the boundary condition of the wall it is sited on and providing images of temporal, spatial and informational contexts. Animated actors in dinosaur suits and Maori cultural performance also generate context additional to that of the static object through movement and entertainment, as spatial relations become played out in time, and space adheres to the moving body. Movement extends attention span as it injects a sense of unpredictability and potential for surprise, while the animation of past objects stitched into contemporary time (the prehistoric moa, and WWII aircraft) brings disparate temporal interiors into contact. Time in these instances is an agent of decay (the wearing and material decline of artefacts), determinant in value, and denied through the museum's role as arbiter of value and taste which is itself ultimately timeless. It is perhaps the juncture and collision of the specific time and timelessness where temporal interiority (detail, specificity, intimacy and comprehendible knowledge) and timeless exteriority (distant, untouchable and abstractly present) meet. Movement, animation, and performance make time intimate, specific, and seemingly uncritically consumed.

Knowledge via experience can be constructed through vision, touch, performance, and via a haptic incorporation into museological space where the inclusion of the museum visitor becomes critical for the full potential (or completion) of the exhibition to be realised. In London's Theatre Museum "after being done up to look like a cast member of 'Cats' with the magic of stage makeup, learning to sit properly in an Elizabethan gown or dressing as a character in 'The Wind in the Willows', visitors leave the museum almost believing they have just taken part in a stage performance" (Scutt, 1997, p. E24). Simulation via activity reconstructs the associated space, and enables the psychological habitation of two spaces simultaneously. It is in this sense that experience is entrapping. The visitor becomes incorporated

into the exhibit via interactivity (lifting up a telephone receiver to hear descriptions of the frontline at Anzac Cove, pushing buttons to hear bird-calls of mounted species, completing puzzles about environmental impact, and walking through a toll gate to vote on whether Auckland should be one city or four). While "immersion" suggests a becoming increasingly a part of something (and the becoming increasingly interiorised), the most successful immersion removes the museum visitor from a consciousness of the museum: "Psychological flow or optimal experiences ... [are] characterized by focused concentration and a distorted sense of time, in which the awareness of self is temporarily lost" (Harvey et al., 1998). The relevance of the museum as architectural space diminishes and dissolves, as focus and occupation operate at odds with each other.

Te Papa tests the legitimate boundary of museological interactivity, firstly by pushing interactivity beyond the pedagogical value of knowledge, and secondly by the inclusion of subjects conventionally associated with sports and leisure. The technology used to simulate historical and prehistorical experience also becomes employed to simulate tourist extreme sports manifest in "virtual-reality machines on which you can windsurf or water-ski" (Dalrymple, 1999); including "the virtual bungy" (Becton, 1998, p. 8). While critics referred to these rides to argue that Te Papa is "a giant amusement arcade" (Dalrymple, 1999), this technology testifies to both the ephemerality of experience, and the museum's interest in and ability to formulate, predict, programme and repeat the ephemeral (to conserving, archiving, collecting and internalising and capturing experience). Such museological experience seemingly derives from attempts to engage children, realised in New Zealand with Discovery Centres (Auckland and Te Papa) and Discovery World (Otago), first established in New Zealand at Auckland's Museum of Transport and Technology. "Discovery World" introduced new museological strategies to validate children's play and exploration in 1991, denying the venerated states of the artefact through the displaying and encouraging tactile engagement with the immaterial (gravity, electricity, physics) and the living (biology) – areas previously outside the museum programme which privileged physical artefacts. The Auckland Museum now houses live eels, cave weta, and crayfish seamlessly amongst its other exhibits. Children's play thus infiltrates the museum, bringing

mechanisms to engage knowledges outside of the traditional museum mandate of object-fixated natural and cultural histories. Hence simulations, replica, and educative toys make the electronic appealing to enable both touch (keyboards, mouse, computer touch screens), and the flexibility of the immaterial (which is difficult to emulate in the physical building of an exhibition space). The computer screen, made for one person, constructs an intimacy between screen and face, keyboard and fingers, touchscreen and fingers, and acts as a portal revealing more space than is physically imaginable from its object size and shape (the Narnia effect). Physical interiority co-habits with the conceptual understanding of the computer (and the internet) as infinitely exterior.

"Simulated immersion is 'the degree to which an exhibit effectively involves, absorbs, engrosses, or creates for visitors the experience of a particular time and place', absorbing the visitor by 'psychologically transport[ing] visitors into another world" beyond the spatial and temporal constraints of the museum (Harvey et al., 1998). This "experience [of] an exhibit space as something other than a mere exhibit space"[11] is often supported by atmospheric lighting, sound, physical resemblance, and tactile engagement which heighten the ability and belief of temporal and geospatial transportation. As early as 1966, the exhibition "Auckland 1866," formerly "Centennial Street," utilised physical reconstruction, artefacts, and multisensory stimulation, as an "envirorama,"[12] to transport visitors to Auckland 1866, and it continues (updated) to do so today. Sound recordings of male voices at Steers' Hotel, women's voices, shop tills, and wrapping shopping parcels, and ambient noises of flies buzzing around a longdrop, washing laundry, cicada calls, steam trains, and waves crashing on the shoreline supplement the visual and tactile experiences of the street. Sounds, sights and spaces foreign to the museum, and to contemporary Auckland, delight because they are accompanied by a double presencing of space and are located midway between secure definitions of interior and exterior. Such exhibits allow the visitor to consciously walk the boundary between incorporation, or immersion, into the museum via either participation in

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11   Harvey, Loomis, Bell and Marino "The influence of museum exhibit design" p. 622.
12   "Enviroramas – dioramas visitors can enter" (Harvey et al., 1998, p. 604).

exterior depiction, or to remain aloof, maintaining a psychological distance from the exhibit. These envirorama shift the museum from the valorisation of the object to the construction of an historic experience of space.

Requirements for manufacturing context, and for tactile interactivity via replication and virtual simulation (physical or electronic), have presented representation itself as a boundary condition, as touch and experience have both become ways to make illusory connections, and also served to displace the artefact as prime museological evidence. Objects previously suspended in glass display cases (seen but out of reach), are now imaged, able to be accessed via the computer (copied, saved, manipulated in Photoshop), or in other replica form, enabling the physical entity to be relocated behind the scenes. Presenting an illusion of accessibility, the virtual rendition constructs a firmer boundary between museum visitors and artefact. It tightens traditional museological interiority, denying "access to a wealth of national treasures, which presumably, as a taxpayer, I have a certain right to see" (Chamberlain, 2000, p. 52).

Ocean fish and mammals (video projections of swimming fish, penguins and seals, and 3D models, skeletons, and taxidermy – mounted animal carcasses) "swim," while birds "fly" overhead in ceiling spaces, as classification meets increasing pressures for "naturalistic" display in both Te Papa and the Auckland museum. Rather than an exhibition of discrete objects, these are constructions of fragmented sites, where artefacts are seemingly oblivious to their museum context, lack of water, and even their own demise. They recall efforts to animate skeletons and semi-dissected bodies engraved in anatomical texts (such as those illustrated by Bernettini, Lancisi and Spieghel) who were likewise drawn oblivious to their state as dead and located in exterior landscape settings. The conviction of these drawings to life suspended disbelief in their validity. Likewise the commitment of the exhibition display to re-enactment of life in the ocean deep, or the forest canopy, enables a fragmented replica of ocean or forest to exist symbiotically with the museum architecture, where both slide ambiguously between desires for interiority and the exterior. Constructions of objects in a "naturalised" grouping (like the buildings in Te Papa's "Mana Whenua" exhibition), utilise spatial relationships to similarly form and determine degrees of interiority and exteriority. These fragmented or abstract

environments allow for spatial relationships to be reconstructed explicitly dependent on the surface of museum architecture to stitch together coherent space, enabling suspended marine skeletons to gain a coherent contextual meaning supplemented by museum architecture (unlit and darkly painted) and the museum visitor's imagination, transforming "the viewer into an active participant: [who] ... starts co-constructing the meanings of things ... the person is not fixed or imprisoned in their own historical [or geospatial] frame" (Gielen, 2004, p. 149). Likewise displaying an incomplete row of chief Karaitiana Takamoana's whare runanga carvings outlines an abstract whare because museum architecture and artefactual building fragments coincide to construct a co-dependent interiority.

Abstract rendering, or the unconvincing material realism of "ten yards of plastic primeval forest" (Dalrymple, 1999) locate the junction where exteriority and interiority meet unresolvedly and the exhibit requires the goodwill, imagination, and patience of the visitor to effect any illusion of geographic or temporal location beyond the immediate space and time of the museum location. Keylocks in prime positions on glass display cases, "bunks" in World War I "trenches" used as display cases, the junctions where walls meet sectioned fale, or warship fragment, or the shrunken reconstruction of His Majesty's Theatre, all present the fabricated nature of interior and exterior exposed by the constraints of museological exhibition. These moments (exemplified perhaps by Hotunui's metaphorical "ingestion" into Auckland Museum's classical interior) point also to the negotiation, ever present, between architecture and exhibit in determining the status of interiority, exteriority and boundary conditions in museums (Linzey, 1995/1996, n.p.). Meanwhile, in the Otago Museum public toilets (within the transitional zone of cafe and museum shop, and outside the line of museum proper), are also made into displays of "systematic" collections of conventional museology (inset into the blue resin rims which form the decorative toilet seats). Shells and starfish, disrupted by jellybeans, are discretely separated into appropriate classifications by their resin encapsulations, and the half height architecture of the toilet cubicles.

Museum architecture and exhibition display hence demonstrate dynamic interactions between states of interiority and exteriority as complex and interdisciplinary phenomena. It is perhaps the engaging with and

shaping *all* of these exchanges across categorical boundaries which most accurately describes an emerging role for museum architecture, and which will impact most dramatically on the future physical construction of its built form.

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Museum Governance, Indigenous Recognition and (In)tolerant Multiculturalism

David Butts

Abstract

Ghassan Hage has drawn the connection between the power to be tolerant and the power to be intolerant. This paper explores one case study of how the dominant culture in New Zealand assumes the power to define the limits of indigenous recognition, in itself an exercising of (in)tolerance, in this case within the context of museum governance reform, within the politics of (in)tolerant multiculturalism. In the late 1990s Whanganui Regional Museum proposed the introduction of a bi-cameral governance model that would significantly increase the level of local iwi participation in the governance of the museum. Public opposition to this proposal, led by local body politicians, argued that such a power-sharing bi-cultural governance model was inappropriate for a community that was more appropriately described as multicultural. This case study demonstrates the perceived tensions between indigenous recognition and the maintenance of liberal democratic forms of representation based on individualism and majoritarianism. However, the case study also demonstrates the perseverance of the proponents of the museum's new governance model and their ability to overcome such determined and powerful opposition, thus demonstrating the potential for such institutions, outside the constraints of local body bureaucracies, to negotiate and sustain innovative solutions to contemporary issues, contributing to community inclusiveness, coherence and well-being.

Introduction

During the last quarter of the twentieth century, in response to a growing recognition of the implications of the Treaty of Waitangi, museums have started to renegotiate their relationships with iwi Māori. In this paper I present a case study of museum governance reform that highlights the tensions between indigenous recognition and the maintenance of liberal democratic forms of representation based on individualism (a preference

for the recognition of individual rights as opposed to group rights) and majoritarianism (recognising the rights of the majority culture over the rights of cultural or other minorities). I analyse both the form and dominant characteristics of bi-cultural partnerships, and engage critically with the way that (in)tolerant multiculturalism has been positioned as an alternative to indigenous recognition. In particular, I explore the stages, problems and significance of this relationship as demonstrated by decisions made about the future operations of the Whanganui Regional Museum during this period. Throughout 1998-99 three Wanganui[1] District Councillors, all former presidents of the museum society, objected to the proposal by the trustees of the Whanganui Regional Museum to adopt a form of museum governance that would allow for an equal number of local iwi and community representatives on a newly created Joint Council and grant each governance partner a right of veto over governance decisions. The proposed governance model challenged firmly held views about the nature of democratic representation and decision-making processes in the governance of public institutions.

While this interest in altering the museum's model of governance was motivated by changing national priorities in New Zealand, it can also be understood more broadly in relation to changes in museological practice occurring at this time. Museum and cultural studies scholars have positioned the museum as an institution rooted in colonial practice and one that has been complicit in the perpetuation of colonial structures of power or power relationships (Bennett, 1995, 2004; Kreps, 2003; Marstine, 2006, pp. 14-17; Simpson, 1996). Indigenous peoples have consistently resisted this colonial process of assimilation and appropriation across global, national and local contexts, in both informal and institutional forums. This resistance takes many forms, including international declarations, the repatriation of cultural property and the establishment of indigenous cultural centres (Butts, 2003, pp. 43-82).

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1   In Te Reo Māori the name of the river and the region is spelt Whanganui. European settlers omitted the "h" when they named their settlement at the mouth of the river Wanganui. The district council retains the European spelling in its name, hence Wanganui District Council. The museum has chosen to include the "h" in its name, hence Whanganui Regional Museum. This is a small, though powerfully symbolic, example of the way in which the majority culture resists the recognition of tangata whenua.

In response to this resistance and increasing international and local recognition of indigenous rights, museums have recognised the need to renegotiate their relationships with indigenous peoples. These negotiations have led to changes in museum governance arrangements and a wide range of professional practices. To the extent that these renegotiated governance relationships with indigenous peoples have challenged the dominant culture's notions of representation, it has in part sought refuge in the discourse of liberal democratic (in)tolerant multiculturalism. Public opposition to the proposed governance model at Whanganui Regional Museum claimed, for example, that Wanganui is a multicultural community and therefore it would be inappropriate for the museum to form a bi-cultural partnership with local iwi. The examination of the discourse of tolerance which follows facilitates an understanding of the implications of this response.

Ghassan Hage argues that tolerant multiculturalism "should be understood as a spatial management of cultural difference while reproducing the structuring of this difference around a dominant culture" (1994, p. 19). In his analysis of the discourse of tolerance Hage argues that the increasing tolerance of multiculturalism by those in power in liberal democracies indicates that the dominant culture has reassessed its ability to dominate, recognising the capacity of the dominated to resist and even challenge their domination. Tolerance, according to Hage, "reproduces the same relation of power", with only the appearance of accepting cultural diversity (1994, p. 27). The dominant culture retains the same relation of power with the minorities by assuming the power to accept and position the "Other" within their sphere of influence (Povinelli, 2002, p. 39).

In claiming the power to tolerate, the dominant culture also retains the power to be intolerant. This does not imply that multiculturalism is a discourse that should replace the colonial discourse of the dominant culture[2]; it is not a disinterested acceptance of cultural diversity (Hage, 1994, pp. 28-32). The acceptance of multiculturalism is an adaptive strategy, signalling the shift from intolerant racism to tolerant racism (Hage, 1994, pp. 33-34).

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2   Jane Kelsey (quoted in Fleras, 1999, p. 209) states: "Colonial leopards do not change their spots; they just stalk their prey in a different way".

Therefore, tolerant multiculturalism masks the denial of indigeneity and hence, in the New Zealand context, masks the denial of the group rights guaranteed to Māori in the Treaty of Waitangi.

Māori and museums

The proposal to change the governance arrangements at Whanganui Regional Museum should be located within the wider context of the evolving relationships between Māori and museums in New Zealand, particularly in the latter quarter of the twentieth century. From the 1970s through to the turn of the twenty-first century there was rapid change in museum practice relating to the care and use of taonga Māori. This process was primarily driven by Māori demand for change, but also reflected increasing awareness by museum practitioners of the changing relationships between museums and indigenous peoples internationally. While museum practitioners had begun to initiate change in their relationships with tangata whenua and in the care and interpretation of taonga Māori in museum collections during the 1970s, from the opening of the *Te Māori* exhibition in 1984 Māori concerns and aspirations hastened the pace of change. Moreover, it was a period in which Māori assertion of the right to self-determination was also a significant catalyst for change in the museum sector. This was apparent in the increasing participation of Māori as museum trustees, practitioners and advisors, as well as in the increasing tribal emphasis on the reclamation of heritage and culture (Butts, 2003, pp. 83-108).

A number of fundamental attitudinal shifts have occurred in the relationships between museums and Māori, although these changes have not occurred evenly throughout the country. Māori collections were reconceptualised and revalued, not as ethnological curiosities, but as taonga tuku iho and as art, and the link between these collections and the people for whom they have particular significance was acknowledged. The manner in which Māori collections were exhibited began to shift from an emphasis on typological and static displays towards recognising that the collections are part of the living heritage of tangata whenua. There was also the beginning of a significant shift from Māori inclusion in museums, primarily

as the subject of collecting and representation, to increasing Māori participation in all aspects of museum activity from museum practice to museum governance.

By the 1980s the need for governance reform in New Zealand's public museums, particularly for the recognition of tangata whenua in governance provisions, was clearly articulated by Māori commentators (Te Awekotuku, 1988, p. 36). Since 1990 there have been significant changes in Mäori participation in museum governance in both metropolitan and regional museums; this is evident in new legislation and in charitable trust constitutions (Butts, 2003, pp. 111-136).

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa claims to be committed to becoming a bi-cultural institution. This commitment is certainly reflected in its policies, programmes and the employment of Māori staff at all levels of management and across the full range of operations. However, although there have always been two Mäori members on the museum's trust board, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992 does not make reference to the Treaty of Waitangi nor is there any provision for Māori representation. This reflects the difficulty of gaining political consensus on the issue of indigenous recognition and the form that recognition should take in the governance of public institutions.

Although the Auckland War Memorial Act 1996 provides for only one tangata whenua representative on the museum's trust board, it also establishes the Taumata-a-Iwi and requires the board to "observe and encourage the spirit of partnership envisaged by the Treaty of Waitangi, the implications of mana Māori and elements in the care of Māori cultural property that only Māori can provide". These provisions appear to be an advance on the provisions in the Te Papa legislation, although Merata Kawharu (2002, p. 300) has stated that despite these provisions, "little by way of equal partnership exists". Canterbury Museum and Otago Museum also have legislative provision for one tangata whenua representative on each trust board.

Prior to the Whanganui Regional Museum governance proposals that are the subject of the case study outlined in this paper, the most radical governance changes that recognise tangata whenua were introduced by the Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre Trust, now known as the Tairawhiti

Museum, in 1999 (Butts, 2003, pp. 127-8, 233-313). The trust's constitution makes provision for a trust board of twelve members, including one appointment from each of the five iwi in the Tairawhiti region, four members appointed by the Gisborne Museum and Arts Centre Society, and two members appointed by the Gisborne District Council. From its inception the trust board has had five iwi appointments and the society and the district council have each appointed a Māori member, thus making a total of seven Māori members on the eleven member trust board. Acceptance of this level of iwi recognition on the museum trust board by the people of the Tairawhiti region and in particular by the district council that funds the museum is probably largely explained by the fact that Māori constitute about fifty percent of the population. Therefore, the composition of the board is not inconsistent with liberal democratic notions of proportional representation and majoritarianism. The next section is a case study from a region where the Māori population constitutes only about 15 percent of the population. There a similar governance model was subject to an orchestrated campaign of public opposition.

Whanganui Regional Museum case study[3]

Whanganui Public Museum Society was formed in 1893 to ensure that Samuel Drew's[4] private collection of natural history specimens, taonga Māori and items of foreign ethnology were not lost to the district. The officers of the society were all Pākehā men and this remained the case until the first appointment of non-voting Māori Associate Board Members in 1938. However, since the establishment of the museum, members of a number of prominent Whanganui Māori families had maintained relationships with the museum, both through their placement of taonga in the museum and in the role of advisors to the museum trustees and directors.

The first non-voting Māori Associate board member was appointed in 1937 and Māori Associate members continued to be appointed to the board

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3 Information for this case study is derived from interviews, media reports, archives and the author's observations as a participant in the governance reform process.

4 Samuel Drew was an Englishman who had settled in Whanganui in 1880 and established a jewellery and watch-making business. He was appointed Honorary Director when the Whanganui Public Museum was established and held that position until he died in 1901.

until 1967. A number of these associate trustees were members of the prominent families that already had strong associations with the museum. With the beginning of the planning for a major extension to the museum building in 1966 that was to include a major new gallery for the exhibition of taonga Māori, it was realised that the time had come to ensure that a Mäori member of the Museum Society was elected a full voting member of the museum board. J. H. Grace was appointed in 1967 and was succeeded by Hori Hipango in 1969. Hori Hipango, a senior member of one of the prominent families that had had an association with the museum since its inception, remained the only Māori board member until the year before he retired from the board in 1987. Throughout the period 1968 to 1993, there were a number of issues relating to the ownership and management of taonga Māori and the presence of koiwi Māori (Māori human remains) held in the museum, that continued to bring the museum board into close contact with tangata whenua. Māori board members took an active role in acting as advisers, intermediaries and negotiators during this period.

At the Museum Society AGM in 1993 Malcolm Murchie, a Pākehā trustee married to a prominent Māori spokesperson, Irihapeti Murchie, proposed that the Board of Trustees "establish a partnership with regional iwi which will delegate to them kaitiakitanga of taonga Māori". Rangipo Mete Kingi, whose family has a long association with the museum, supported the motion asserting that the partnership inherent in the Treaty of Waitangi was not limited to central government but should also be established at the local level. Both he and Murchie referred to the fact that it was the United Nations Year of Indigenous Peoples. Thus began the process of exploring how the museum could develop a more meaningful partnership with tangata whenua. However, little progress was made until 1995.

In February 1995 an area of Whanganui known as Moutoa Gardens (Pakaitore Marae) was occupied by more than 150 members of Whanganui River iwi. The occupation was a response to a government proposal to establish funding parameters (a fiscal envelope) for the settlement of all Treaty of Waitangi claims, but it also reflected a growing level of frustration by local iwi at the lack of progress with Treaty of Waitangi claims, particularly claims to Whanganui National Park and the Waimarino Block. The occupiers claimed ownership of Pakaitore and requested its return from Whanganui

District Council. They claimed that they had returned to Pakaitore under their own tikanga and that they were asserting their Whanganuitanga: the right to manage and control their own resources and affairs as guaranteed under Article Two of the Treaty of Waitangi (Moon, 1998, p. 65).

The occupation caused confusion and resentment amongst many in the Päkehä population of Whanganui (Moon, 1998, p. 64). The Whanganui District Council was "disappointed that the usual channels of communication between iwi and council had been bypassed" (Pratt, 1998, p. 73). The fact that these established lines of communication had not worked was indicative of significant changes in the balance of power within Whanganui iwi. It was also indicative of the lack of understanding of these changing dynamics by the local authority.

The Wanganui District Councillors had made the "normal" liberal democratic assumption that the "public sphere" is a level playing field, accessible equally to all members of society, failing to recognise that there are dominant group cultural norms that exclude minorities and marginalised peoples, such as iwi Māori, from group recognition and therefore effective participation in democratic processes. Iwi were frustrated with the lack of progress in their negotiations with both local and central government.

Wanganui District Council attempted to evict the occupiers, but on the day they were due to be evicted, 1500 people gathered at Pakaitore Marae and the council decided not to proceed. There were public gatherings both in support of and expressing opposition to the occupiers. Members of "One Wanganui" organised a march against the occupation attended by 600 people. The occupation ended on May 18, 1995 with Whanganui iwi, the district council and the crown entering into negotiations over the future of Pakaitore. When the district council transferred the land back to the government in 2001, a trust was established to manage Moutoa Gardens – Pakaitore Marae. The occupation had polarised factions within the city and heightened racial tensions. When the museum eventually decided on a new governance model, these tensions were once again brought to the surface because the model was seen by some as transferring too much power to iwi. Such recognition of minorities and cultural collectives was seen to be inconsistent with the concepts of majoritarianism and individualism that underpin the western liberal democratic tradition.

In early 1995 Whanganui District Council agreed to increase the level of funding to the museum if it engaged in a governance and management review.[5] The Director of Operations at the WDC had been closely involved in the process of appointing a new museum director, and had become aware of the difficulties the museum trustees were experiencing in governing an institution that was making a rapid transition from a seriously under-resourced incorporated society museum to a fully professional public institution. The trustees were largely dependent on local body funding to achieve this transformation.

After several meetings of the Governance Working Party, established in 1997, it was apparent that Māori participation was limited. With the guidance of the Māori board members it was decided that a Māori facilitator should be contracted by the museum to initiate and facilitate a process through which tangata whenua could collectively participate in the governance review process. A hui-ā-iwi was organised in March 1998 to initiate this process. The hui-ā-iwi was addressed by Professor Whatarangi Winiata, Te Tiwha Puketapu and the director of the museum. Professor Winiata outlined a Treaty of Waitangi based bi-cameral model of governance similar to that adopted by the Anglican Church in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Polynesia in 1992. The model is generally referred to as the Raukawa or Mihinare model.

The hui decided to mandate their own group, Te Roopū Mahi mo Ngā Taonga, to negotiate a new museum governance arrangement that would ensure appropriate iwi participation. The hui-ā-iwi also gave Te Roopū Mahi mo Ngā Taonga the mandate to advocate the Raukawa model as an appropriate governance model for the Whanganui Regional Museum. Formal negotiations then proceeded between Te Roopū Mahi mo Ngā Taonga and the museum's Governance Working Party, leading eventually to the joint recommendation of the negotiating parties to the museum board in September 1998 that the museum should adopt a form of the Raukawa model of governance.

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5   Memorandum from R. McGowan, Director of Operations, Whanganui City Council to C. Whitlock, Chief Executive Officer, 4 April 1995. "Review of Governance and management of the Museum", p. 1.

The proposed governance model was based on the principles of partnership and two peoples' development and consisted of two houses, a Tikanga Māori House and a Tikanga Civic House, each providing members for a Joint Council that was ultimately responsible for governance. The Tikanga Māori House members nominated to the Joint Council represented the iwi of the wider region including Ngā Rauru (south Taranaki), Atihaunui-a-Pāpārangi (Whanganui River), Ngāti Apa (lower Rangitikei River) and the Mōkai-Patea iwi (upper Rangitīkei River). Decisions in the Joint Council would normally be made by consensus. When consensus could not be achieved, for a motion to be passed a majority of the representatives of both houses had to support the proposal. The Tikanga Māori House would operate according to tikanga Māori, with its own electoral system. The Tikanga Civic House would develop its own tikanga and electoral system (an electoral college process) to ensure representation of the community and museum stakeholder groups.

This model therefore proposed a fundamental change in Māori participation in the museum's governance, from Māori participation largely by museum society members who happened to be from prominent local Māori families, to the election of iwi mandated representatives. The Raukawa model departed from the liberal model of representation (one person, one vote decision making) in that it provided recognition and representation of tribal collectives and was underpinned by principles and processes that actively protect indigenous collective rights.

Public opposition to the proposed museum governance model

The Community Services Committee, Whanganui District Council, was advised of the endorsement of the new governance proposals by the Annual General Meeting of the Whanganui Regional Museum Society in November 1998.[6] Councillor Gerald McDouall, a former chairman of the museum board, stated that he was concerned by the reference to "two cultures" in the proposed new constitution and suggested that this was contrary to the notion of a multicultural society.

6   Minutes of Wanganui District Council Ordinary Meeting 7 December 1998. Community Services Committee Meeting 25 November 1998, Item 3: Whanganui Regional Museum Governance. p. 2.

Councillor Don McGregor, former chairperson of the museum society, suggested that the model did not address issues of efficiency and accountability that were an essential aspect of the governance reform agenda. He recognised the significance of the collection of taonga Māori to the museum and to iwi and the need to address the concerns of tangata whenua but he opposed the "50/50 partnership" being proposed in the new governance model. He thought that the model could lead to confrontation with potential to divide the community.

All of the key elements of the liberal democratic discourse were articulated in this first volley of opposition to the museum's new governance proposals. Māori indigeneity and Treaty based partnership were denied in preference for a form of community multiculturalism that would merely mask the retention of a liberal democratic form of representation based on individualism and majoritarianism. Within this liberal democratic discourse equality is understood to require that everyone be treated the same rather than to recognise that equality may require differential treatment of collectives. Thus there is little sympathy for the notion of group rights. There is also inherent in this response a failure to understand the Treaty responsibilities of local government. The proposed governance arrangements created an opportunity for local government to be a party to a partnership that would actively protect the interests of iwi in relation to their taonga tuku iho and the representation of their culture within the institution.

When the report from the meeting of the Community Services Committee was considered for adoption at the Ordinary Council Meeting the mayor expressed his disquiet "that the significant level of public concern about the Museum's governance proposals had created a very controversial issue".[7] He suggested that the council should recommend to the museum society that the governance proposal "be further reviewed and the outcome reported to Council".

Following this meeting, councillors McGregor and McDouall made a number of public statements in opposition to the proposed new governance

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7   Minutes of Wanganui District Council Ordinary Meeting 7 December 1998. Community Services Committee Meeting - 25 November 1998, Item 3: Whanganui Regional Museum Governance. p. 3

structure.[8] Another former museum society president, Darrell Grace, also began a letter writing campaign to the local newspaper expressing his opposition to the proposal.[9] The opposition expressed in these newspaper articles and letters focused on the level of Māori representation as being undemocratic and racially divisive. Such an undemocratic structure was seen to create a dangerous precedent that might spread to other public bodies. The proposal was seen to be contrary to the healthy development of a multicultural community. The structure was also characterised as clumsy and complicated. Although there was only very limited support for the proposals in the media, Manu Mete Kingi, a former museum board member, expressed his frustration at the continuing opposition to the proposed governance structure, stating that there was discussion in the Māori community about removing their taonga from the museum.[10]

Following a review of the proposals by the museum society, and a further confirmation by members, the governance proposal was again the subject of discussion at the September 1999 meeting of the Community Services Committee of the Wanganui District Council. Committee members were provided with the draft constitution. The director, in consultation with the trustees, had prepared material on the proposal for the committee members in an attempt to counter those criticisms that had been the subject of public debate. In particular, they stressed that the new governance structure was an attempt to "improve community unity", and that the proposal had been developed in a spirit of "co-operation, trust and mutual respect".[11]

Councillor Don McGregor reiterated his opposition to the proposals.[12] On this occasion he also questioned the concept of partnership, preferring

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8   *Wanganui Chronicle.* (1998). Māori to have say in museum. 17 Nov., *Wanganui Chronicle.* (1998). Councillors split over proposed museum governance structure. 26 Nov., *Wanganui Chronicle.* (1998). Dangerous precedent seen with new museum structure. 5 Dec., *Wanganui Chronicle.* (1998). Council urges rethink on museum plan. 8 Dec.

9   Grace, D. (1998). Letter to *Wanganui Chronicle.* 10 Dec, Grace, D. (1998). Letter to *Wanganui Chronicle.* 22 Dec,

10 *Wanganui Chronicle.* (1999). Museum governance opinions aired. 22 Jun.

11 Minutes of Wanganui District Council Ordinary Meeting 27 September 1999. Community Services Committee Meeting - 15 September 1999, Item 9: Whanganui Regional Museum Governance. p. 2

12 This is a reference to the Ngā Rauru and Ngāti Apa representation in Tikanga Māori House.

that people be elected to the museum board "on their merits".

When the committee's report was considered by the full council on 27 September 1999 those councillors who opposed the draft constitution moved a motion noting that while the council recognised the museum board's right to change the governance structure the council did not accept the "tikanga group representation and voting system" as being "in the best interests of all the cultural groups that make up the Whanganui District community", and asked that a postal ballot be taken of all museum society members which gave them a range of governance options.[13]

Councillor McGregor took this further opportunity to elaborate his argument, stating that the proposed governance model was "unfair, racist and unlikely to lead to a trust board which could capably manage the museum".[14] He said that it was "patronising and racist to give one racial group a privilege over other racial groups so taking away the rights of the other groups". He also noted that the rights of individuals should be respected, that he was opposed to tribalism, and that hapū would elect people without requiring any particular qualifications, thus, he said, "self interest will rule".[15] He said that he would support three Māori representatives on the museum trust board because this would be closer to the proportion of Māori in the population. Three other councillors spoke against the proposed changes to the museum constitution along similar lines to Councillor McGregor. On this occasion Councillor McGregor called into question the capacity of local iwi to elect trustees with the knowledge and skills required to provide effective governance for the museum.

In supporting the proposed changes to the museum constitution, Councillor Erni stated that she believed there was willingness in the community to move forward. Erni also felt that the proposed model was a step towards proper acknowledgement of the role iwi should play in the

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13 Minutes of Wanganui District Council Ordinary Meeting 27 September 1999. Community Services Committee Meeting - 15 September 1999, Item 9: Whanganui Regional Museum Governance. p. 7

14 Minutes of Wanganui District Council Ordinary Meeting 27 September 1999. Community Services Committee Meeting - 15 September 1999, Item 9: Whanganui Regional Museum Governance. p. 5

15 Whanganui District Council Meeting 17 September 1999. Notes taken at the meeting by David Butts. p. 1.

life of the city.[16] She reminded the council that it could influence the museum's management through its Service Agreement each year. Four other councillors spoke in support of the new governance proposal. However, the motion was carried. In effect the council had rejected the new governance proposal and by commenting on the postal ballot was interfering in the affairs of the museum society. This placed considerable pressure on the museum board, but the trustees determined that they should proceed with the proposed governance reform process.

In October 1999 Don McGregor published a letter providing his most comprehensive summary of his opposition to the museum's governance proposal:

> For the museum board to propose that Māori as a minority group should be given 50 percent control of this ratepayer-funded institution is viewed by many as an extreme step, more likely to divide than unite. It would place Māori in a position of privilege with regard to the rest of the population.
>
> To do this would limit the democratic rights of others, making the rest of us in effect "less equal" and sowing the seeds of racial ill-will and resentment. To presume that as a multi-cultural society we can not recognise Māori values is patronising and untrue.
>
> There is already strong Māori involvement in the governance of the museum. Board members and staff are culturally sensitive. What then should be done? I believe the answer is to simply allow the museum society to elect to the board the best available people in the district rather than just from within its own membership, regardless of race. This should result in a board with the necessary financial and managerial skills and level of cultural awareness to properly govern our museum.
>
> Involvement of hapū and other stakeholders in the care and display of treasures vested in the museum could be encouraged through direct negotiation and agreement between the director and the people concerned.[17]

16 Whanganui District Council Meeting 17 September 1999. Notes taken at the meeting by David Butts. p. 2.

17 McGregor, D. (1999). Reality Check (Letter). *Wanganui Chronicle*, 13 Oct.

Councillors McGregor, McDouall and Grace, all former museum society presidents, provided the public focus for those opposed to the museum's proposed governance structure through their opposition at council meetings, museum society meetings, letters to the newspaper and by giving interviews to newspaper journalists. It is not possible to assess what proportion of the Wanganui community agreed with their opposition, but the small number of letters supporting their view in the local newspaper suggests that there were few who were prepared to be identified publicly. However, a sizable group of citizens did demonstrate publicly in the city in opposition to the Māori occupation of Moutua Gardens in 1995 under the banner of "One People". McGregor and McDouall stated that they had members of the community expressing their opposition directly to them and that they were representing these people. The fact that these two councillors were able to lead a majority of councillors in opposition to the museum' s proposals suggests that these councillors sensed that the opposition to the proposals was widespread in the community. It is also notable that Deputy Mayor and third highest polling candidate in the previous election, Pam Erni, was not re-elected at the next election. Councillor Erni was of the view that this could almost certainly be attributed to her support of the museum's proposed new governance arrangements (Butts, 2003, pp. 197-8).

At the October 1999 meeting of the Wanganui District Council Community Development Committee, Rosemary Hovey, Community Development Manager, reporting on iwi-council relationships noted that because of the council's attitude to the museum's governance proposals there had been indications from a number of Tupoho hapū[18] that they would not now sign the intended relationship document with the district council.[19] After taking legal advice it was decided that the postal ballot requested by the district council should not be held. At the Annual General Meeting of the museum society in November 1999, members voted to endorse the governance proposals for the second time. The Whanganui Regional Museum Trust was finally formally established in July 2001. In the four

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18 Tupoho is the iwi collective in the lower Whanganui River region.
19 Minutes of Wanganui District Council Ordinary Meeting 8 November 1999. Community Development Committee Meeting - 20 October 1999, Item 4: Iwi Liaison. p. 1. See also *Wanganui Chronicle.* (1999). Museum row puts breaks on document signing. 9 Nov.

years since this establishment, neither partner has had to exercise the veto available to it in the constitution and all decisions have been made by consensus. However, the museum operates in a constrained financial environment and as a result of this the Joint Council has been unable to fulfil one of its priority objectives - to increase the number of Māori staff.

Conclusion

Hage (1994, 1998, pp. 78-104) has articulated the connection between the power to be tolerant and the power to be intolerant. I have sought in this paper to demonstrate how the dominant Pākehā culture in New Zealand assumes the power to define the limits of indigenous recognition, itself an exercising of (in)tolerance, in this case within the context of museum governance reform, within a politics of (in)tolerant multiculturalism. It is clear from a close examination of this case study that the discourse of (in)tolerant multiculturalism was employed by those opposed to the proposed changes to the museum's governance in order to advocate for a liberal democratic form of representation based on individualism and majoritarianism. The discourse of (in)tolerant multiculturalism masks the colonial discourse of tolerant racism that accepts limited indigenous participation, but denies full indigenous recognition and the legitimacy of the Treaty of Waitangi as the basis for partnerships between hapū/iwi and public institutions. Opponents to the increase in iwi representation in the museum's governance also suggested that Māori representatives would be motivated by self-interest and even questioned the capacity of the Māori community to provide representatives with the skills required to govern such a public institution. While it is clear that opponents felt the level of Māori representation in the proposed governance model was not appropriate for the museum, there is also evidence that they feared the potential for these ideas to gain wider currency in other public institutions, and in local and central government.

In response to the sustained public opposition of the three district councillors who were able to significantly delay the progress of the museum's governance reform process, the iwi representatives and museum society trustees who had negotiated the governance proposals demonstrated a

determination to conclude the process. In the face of possible funding repercussions from the district council the advocates of the new governance arrangements continued to assert the importance of the changes for the future development of the museum and well-being of the community. This required a careful balance in public relations and the protection of museum staff from the potential distress of public debate. In particular the determination of the director and the museum society president in the face of strong opposition was critical to the success of the strategy because they had to articulate the proposals within the centres of power, in both the bureaucratic and the political forums of the district council.

The local newspaper, the *Wanganui Chronicle,* provided the primary means for the opponents of the governance proposals to communicate their opposition to the wider community. Newspaper headlines referring to "dangerous precedents" and to "racist" proposals may have created the impression of a greater sense of public outrage than was in fact the case. The paper printed statements from the opponents after each council meeting or museum society meeting where the matter was discussed. The museum society and iwi representatives chose not to engage in public debate and the newspaper did little to provide its own balanced reporting of the statements of the opponents. It may be the case that the museum society's decision not to engage in the public debate foreshortened the controversy surrounding the issue, and also made it possible for the newly established museum trust to continue the museum society's funding relationship with the district council. The news media should be conscious of its potential to polarise sections of the community by the use of inflammatory reporting and seek to provide balanced coverage even when one party to a dispute is not actively engaging in the public debate.

This case study draws attention to the role that public cultural institutions, such as museums, can have in civil society. Such institutions, operating outside the bureaucratic structures of local authorities, even if they depend on local authorities for most of their funding, can play an important part in the complex networks that sustain civil society and ensure community inclusiveness, coherence and well-being. At a time when New Zealand communities are exploring ways of negotiating effective partnerships with tangata whenua, the successful transition to a bi-cultural bi-cameral

governance model at Whanganui Regional Museum has demonstrated the capacity of the community to pursue experimental solutions to complex social and political issues in the context of such institutions, even in the face of sustained and powerful opposition. And the museum's Joint Council has demonstrated that the two partners can work constructively within the new governance arrangements.

Finally, however, it must be acknowledged that the political struggle continues. In 2005 the Joint Council initiated a review of the museum's governance arrangements as required by the new trust constitution. When the district council was asked, in October 2005, to nominate a representative to participate on the review panel, Councillor Don McGregor, the most vocal opponent of the museum's governance model, was appointed. In addition to this the district council announced in December 2005 its desire to amalgamate the operations of the museum, art gallery and library. It is unclear at the time of writing what the implications of this will be for the future governance and management of the museum.

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Hailing the Subject: Maori Visitors, Museum Display and the Sociology of Cultural Reception

Conal McCarthy

Abstract

This paper investigates accounts of Maori visitors to museum exhibitions in which people talk of being 'hailed' by taonga (ancestral treasures). These encounters between Maori people and their exhibited culture, common among young Maori visitors to museums in the late twentieth century, invite comparison with Louis Althusser's theory of ideology, in which subjects are summoned into social roles. The paper examines Maori exhibitions, and in particular the evidence of audience response, against the backdrop of New Zealand's changing cultural history in the 1970s and 1980s. Springing off from Althusser's work on ideology, this article employs the work of Foucault, Gell and other theorists to develop a new model of the culture of reception which suggests that display constitutes subjects. It argues that the process of 'interpellation' can work against the exhibitionary apparatus, by allowing viewers to assume subject positions that resist colonial subjugation. In the last twenty years the dominant conventions of museum display have been challenged as objects and subjects were re-inscribed within a resurgent indigenous discourse of decolonisation.

Introduction

In August 1986, a 16 year old Maori student from Porirua walked into the *Te Maori* exhibition at the National Museum in Wellington and saw the taiaha of warrior chief Te Rauparaha on display. He recalled later that his ancestor's taonga, or cultural treasure, seemed to "call out" to him, and he found himself reaching out to hold it.[1] These accounts of being "hailed" by taonga are a feature of the responses of young Maori visitors to museums during the 1980s. Narratives such as these appear to be part of a process of identity formation and raise interesting questions about the problematic relations of subjectivity, indigeneity and representation.

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1   Johnston, S., Ngati Raukawa, personal communication, August 1986.

This article reassesses Maori exhibitions by examining indigenous visitor responses to Maori exhibitions in the last three decades against the backdrop of New Zealand's changing cultural history. I examine personal accounts of Maori visitors' encounters with taonga through the lens of structuralist and post-structuralist theories of the subject, in order to consider the relationships between objects, museum display and audience reception. Rather than assume that the process of subjectivisation is one of subjugation, I argue that what Althusser calls "interpellation" can also work against the state apparatus, by allowing indigenous visitors to assume subject positions that resist the ongoing legacy of colonial domination. This theoretical argument is germane to the analysis of new museums in "post-settler" nations (Sissons, 2005) such as New Zealand, Australia and Canada, where exhibition practices address postcolonial concerns to include indigenous voices

Theorising museums

In the last twenty years, the museum has become a favourite topic of academic writers looking for public expressions of issues such as ethnic and gender politics, nationalism and the nation state, cultural identity and difference, colonisation, knowledge and power (Karp & Lavine, 1991; Karp, Lavine & Kreamer, 1992; Duncan, 1995; Simpson, 1996; Boswell & Evans, 1999; Carbonell, 2004; Farrago & Preziosi, 2005). Although the museum provides a useful site for the intersection of social theory and public culture, scholars criticise the superficial analysis of this complex field which results from under-theorising the role of display and overlooking the question of audience (Starn, 2005; Thomas, 1996; 1999). The tendency for critics from a cultural studies viewpoint to simply "read off" museum meanings from the outside is balanced somewhat by recent work in museum studies, which draws on anthropology and sociology to analyse the internal workings of institutions and their complex and contested interactions with visitors (Merriman, 1991; Bennett, 1995; Macdonald, 1998; Staniszewski, 1998; Barker, 1999; Taylor, 1999; Prior, 2002; McClellan, 2003; Marstine, 2005). Scholars such as Gordon Fyfe and Sharon Macdonald have called for a broad approach which deals more adequately with the distinctive location and complexity of museums, including their diverse audiences (Fyfe & Macdonald, 1996).

As well as unmasking power relations, recent scholarship in museum history and theory has probed exhibitions at the micro level. Interrogating the relationship between objects, the visitors who look at them and the social and historical context within which this interaction takes place. Mary Anne Staniszewski, for example, in her study of exhibitions at the Museum of Modern Art, treats installation design not just as a social discourse but as "an aesthetic medium and historical category" (1998, p. xxii). She asks: "What aesthetic, cultural, and political discourses intersected with these exhibits? What sorts of viewers, or 'subjects,' do different types of installation designs create? What kinds of museums are constituted by particular installation practices?" (Staniszewski, 1998, p. xxiii). The current analysis of museum display goes some way towards answering these questions by treating vision and visuality as a social construct. This approach proceeds from Michel Foucault's argument that seeing is cultural not natural, something that has a history, that was produced in a particular time in a specific context (Foucault, 1984, p. 83). Pierre Bourdieu characterised aesthetic pleasure as something learned, and the act of looking at things on display as a social practice embedded in a field of cultural production (Bourdieu, 1984, p.3). In studies of visual culture, scholars describe "vision and visuality" as something "social and historical" (Foster, 1988, p. ix) and museums as "spaces of constructed visibility" (Rajchman, 1988, p.103). Yet, apart from some notable exceptions (Mitchell, 1994; MacClancey, 1997), scholars have not really acknowledged the role of the spectator/visitor in the study of museum exhibitions. By contrast, it has become commonplace in literary theory to talk of "audience oriented criticism", in which the focus shifted away from the author and formalist understandings of the text or art object, to a reader-response model in which readers were said to construct the meaning of the text as they read it (Rabinowitz in Atkins & Morrow, 1989, p.87). The sociology of art has investigated different ways of seeing (Inglis & Hughson, 2005), including what might be called reception studies:

> This means that the sociology of art cannot simply discuss the meaning of a novel or painting, without reference to the question of who reads it or sees it, and how. In this sense, a sociology of cultural production must be supplemented with, and integrated into, a sociology of cultural reception. (Wolf, 1981, p. 97)

The growth of visitor research within museums studies has gone some way to focus attention on the different ways that visitors interpret their own meanings from exhibits (Greene, 1996). We know a great deal about the demographics of museum visitation and the relationship between display and social distinction, but much less in qualitative terms about audience and the social construction of knowledge (Merriman, 1991; Dierking & Falk, 1992; Sanders, 2002). In New Zealand, the sociology of culture has begun to be applied to social fields such as media, visual art, and museums (McManus, 1988; Harker et al, 1990; Webb et al, 2002). My own research has unearthed evidence of how visitors in the past reacted to the display of Maori culture and clarifies the ways in which discursive regimes such as "art/artifact" were articulated through the responses of visitors who accepted, mediated, or contested them (McCarthy, 2004). Visitor comments, reviews, surveys, and interviews may give us valuable information about the Maori visitor experience. How do visitors apprehend and comprehend the things they find? What does it mean to put something on display? As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out, "display not only shows and speaks, it also *does*" (1998, p.128). But how does the agency of display work on objects *and* visitors in exhibition spaces – what does it *do*, and how is it *performed*?

The culture of display

I propose a model for the sociology of cultural reception drawn from Emma Barker's idea of a "culture of display" (Barker, 1999, pp.13-15). Barker, whose work demonstrates the *productive* capacity of display, treats exhibitions as things which actively produce meaning, which are "a form of representation as well as mode of presentation" (Barker, 1999, p.13). This culture of display also makes things visible to viewers, by putting things into a context in which they make sense, in which they mediate their reception by viewers. Objects are constituted through the discourses which make them available to be seen, because, although objects certainly exist outside us, they only exist for us in terms of some concept or discursive framework through which they make sense to us. In the space of the museum, display comprises the subject who sees, and the object which is seen, as mutually constitutive entities. It is display which lies at the centre of the study of museums, a site where visitors, exhibited objects, cultural practices and discourses come together. My thinking here is indebted to Nicholas Thomas's "ethnography

of colonial projects," which combines Foucault's discourse, describing how large social structures operate in society, with the work of Bourdieu, detailing how people actually reproduce, practice or adapt these structures on a day to day level (Thomas, 1994, pp. 58-64).

Fig 1: The culture of display
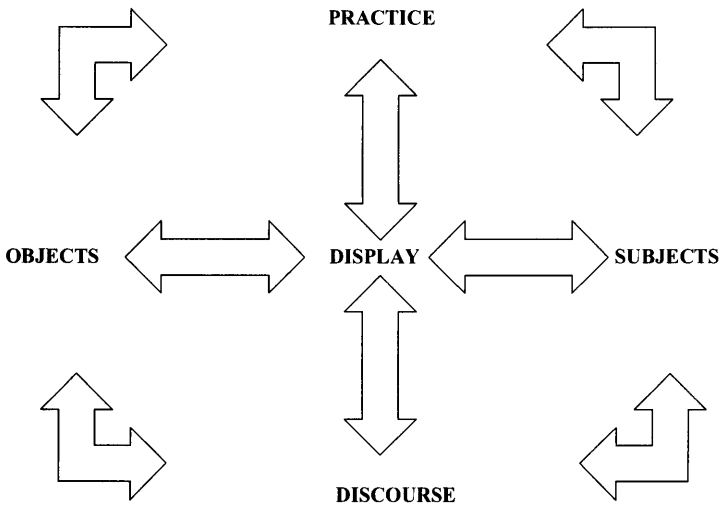
Althusser and Interpellation

The above model situates the subject-object interface – in other words the encounter of visitors (subject) with artifacts on display (object) – as the nexus of the culture of display. Foucault suggests that discourse constitutes objects (1972, pp. 47-49) Kirshenblatt-Gimblett applies constructionist theories to museums, claiming that display constitutes subjects (1998, p.128). But how exactly does this work? How does the individual visitor's reaction to an exhibit relate to wider discursive formations? Louis Althusser's work is helpful in addressing the problems within this theoretical model. Branded as a structural Marxist, by the 1980s Althusser's work on ideology was

dismissed by critics because it seemed to deny agency (Benton, 1984). Since his death in 1990, much more of his work has been discovered, published and translated, leading to new readings of his work (Kaplan & Sprinker, 1993; Montag, 2003).

Althusser's famous article "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses" presents a number of useful theories on ideology, the subject, and a mechanism that explains how they are related to one another, namely interpellation (Althusser, 1998, pp. 294-304). It is now a basic tenet of cultural theory that the subject and subjectivity, in other words our sense of ourselves as individuals, is constituted by social forces and relationships (Edgar, 1999, p.389). In the 1960s, Althusser pioneered this anti-humanist view of human subjectivity: "Man", he wrote, "is a myth of bougeois ideology" (1976, pp. 52-3). Maintaining that our very identity as individuals is an ideological construct, Althusser contended: "There are no subjects except by and for their subjection" (Williams, 2004, p. 230). Rather than seeing ourselves as free agents able to do whatever we like, the "I" who is the thinking-seeing subject at the centre of all things, he saw individual subjects as socially determined, that is to say, embedded in social roles and relations through beliefs and practices that centre the individual in their own consciousness and binds them to social structures (Eagleton, 1983, pp. 171-73). Althusser declared unequivocally that "an individual is always-already a subject, even before he is born" (1971, pp. 164-5). Ideology works by making the subject recognise itself in a certain specific way which is construed as the obvious or natural one for itself. In Althusser's work ideology is not the "false consciousness" of classic Marxism. Rather than a question of deceiving us about appearance/reality, for Althusser ideology is a "system of representations" through which we live our relations to the real (Montag, 2003, p.62, p.63).

Althusser's ideological state apparatus (ISA) includes non-repressive tools of the state such as church, school, family, media, and language which allow social groups to govern and maintain power without having to resort to force. We can readily apply this theory to a range of public sites – what we might call the exhibitionary apparatus[2], museums, heritage sites, tourism

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2   This Althusserian construction is closely related to Tony Bennett's "exhibitionary complex" (1995, p.59) and Timothy Mitchell's 'exhibitionary order' (1998, p.456).

and shopping – that are relatively independent of social structures but which ultimately reinforce the power of the ruling group. Althusser's theory of interpellation suggests how the subject is linked to the ISAs. Althusser stated that: "Ideology interpellates individuals as subjects" (1971, p.162). Althusser reworked the Marxist concept of ideology by using the French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan's idea of the imaginary. Like the child seeing itself in the mirror and recognising its unified selfhood, Althusser's notion of an individual being hailed (like someone walking along the street hearing and recognising that someone is "calling out" to them) is seen as a crucial moment in the construction of subjectivity (Eagleton, 1983, pp172-73). The individual is "constituted" not just by being hailed, but by answering, by their response to the addresses of the ISA. "Most individuals affirm themselves as subjects", writes Montag, "by answering the call: they become subjects by subjecting themselves" (Montag, 2003, p.119). Montag explains:

> The imaginary element of ideology, that by which we believe ourselves to be the cause of what we do, is false, but nevertheless real and material. We are interpellated, addressed, judged, and punished as the authors of our actions, our bodies caught in a very real apparatus of subjection. (Montag, 2003, p.78)

Interpellation has been interpreted in striking images of human encounter redolent of colonisation. Montag pictures interpellation via Dafoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe*. Here, the castaway Crusoe meets the former slave Man Friday, a "free" man who voluntarily gives himself up to his master in his service to him (Montag, 2003, p.117). This chilling image of a black man placing a white man's foot on his head symbolises the subjection of the colonial subject.

For Althusser, then, ideology is a dynamic process which is always being reproduced and reconstructed in social practices, in the various ways in which we make sense of ourselves and our society, not just at the level of institutions but also at the level of individual people (Fiske, 1998, p.306, p.307). There are, of course, problems with Althusser's theories of ideology and the subject.[3] However in the years since Althusser disappeared from

3   See Foucault, 1980; Eagleton, 1983; Benton, 1984; Smith, 1984. Althusser late in life renounced orthodox structural Marxism, suggesting in his autobiography a number of more ambivalent subject positions. Drawing again on Lacan, Althusser wrote about "the discourse of an Other who speaks only where I am not" (Montag, 2003, p.124).

view, more sophisticated and reflexive ways of thinking about these issues have appeared in post-structuralist accounts of language and representation. Foucault, for example, was interested in the subject as a discursive formation. "My objective", he wrote, "has been to create a history of the different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1982, p.208). Where the crude Marxist analysis of colonisation stressed the domination of the colonised by the coloniser, Foucault shows that power relations include not just forces but more indirect processes of subjection where the identity of individuals is formed and contested (Rabinow, 1986, pp. 259-61).

This view of power as diffuse and constitutive, working up as well as down, allowing for resistance as well as oppression, is a useful corrective to overly pessimistic structuralist theories. For example Timothy Mitchell's (1991) work on Arab visitors to Orientalist exhibitions in the late nineteenth century, or Burton's (1996) work on Indians in England, employ Foucauldian visibility in reflexive ways, and by incorporating the perspective of the colonial people who are the object of the European gaze, thereby allows them to become active participants. Foucault's work is useful for specific case studies because it shows how the subject is produced in social discourse at a particular time and place – how it is *historicised* (Hall, 1997, p.55). Discourse, that all-enveloping network of cultural languages, produces a place for the subject, a position from which a particular formation of power/ knowledge can be articulated at a particular moment in history (Hall, 1997, p.56).

Although Foucault's work improves on Althusser by offering a more flexible account of subject formation, the complex genealogy of Maori exhibitions reveals the limitations of Foucaultian approaches. Museums are not just instruments of power, and as Andrea Witcomb notes, Foucauldian analysis sometimes overlook evidence of other histories such as resistance, pleasure and consumption (2003, pp.15-17). Scholars now try to balance discursive and materialist approaches without loosing sight of either words or things (Hill, 2005, p.3; Prior, 2002, p. 11). Foucauldian theories have been adapted to the colonial context by writers like Said (1994) and Hall (1997), who see power as something diffuse, circulatory, and productive, which catches up everyone (coloniser and colonised) in its orbit (Hall, 1997,

pp. 260-61). Not surprisingly, there has been a shift away from pessimistic visions of the colonised as victims of western hegemony to an exploration of the interactive and cross cultural nature of Orientalism (Beaulieu & Roberts, 2002; Hendry, 2000). Rasheed Araeen complains of the "tyranny of post colonial theory" and urges us to move beyond the unhelpful paradigms of identity politics (Araeen, 2002, pp. 336-343).

Taonga as social agents

In this section I review examples of interpellation within the culture of display of the late twentieth century. Following Althusser and Foucault, I argue that exhibitions are integral to a process of subjectivisation. In addition, I flesh out this model with Alfred Gell's (1998; 1992) theories of art and social agency, showing how Maori responses to taonga on display in museums can be understood in terms of the technologies of enchantment. Accounts of interpellation and statements by Maori visitors and museums professionals provide an interesting case study of indigenous audience interaction with museum representations of their culture, and demonstrate how reading/viewing the object "against the grain" situates the minority subject within an oppositional indigenous discourse.

Over twenty years ago, Hirini Mead criticised the work of non-Maori scholars who ignored Maori perceptions of their own culture, and their responses to museum display (Mead 1983, pp. 11-24). In contrast to the public perception of museums as rarefied spaces set apart from daily life, Maori artists and writers see the art world as a site of cultural struggle (Jahnke, 1999; Mané-Wheoki, 1995). The inclusion of Maori responses within museum history, and Maori views within museum practice, can be seen as "decolonising methodologies" which seek to validate and reclaim indigenous forms of knowledge (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). Rather than devalue newly traditional Maori culture as "cultural invention", changes in the Maori culture of display in this period can be seen as a creative re-coupling, what Stuart Hall (1997) called a re-articulation, of constituent elements in response to social and political forces (Clifford 2001; Slack 1996; Grossberg 1986). The resulting changes in exhibition pragmatics, welcomed in many quarters as progressive signs, are however somewhat ambiguous in their effects and implications.

In nineteenth-century New Zealand, museums enshrined the indigenous culture within a Pacific Orientalism, a discourse at odds with Maori culture itself (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999). This was illustrated in the display of the whare tupuna, the body of an ancestor, as a relic of a dying race – a museological inversion from a womb to a "tomb with a view" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998, p. 57). In Althusser's terms, a museum in a colonial society like New Zealand can be seen as an ISA through which the dominant Europeans maintains power over the colonised indigenous people. However, the evidence suggests that the exhibitionary apparatus occupies a somewhat ambiguous position in the colonial culture of display (McCarthy, 2005), opening up the possibility of different ways of articulating subjectivity and consequently of new practices of museum collection and display.

From the 1960s to the present, the period described by historian James Belich as marking New Zealand's domestic decolonisation, there has been a significant growth and experimentation in Maori exhibitions which was accompanied by an upsurge of interest from Maori visitors that reflected the active political climate (Belich, 2001, pp. 540-41). In Maori poetry, fiction and non-fiction museums are seen as static places of death and plunder in which the speakers encounter taonga which are emblems of loss (Te Awekotuku, 1985; Te Punga Sommerville, 2005). Artist and writer Katarina Mataira expressed her feelings about one wharenui, speaking from the point of view of the ancestor house, which describes itself as "lonely" and forlorn, photographed by curious Pakeha. Its people are lost or dead and the ancestors inside will never again hear the "talk or songs of their descendents" (Mataira, 1965, pp. 4-5). The powerful poem by Apirana Taylor, "Sad joke on a marae," depicts a young de-tribalised Maori talking to the carvings of his ancestors (Taylor, 1985, p. 522). This encounter with animate carvings is perhaps an echo of the story about Ruatepupuke who brought back the knowledge of carving from Tangaroa's house under the sea with its speaking poupou (Mead, 1985, pp. 9-11). There is a discernible shift in these narratives in the 1980s as images of renewal and revivification appear in response to growing Maori independence and confidence. Maori academic Ranginui Walker described this "Maori Renaissance", marked by legal, social and political concessions to Maori, as "postcolonial" (Walker, 1990, p. 254). To

re-iterate, the social transformation outside museums triggered the transformation within museums, a shift from artifact to art and taonga as signalled in dramatic accounts of interpellation.

The central episode was the *Te Maori* exhibition, which toured the US and New Zealand from 1984-7. This far reaching event reflected a growing sense of Maori cultural nationalism expressed through a reconnection between modern Maori and their alienated material culture (Mead, 1986a). *Te Maori* attracted huge audiences and a large number of Maori people usually notable by their absence in museums and art galleries. The strong sense of personal communion between the taonga in the exhibition and Maori people was heartfelt, emotional and at times physical. Not just Maori visitors, but also Pakeha museum staff started to refer to collection items as living people, addressing them directly as named individuals (Butler, 1996; McManus, 1990). For many Maori present, whose reactions are recorded in letters, visitor books, newspaper reports, photographs and footage of opening ceremonies, seeing their taonga on display was a deeply moving, spiritual experience in which they spoke directly to ancestors present in the carved figures (Fox, 1984; *AGMANZ Journal*, 1986, pp. 22-29; Mead, 1986b, pp. 73-78; Tapsell, 2000, pp. 110-115). East Coast kaumatua Monita Delamere told his whanau on his return from the exhibition that "he felt that all his tupuna were alive there."[4] Tuhoe kaumatua John Rangihau explained: "They represent living things for us as Maori ... Here they are being displayed in a most artistic way, in a way that says something about the culture of the people who made them. It says: 'We are here, we stand tall'" (Fox, 1984).

The experience of visiting *Te Maori* was particularly moving for many young people, and became intimately bound up with a heightened sense of cultural identity. "It drew me closer to my Maori side," said 18 year old university student Atawhai Tibble of Ngati Porou who attended the opening at the Field Museum in Chicago:

> When I saw the way the Americans had arranged it, it was almost as though the taonga (treasures) were talking to me, breathing, reaching

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4   Te Rata Jones, C. personal communication August 19, 2002.

> out to me. I always heard of all things having a mauri (life force),
> but I never thought it would touch me until I went to *Te Maori*.
> Then when the old women started crying out, it was like the taonga
> were calling out to me. (Cromie, 1986)

For Hato Hohepa student Marlene Wilkenson, who was also at Chicago, museum display, once irrelevant, became an important statement of identity: "I've been to museums and I've never really looked at the carvings, just thought, 'Oh yeah that's my tupuna.' But the opening really gave me a bit more depth and awareness of who I am and what I stand for" (*Outlook*, Aug. 1986).

I can personally attest to the impact the exhibition had on a group of kaiarahi who were secondary school students from Mana College in Porirua, where I was a teacher. Several Maori students told me at the time what it meant to them to see taonga from their iwi on display, and how the taonga seemed to "speak" to them. The following year, a high school student from Titahi Bay also visited the National Museum, and was shown through the carving collection back of house by an ethnologist. She was shocked by the dusty, over crowded store room, and wrote later that she felt that her tipuna were calling out to her to be freed.[5]

Carol O'Biso's (1987) stories of taonga as mysterious spirit-beings that spoke or communicated with staff and visitors proved extremely popular with many Pakeha readers, whereas sceptical museums staff and academics were embarrassed by the displays of emotion. The extraordinary response to the exhibition transformed the public perception of things once called curios or artifacts, which were now seen as "taonga", objects which became symbols of decolonised Maori identity. Mead, a key player in *Te Maori*, said later that the word taonga was a "tool of explanation" which allowed Maori to repossess their art. Mead declared that "Maori art has become a means of enculturation" (Mead, 1997, p.182). He implied that museums before *Te Maori* had been elite Pakeha enclaves but now "there is no doubt about the predominance of brown faces in the crowds" (Mead, 1986c). This "new"

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5   Mia Kahukiwa, Ngati Porou, expressed these feelings after a tour of the National
     Museum basement by ethnologist Janet Davidson. Kahukiwa, M. (1987, November 6).
     Art History field trip report, Mana College. Collection of the author.

Maori category of museum display was in that sense just as much a pragmatic product of cultural politics as the re-articulation of a customary concept (Clifford, 1988, pp. 209-10).

In these reports of visitors encountering their exhibited culture, the individual is said to be called by ancestral voices, like the visitors who are welcomed onto the marae by the karanga. The carvings, weaving, weapons and other things, seen in western terms as inanimate objects, become in Maori eyes active living agents – taonga tuku iho (treasures handed down) – which instantiate connections to tribal identity and whakapapa (Henare, 2005; Tapsell, 1997; 2000). The taonga are said to "call out" to Maori visitors to take their place within a "traditional" world-view, an articulation of cultural identity which implies ownership of those objects and the appropriation of the spaces where they are displayed. Interpellation staged cultural difference as a resurgent Maoritanga which, as historians have noted, demanded a place for Maori not just within the museum but in the wider society (Belich, 2001). The dramatic change in reception in the 1980s appears to have been related to several processes: the political and social transformations resulting from decolonisation, and the shift in the culture of display as art/artifact in ethnographic museums to art/taonga in art galleries. This process was not as sudden or as unheralded as many at the time suggested, however, and should be seen as the culmination of a long process of negotiation between museums and Maori that stretched back to the nineteenth century (McCarthy, 2004).

The Maori "seizure" of museums (Jahnke, 1999, p.197), what Mané-Wheoki has called "brown art in white spaces" (Mané-Wheoki, 1996), was nothing less than a political act. The temple of western modern art was therefore, ironically, the setting for the remaking of indigenous traditions. Inadvertently, the "white cube" style of presentation may have appealed to a Maori audience, who, as Nicholas Thomas has pointed out, preferred a conventional art gallery style of presentation not only because it had more prestige than anthropology museums with their contextualised displays but also because it happened to accord with their view of the objects as living ancestors with their own mana and wairua (2001, pp. 306-307).

At this point I want to look more closely at the social agency of taonga on display. I have argued that ideology can be seen at work within the

culture of display, which space situated in and between objects and subjects which is shaped by discourses and cultural practices. Maori accounts of the experience of visiting Maori exhibitions, in which they address and are addressed by exhibits that they regard as their ancestors, demonstrate the active audience construction of their own subject position. Rather than "hailing the other" (Hawes, 1989) taonga hail the self, signifying a newly-traditional Maori subject that positions young urban Maori within the struggle to preserve and maintain the cultural values of their ancestors. This distinctive Maori view of cultural reception cannot be understood in conventional aesthetic terms as a spurious emotional response to passive objects, but should be seen in the light of theories on the relational nature of material things and social groups. There is growing interest in the field of material culture — what Appadurai has called "the social life of things" (1986; Buchli 2002). While the constructionist position has successfully countered transcendent theories of art and culture, we should not underestimate objects and the power they exercise over people (Latour 2004; Mitchell 1996). Bruno Latour (2005) attempts to reassemble social relationships through actor-network theory, which traces the associations and connections that make up "the social". This way of thinking about non-human actors has obvious implications for museum spaces (Bennett, 2004, pp. 6-7).

In Gell's re-theorising of art and selfhood, for example, we can see things as social agents which mediate social relations just as people do (Gell, 1997, pp.17-19). "Once appreciated as indexes of agency", argues Gell, "iconic objects in particular can occupy positions in the network of human social agency that are almost equivalent to the positions of humans themselves" (Gell, 1997, p. x). Now, it was possible to analyse the power of art-objects, without falling captive to their fascination, by treating them as a form of technology which secures the "acquiesence of individuals in the network of intentionalities in which they are enmeshed" (Gell, 1992, p. 43). Drawing on Roger Neich (1994), Gell shows how Maori *whare* in the nineteenth century embodied agency in ways that are collective, ancestral, and political (1998, p. 253). By understanding the object-subject encounter in Gell's terms as a "network of social relationships in the vicinity of art objects" (1997, p. 25), it is possible to take taonga seriously as objects of power, and regard

Maori visitor reception as a form of "enchantment". This idea has been picked up by anthropologists looking for a way out of circular arguments about primitivism and fetishisation (Thomas & Pinney, 2001, p. 3). Henare for example has argued that Maori taonga are a special category of objects that instantiate social relationships through space and time (2005, p.3).

Armed with this notion of the agency of taonga, we return to Maori responses to their exhibited culture. From 1989-90 the exhibition, *Taonga Maori,* toured Australia before returning to the National Museum in Wellington. Again we find reports of Maori visitors being called back to their ancestral culture by the taonga. Judging by the emotional comments of Maori visitors in the Australian Museum visitors' book in Sydney in October 1989, they expressed a sense of pride and heightened identity in terms of discovering their Maoritanga, and returning to their cultural roots. "Excellent exhibition", wrote one, "felt as though we were surrounded by thousands of people." "Roots and heritage", wrote another, "so good to feel a part of my ancestors." In several comments, the writers "mihi" to the taonga, greeting them as they would speakers on the marae: "Te mihi au ki a tatou tipuna, arohanui!" "Tihei mauriora e nga tipuna!" [6]

Maamari Stephens from Te Aupouri, a kaiarahi at the Queensland Museum in Brisbane, felt that *Taonga Maori* represented a "political statement" for Maori in Australia. Among Australian-born Maori like herself, she was aware of a certain "ambivalence" about cultural identity, a "dislocation" which sprang from growing up away from Aotearoa. "Somehow we'd gone back to this exhibition," she recalled, "to try and find a sense of belonging" (Stephens in McCarthy, 2002). Perhaps the clearest indication of this was the waiata composed for the exhibition by Tom Ward of Rongowhakaata, leader of the Wellington kapa haka group, Pukeahu, who accompanied the exhibition to Australia. Written from the point of view of a Maori in Australia, "far from my homeland", the waiata describes the taonga on display, depicted as a light shining in the halls of the museum, calling out to the viewer who feels their "warm embrace" and returns home in spirit (Ward &Ward, 1989).

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6   These Maori greetings and comments come from three visitors' books from the Australian Museum in Sydney used from October 1989 to April 1990. See Te Papa Archives MU 63, 1/1-3.

In the twenty years since *Te Maori*, Maori have gone from visiting museums to running them, taking control of the process of exhibition development in order to represent themselves. Museums in the 1990s continued to receive close attention from an "articulate lobby" which was "making new demands on collections, care and interpretation" (Legget, 1995, p.20). This resulted in new governance structures in several museums which empowered local iwi (Butts, 2003). A growing body of literature focused on museums and Maori, much of it by articulate young Maori working in the heritage sector (Tapsell, 2006; Bishop, 1998; Allen, 1998; Brown, 1995). For example Maori curator Awhina Tamarapa declared: "All cultural treasures in museums should be displayed in partnership between the people who created them, the people who held them, and the people who will see them on display" (1996, p.167).

The Maori exhibitions at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) opened in 1998. Like other new national museums in Australia, Canada and the Pacific, Te Papa used elements of the new museology (Vergo, 1989), with exhibition development processes that were audience-focused. The Maori exhibitions, developed by Maori staff in partnership with iwi, were a clear expression of the current mood of cultural sovereignty. Instead of a museum voice speaking *for* Maori, the display was intended to speak *on behalf of* iwi, and in many cases in their own voice. *Mana Whenua* was extremely successful with the new Maori audience who had started to attend museums in much higher numbers (McCarthy, 2000; 2001).[7] The data collected in exhibition evaluation reinforces the theme of personal identification and interaction with taonga on display, including visitor comments suggesting a strong sense of being "drawn in" to whare and other spaces and enveloped and embraced by taonga (McCarthy, 2001, pp. 58-68). Asked why they liked the exhibition, visitors expressed a sense of connection. "You can get a lot closer", responded a Maori visitor, things were "not glassed off. You can feel a part of it, immersed in it." Another visitor commented that, compared to other museums, there was "a different feeling ... a feeling that I wanted to go into it". One Maori visitor commented

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7   Up to 2001, Mana Whenua had attracted a high Maori visitation of 17 per cent. See Visitor Profile Database; Visitor & Market Research, in McCarthy, 2001, fig. 7, p. 18.

that the wharenui "draws you into it ...you feel part of it. Touching is allowed." Visitors reacted strongly to the open display in *Mana Whenua* where carvings are, in many cases, not encased. "Taonga are more open to touch, not behind glass cases", said one visitor. Another thought there were "more taonga around" in museums now, and that they were not behind glass but "out to mirimiri (massage)".

At the Auckland Museum in 2005 Tumuaki Paul Tapsell led a project to reconnect objects in the Mair collection with various tribal regions, attempting to relocate taonga within their ancestral landscapes (Tapsell, 2006, p.180). The multi-media exhibition reverses the usual relationship of viewer and artifacts by displaying taonga as subject rather than object – a result not so much like Malraux's "museum without walls" as effectively turning the museum "inside out". However in other ways this exhibit can be seen as merely a refined version of a now conventional style of display. The fact that a once revolutionary approach to display has settled into orthodoxy raises several questions: Is there a tension between the "oppressive authenticity" of a conservative vision of rural Maori life (Sissons, 2005) and the reality of young urban Maori expressed in the diverse subjectivity of hip hop or contemporary Maori art and media which often problematises singular notions of Maori identity? (Kawharu, 2006; Brunt, 2004). Despite the rhetoric surrounding Maori-centred exhibitions, displays of taonga Maori are no less products of their time than other visual categories. In this case, the definition of taonga as patrimony is clearly shaped by the revisionist history associated with the Waitangi Tribunal and its legalistic constructions of Maori tradition which are much debated by historians (Byrnes, 2003; Oliver, 2001). It is too early to say whether the new generation of Maori exhibitions represent a postcolonial accommodation of nation and native, or merely a crude inversion of the self/other equation which retains the same old Manichean allegory of coloniser/colonised (Brunt, 1999; Nederveen Pieterse, 1997).

Conclusion
New trends in Maori exhibitions raise interesting questions about the ambivalent cultural politics of the new museum at the beginning of the twenty first century. In this article, I have employed the sociology of cultural

reception to explore Maori exhibitions in the last thirty years. I have drawn on the theory of Althusser, Foucault and Gell to propose a model of the culture of display which focuses the study of museums on the interaction of visitors with exhibited objects. I have argued that in theorising visitor responses to exhibitions as a process of subjectivisation, we are able to understand the articulation of discourses within individual cultural practices in a way which avoids the crude simplifications of much critical writing about museums. In response to New Zealand's recent decolonisation, the interpellation of Maori visitors illustrates how the dominant conventions of museum collection and display were challenged by a "new" Maori museum audience. In exhibitions like *Te Maori*, *Taonga Maori*, and *Mana Whenua*, Maori subjects were hailed by taonga/ancestors. In contrast to the earlier subjection of Maori people and the objectification of their culture, artifacts were now re-inscribed as taonga tuku iho, and subjects were summoned to take up new positions within a resurgent Maoritanga.

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CALL FOR PAPERS FOR A SPECIAL ISSUE OF NEW ZEALAND SOCIOLOGY

Title: Splits and shifts: The study of work and organisations in Aotearoa New Zealand

Special Issue editors: Deborah Jones (Victoria Management School) and Tamika Simpson (Sociology, Victoria University of Wellington).

The study of work and organisations in their social context tends to be split between the disciplines of 'sociology' and 'management', in this country and internationally (Parker, 2000). Institutional arrangements further enact this split. However, the study of work and organisations is now shifting, partly through the development of Critical Management Studies (CMS) - an interdisciplinary move which considers the topics of 'management' from the perspectives of critical theory (Fournier and Grey, 2000; CMIG, 2004; OIL, 2006). In Aotearoa New Zealand a strong group of CMS practitioners is emerging in commerce faculties, some with backgrounds in sociology and other social sciences, others with more traditional management backgrounds (http://www.massey.ac.nz/~cprichar/oil.htm). At the same time, within sociology departments, research and teaching on work and organisation seems to be sparse and fragmented. The premise of this Special Issue is that the study and critique of work and organisation are central to considering issues of power, identity and social interaction. We also argue that it is essential to develop perspectives on work and organisation specifically from Aotearoa New Zealand.

This Special Issue is focused on the study of work and organisation in this country. We aim to bring together researchers of work and organisation, no matter what their own workplace location or label may be. We want to create a sense of what research is being done here, and, where possible, to make connections. We also see the Issue offering a platform for exploring the relationship – connections and disconnections – between the Sociology of organisations and work, Critical Management Studies, and other disciplinary approaches.

We invite participants to see this Special Issue as a space to engage with a wide range of possible topics relating to work and organisation in their social context, including reflections on the disciplinary issues raised above. Submission formats could include: position papers; review articles covering a broad topic or theoretical perspectives; research-related papers; and research notes.

How to submit papers or find out more

Please consult a copy of the journal for instructions for contributors (http://saanz.science.org.nz/Journal/Contribu.html), but note that for this Special Issue word length is between 4,500 and 7,000 words. All manuscripts will be subject to a referee process, but potential authors are welcome to discuss their ideas in advance with Deborah (Deborah.Jones@vuw.ac.nz) or Tamika (Tamika.Simpson@vuw.ac.nz). Submissions should be emailed to Deborah and copied to Tricia Lapham (Tricia.Lapham@vuw.ac.nz).

Closing date for submissions: 1 November 2006

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Winner of the 2005 Postgraduate Prize for Scholarship in Sociology[1]

Social Theory: Philosophical, Empirical, or Discursive?

Wendy Bolitho

Abstract

Contemporary debates in the social sciences concerning the state of social theory present a complex and contradictory matrix of philosophical, empirical and discursive perspectives. As an alternative to the current post-positivist strategies of resolution through synthesis and "methodologism", this paper proposes an alternative "radical creative approach" that wilfully resists resolution and engages with conflict in a manner that may productively transform contradictory tensions. Whilst not envisaged as a strategy for adoption by mainstream market-oriented sociology, the paper suggests that the academic environment should actively strive to explore more marginal and experimental projects if "critical" and "principled" sociological endeavour is not to be subsumed by instrumental concerns.

Over the last few decades the academic disciplines of the humanities and social sciences have sustained the seismic disruption of the linguistic turn in philosophy, and, arguably, none more so than sociology. The philosophical and scientific underpinnings still evident in the contemporary practice of empirical sociology - derived from its historical genesis in nineteenth-century Europe - are challenged by the charge from post-structuralism and psychoanalysis that all knowledge claims to truth are but the fantasy of human desire for coherence and power mediated through language and discourse. The academic sociological discipline has thus become engulfed in a maelstrom of reflexive, self-conscious critique and debate where gladiatorial battles are waged across the boundaries of the philosophical,

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1   Two students were jointly awarded the prize; the first appeared in volume 20 issue 2.

empirical and discursive fields of enquiry. Theoretical and methodological debates over dualisms such as structure and agency, quantitative or qualitative approaches, objectivity and subjectivity, and macro or micro levels of analysis have become circumscribed by a fundamental questioning of the deeper level foundations of the sociological enterprise (Game, 1991; Game & Metcalfe, 1996). For some, the debate signals a crumbling disintegration. The sociological house is thus revealed to be built on a foundation of shifting sands that nullify universalist notions of truth and progress, signalling the potential for a philosophical descent into a terminal state of relativist and pluralist post-modern nihilism. In resistance to the avalanche of post-modern pessimism, the barricades of the classical sociological tradition and scientific objectivity have been resurrected and fortified in a reaffirmation of the practical ability of sociology to apprehend reality through empirical research in order to effect social change.

The recapitulation of classical sociological intent affirms that sociology can, and should, restrict itself to a level of objective analysis of both tangible and intangible social realities (i.e. reflecting the difference between positivist and realist social science). Whilst paying deference to theory and the impact of linguistic theory, these approaches continue to marginalise the imponderable, speculative and irrational subjective fields of human emotion and desire in favour of sociology's survival as a practical discipline oriented toward the amelioration of undesirable effects of social change (Mouzelis, 1990; 1991; 1995). Caught in the paradoxical maelstrom between the extreme poles of objectivism and subjectivism, positivism and constructivism, the current scientific climate of post-positivism seeks to escape into a form of resolution that ultimately capitulates to one or other polarities and, consequently, either a reconfigured form of past analytical traditions or the pluralized meta-theoretical condition of "methodologism" (McLennan, 2002). McLennan coins the term "methodologism" to illustrate the trend to subjugate philosophical and ideological issues, and to place primacy upon methodological rule and the pragmatic construction of conceptual tools. Rather than being grounded in a substantive theoretical position, such "methodologism" pays deference to theory through a superficial notion of reflexivity and the retrospective justification of methodology and conceptual apparatus through an eclectic and selective

use of a multiple range of theoretical perspectives. Such a move to accommodate pluralism, he maintains, signals the emergence of a weaker form of theory that lacks the principled intent and critical capacity of perspectives more securely anchored to substantive ideological foundations. This paper proposes a deliberately provocative and marginal position to both these options (the return to past traditions or resolutions of synthesis) by the suggestion that social science may need the courage to embrace a more "radical creative approach". In the tradition of Hegel's "tarrying with the negative", such an approach wilfully resists synthesis and resolution in a manner that improvises across a range of fixed positions, retaining the poles at either end of the spectrum as necessary anchoring points that generate conflicting fields of critical debate. To elucidate the paradoxical possibility and impossibility of this position, it is first necessary to map out the philosophical, empirical and discursive sociological terrain.

The historical emergence of the sociological project is most often described in introductory texts by a linear narrative that has its roots in the philosophical domain. From the triptych foundation of the Enlightenment, the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, the genesis of sociology as a distinct academic discipline is portrayed as a metamorphosis from the philosophical beginnings of pre-sociological thinkers - such as Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer - toward a scientific study of society aimed at the practical amelioration of adverse social conditions. The classical orientation of sociology is thus seen to emerge from the displacement of the philosophical domain by the adoption of an empirical emphasis. Derived from the objective model of the fundamental sciences, sociology, historically, sought to differentiate itself from philosophy, biology and psychology as a separate academic discipline. From the classical theoretical traditions of Marx, Durkheim, and Weber, the emergent sociological discipline aspired to discover the methodological rules best suited to the study of nineteenth century European society (McLennan, Ryan & Spoonley, 2000; Craib, 1997). The subsequent variations and extensions of the themes established by classical sociology evolved during the twentieth century as an apparent separation of theory from practice which has produced a plethora of contradictory and conflicting theoretical formulations and methodological practices (Mouzelis, 1990). The duels between structure and agency, the

objective and subjective, macro and micro levels of analysis, and quantitative and qualitative approaches spawned a complex and contradictory field of post-positivist inquiry from which contemporary theorists (such as Anthony Giddens) have sought to escape through elaborate attempts at synthesis (Baert, 1998). Overarching this complex paradoxical vista has been the seismic impact of the "linguistic turn" in philosophy. Through the primacy of language, the sociological project has been recast as fundamentally discursive in nature (Game, 1991).

During the latter decades of the twentieth century the "linguistic turn" in philosophy had a profound influence on the social sciences. Following the linguistic theory of Ferdinand de Saussure, language took centre-stage position within social theory as the fundamental mechanism through which human beings apprehend social reality. Predicated on the notion that meaning is a matter of linguistic difference, and an imperfect mapping between signifier and signified, contemporary feminist social theorist Ann Game has employed both the linguistic turn in philosophy and developments in Lacanian psychoanalysis to propose that the driving force underpinning discourse is the human desire to fix meaning and "... a desire for self-identity in sociological discourse" (Game, 1991, p. 20).

Ann Game's portrayal of sociology as a field of discourse framed and constituted by language pivots around the central notion of reflexivity. Through a presumed ability to gain transparent awareness of its own theorising, Game has proposed that sociology has claimed for itself the inherent ability to accurately portray social formations as a unified whole from an exterior referent position. In agreement with Lawson (1985), Game suggests that sociological knowledge - inevitably and inextricably constructed by, and embedded within language - is caught in the same never-ending reflexive spiral that defers incessantly as " the map within the map to infinity" (Game, 1991, p. 22). This view of reflexivity, rather than affirming transparency, deconstructs any notion of a direct correspondence or an accurate mirroring of reality in sociological discourse. By replacing the "mirror" metaphor with one of "mapping", Game proposes that sociology can no longer lay claim to a position of exterior objectivity and transparency. In her formulation, sociology becomes a field of discursive activity bounded by language and thereby enmeshed in the desire of the theorist or researcher

to solidify and fix meaning around a particular social phenomenon, all of which is intimately connected with issues of knowledge formation and power. In accordance with the Lacanian psychoanalytic proposition that language retrospectively constructs a narrative of purported reality, where effects become constitutive of cause, Game suggests that the formulation of sociological "knowledge" is a discursively constructed narrative feedback loop that refracts an inevitably distorted image of reality, but has the simultaneous power to create society in its own image. Through the selective choice of the objects of analysis and the theorising that portrays such objects as a linear narrative with causal connections, sociology constructs society in the image of its own desire and aspiration to create the illusion of a unified whole (Game, 1991). For theorists such as Nicos Mouzelis, such a position crosses the boundaries into a type of philosophy that sounds the death knell for sociology as a discipline.

Nicos Mouzelis suggests that the sociological discipline has been led radically astray in its slide toward linguistic theory and philosophical concerns. Adopting a self-described post-Marxist framework where he rejects any deference to "… the spirit or letter of the Master's sacred texts", he advocates an entirely pragmatic approach to selecting and using those conceptual tools within Marxism that may be improved and "… extended from the economic sphere to that of politics and culture" (Mouzelis, 1990, pp. 2-3). Mouzelis eschews epistemological and philosophical issues in favour of a primary emphasis on "heuristic utility" and the "craftsmanship" of developing conceptual tools of analysis. In so doing, he rejects the contemporary theoretical trends - such as Ann Game's - that adopt paradigms used in linguistics, semiotics and psychoanalysis. Such a preoccupation, he suggests, results in "a wholesale rejection of the old and an uncritical adoption of the new" (Mouzelis, 1990, p. 4). He believes that in the social sciences, such trends have lapsed into a type of philosophical analysis that displaces "social and sociological theory proper". For Mouzelis "sociological theory proper" dispenses with philosophy, pays deference to an awareness of ontological and epistemological presuppositions, but concentrates primarily on conceptualising tools for use in empirical research. In his engagement with classical Marxist theorists, such as Gregor McLennan, and post-Marxist theorists Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, Mouzelis (1990) places himself

in the paradoxical post-positivist intermediary position of claiming a critical approach that resolves the paradoxical dilemma - exemplified by the issue of reflexivity - by ruling out the validity of the criticism that theorists such as McLennan and Game would pose. The logical consistency of the intellectual argument against his stance - that refers to philosophical issues and epistemological and ontological approaches - is dispensed with on the grounds that it "... is likely to lead to conclusions that are neither good philosophy nor good social theory" (Mouzelis, 1990, p. 4). Mouzelis thereby eliminates such criticism and pursues a more specific theoretical framework that focuses on the crafting of conceptual tools with which to conduct empirical investigation.

For Mouzelis, "sociological theory proper" holds as its prime concern the development of conceptual frameworks (in the manner of Althusser's Generalities II). To define and differentiate this framework from more general "trans-historical" or "universal" theory he proceeds to elaborate and distinguish between two types of theorising. Mouzelis places theorists such as Bourdieu and Giddens at a different level of general theorising (Generalities III) that provides theory that can be assessed for its "... utility in generating interesting questions and facilitating empirically-oriented research" (Mouzelis, 1995, p. 2). From these questions conceptual tools can be crafted for use in empirical research at more local level (Generalities II). In justification of his pragmatic theorising of conceptual tools separated from a firm philosophical or theoretical commitment, Mouzelis simply states that to fail to distinguish between his conceptions of two types of theory – "theory as tool" and "theory as end-product" - social scientists are placed at cross purposes which generates unnecessary and erroneous conflict (Mouzelis, 1995). For McLennan, this prevaricating state of post-positivist methodological and theoretical pluralism lacks principled commitment to a firm theoretical orientation and results in the hegemony he calls "methodologism" (McLennan, 2002).

There is no doubt that the state of contemporary social theory is a vastly complex juxtaposition of the philosophical, empirical and discursive. It cannot be adequately presented as either a historical linear narrative of progress through three stages, or three clearly distinctive realms that happily co-exist and can, therefore, be resolved by synthesis. Contemporary attempts

at "grand-theory" such as Anthony Giddens' *duality-of-structure* demonstrate an approach that seeks to resolve such a paradoxical dilemma (Baert, 1998). McLennan addresses these *'Quandaries in meta-theory'* (2002) by the proposition that to seek resolution by invoking endless reflexivity and pluralism dilutes theory into a form of "methodologism". For McLennan, the post-positivist strategy that aims to either surpass previous perspectives, or render them more synthetically interdependent, not only collapses critical debate, but also erases a principled foundation upon which the sociological enquiry ought to be conducted. McLennan (2002) refutes the efficacy of such strategies that turn "... such no doubt valuable things as reflexivity and pluralism into sacred cows". In his view, many so-called "critical" perspectives are unable to be "critical"enough and lapse into a form of methodologism that amounts to a form of sociological political correctness that avoids any kind of principled " ... commitment to particular substantive ideological positions" (p. 484). Based on the notion of theoretical synthesis and the reflexive construction of conceptual tools from an eclectic array of theoretical perspectives, methodologism, for McLennan, amounts to a weaker form of theory. Given that there is sparse evidence to suggest that these post-positivist strategies are any substantive improvement on past strategies, McLennan makes a call to critically review the descent into methodologism and perhaps suggests that it is sustained by the need to satisfy, in a rather banal and perfunctory manner, the contemporary sociological climate for reflexivity and tolerance of pluralism. Although not explicitly stated, McLennan's call to principle perhaps echoes the classical Marxist axiom that, "... social life is essentially practical ... the philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point however is to change it" (as cited by Kimmel and Stephen, 1998, p. 164). One senses beneath McLennan's astute and finely constructed argument an impatience that current theoretical trends are an impediment to the pressing need to get on with the job of practical, but principled sociology that is securely located in theory. Ironically, his viewpoint, although seemingly backward-looking and conservative, is perhaps deceptively radical in its opposition to contemporary trends in social theory.

In his rebuttal of mid-range theories of synthesis and methodologism, McLennan corroborates two strong elements articulated by Ann Game. The apparent incommensurability of the respective positions that McLennan and Game propose can thus be revealed to have points of congruence. Both McLennan and Game identify "reflexivity", taken to its ultimate extreme, to be the central element that creates the paralysis of paradox evident in post-positivist social theory. Post-positivist social theory is characterised by an acute self-awareness that theory is not a simple mapping of the outside world, but is, simultaneously, the means by which that world is created through inevitably distorted representations. Social theory, thereby, spirals into a never ending debate that disarms and undermines the foundations for retaining critical capacity and questions the motives, both conscious and unconscious, that such theoretical endeavour serves. Neither theorist pays mere lip service to reflexivity in the trivial manner of methodologism, but each articulates, in their individual way, the negative and paradoxical effects it can produce. Ann Game's radically different position, like that of McLennan, also makes a strong call to principle. If one is to accept that sociology, as a rhetorical field of discourse, has the power and the desire to construct society in its own image, then all who engage themselves in the field must be called to examine and elaborate their perspective from a basis of principle. For Game and Metcalfe (1996) this questioning is required at the very heart of the discipline in academic institutions where sociology is read, written, practiced and taught.

The two apparently oppositional perspectives (McLennan and Game) not only reveal some points of convergence, but, I suggest, make a strong case for retaining the dissonance of contradictory points of view. Taken to their extremes, neither point of view is likely to be a viable mainstream theoretical perspective, but without the anchoring of opposing forces, there is an imminent danger that the capacity for any kind of substantive critical evaluation and analysis - based upon a foundation of principled theoretical commitment - will be lost by the post-positivist collapse into methodologism and synthesis. Both Game and McLennan appear to be striving to awaken the sociological discipline to an awareness of its capacity to construct its own pluralistic dilemma.

The difficulty presented by the complex state of contemporary social theory to any student novice entering the fray at this juncture, is vexing to say the least. For those fortunate enough to have been initiated into the discipline before the disruption of the "linguistic turn", there is likely to be the anchor of traditional foundational principles that are more securely set. To maintain a singular philosophical and theoretical viewpoint, which McLennan (2002) readily admits is severely out of fashion, doesn't present itself as a viable option for social theorists in the current environment of post-positivist pluralism. Similarly, the impact of feminist critiques, psychoanalysis and theories of identity and subjectivity suggest that it is increasingly difficult to maintain the image of a singular fixed identity as an individual in contemporary society. It is pertinent to note that many women in the field of social theory, such as Ann Game and Michelle Barrett, seek to combine several theoretical perspectives such as Marxism, feminism and psychoanalysis. For women - and potentially increasing numbers of men - who have experience of performing multiple roles as caregivers, domestic managers, participants in voluntary community organisations and career roles in the paid workforce, it is by no means novel to suggest that they have the capacity to move between these various roles. In accordance with such considerations, I make the proposition that, as a theorist, it is possible to improvise between several perspectives and, moreover, maintain a principled position that McLennan identifies as crucial. This "radical creative approach", however, doesn't advocate synthesis. It embraces the philosophical, empirical and discursive as contradictory and intersecting elements of possibility and draws upon social psychological, sociological and psychoanalytic theories of creativity that point to the potential of contradictory forces to be the basis from which new possibilities may emerge.

In recognition that there will always be a range of constraints surrounding any sociological endeavour, a "radical creative approach" has the flexibility to avail itself of a range of trajectories within a matrix of perspectives. Rather than having a singular anchoring point it will suture itself within a combination of perspectives - such as Marxism, feminism, and psychoanalysis - according to the level of analysis dictated by the particular factors that will inevitably be unique to each context. This

approach opens up the analysis with the capacity to both interrogate and move outside underlying assumptions, rather than enslaving it to preconceived outcomes at the hand of assumptions about which we would, otherwise, remain unaware. Unlike "methodologism" which, under the auspices of reflexivity and pragmatism, justifies the selective and eclectic use of theoretical concepts, a "radical creative approach" tolerates rather than eliminates contradictory forces between theoretical perspectives. Notwithstanding its commitment to pluralism, methodologism, in the interests of transparency demands the practice of reflexivity which requires the theorist/researcher to locate themselves in the social matrix as being gendered, classed and of a particular ethnicity. The very act of doing so, however, involves an implicit acceptance of structuralist theory's "truth" that social life *is* fundamentally structural in form, and, more particularly, corresponds to the structures of patriarchy, capitalism, and colonialism.

In contrast, the retention of each theoretical approach in its entirety – without an acceding to the pressures of pluralistic methodologism - assures that critical capacities are maintained. It is within this field of paradox, contradiction and conflict that the generative impetus for alternative creative insight has the possibility to emerge. While such an outcome is never guaranteed, a creative approach thus envisaged also retains a fallback position such that a range of resolutions become possible, offering more flexibility than those approaches that derive from singular fixed starting points. As Hegel suggests, there is always the possibility of several resolutions to any contradiction (Inwood, 1983). Such an approach doesn't seek to eradicate the tensions inherent in post-positivism, but, conversely, seeks to sustain and utilise them in a productive way to permit the possibility of a spontaneous moment of creative insight to occur. Such a spontaneous occurrence is by no means guaranteed or predictable, but has the potential to produce a paradigm shift of the magnitude anticipated from within the Kuhnian universe. Like the collaborative experimental environment of improvisational musical forms and theatre, this approach demands those involved to embrace an openness to experience, independence of judgment, risk taking, attraction to complexity, tolerance of ambiguity, aesthetic orientation and self-confidence (Sternberg, 2003).

I would not suggest that this is an approach that will in any way be acceptable to mainstream social science as it is currently practised in market-oriented capitalist funded research. Indeed, it is this contextual environment that fuels the pragmatic methodologism that McLennan critiques. The strengthening alliance between tertiary institutions and knowledge-wave oriented business interests, however, potentially suppresses the academic environment where such truly inventive and experimental theorising and research - albeit marginal - ought to have the opportunity to occur. As Game and Metcalfe (1996) somewhat flamboyantly suggest, it is within the academic environment that a commitment to a principled and "passionate" sociology must be nurtured and sustained. I suggest that to deny such a venue for the radical, creative and experimental will inevitably compromise and condemn the sociological discipline to the gradual asphyxiation of market commodification.

The emergent picture of the current state of social theory is thus revealed to be a field of endeavour under siege by forces from both outside and within the sociological discipline. It is a complex and paradoxical combination of the philosophical, empirical and discursive and it would be facile to contend that it is possible to delineate clear boundaries or priorities that will produce any kind of definitive, universal or complete blueprint. The contingent and complex nature of social life in contemporary contexts precludes such simple aspirations. The difficulty lies in discovering ways to work within such complexity without compromising the integrity of a critical capacity or succumbing to post-modern negativity. It is in this very respect that I suggest that an "improvisational creative approach" may not be radical at all, but merely seeks to revive and enliven the foundational spirit of the sociological quest and to liberate social theory from the contemporary instrumental and institutional concerns that threaten to subsume it. Viewed in this manner, it is an intriguing, difficult, complex and paradoxical encounter within the philosophical, empirical and discursive realms. It is of vital importance that social theorists continue to persistently strive with critical but principled intent to illuminate pathways by which we may negotiate social life in less damaging ways. To do so with an adventurous, creative and open-minded spirit may allow, on rare occasions, the possibility of spontaneous radical transformation.

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Review Article

Experts at Ethics?

A Review of "Making People Better", New Zealand Bioethics Conference, Dunedin, February, 2006.

Sarah Donovan

As a student undertaking doctoral research into the social and ethical implications of prenatal screening, the opportunity to attend a forum for debate in bioethics promised much food for thought. However, notwithstanding my interest in the intersection of medical, ethical, legal, and various "lay" perspectives unique to the field, I approached the conference first and foremost with the intention of securing a clear *definition* of bioethics as a field of enquiry. What, I had often wondered, does a bioethicist actually *do*? What analytical and evaluative tools does she or he bring to bear on the array of problems - ethical, pragmatic, existential - generated by the juggernaut of biotechnology? I hoped the conference would provide me with the opportunity to fathom both the theoretical and empirical scope of what seemed at times a rather enigmatically hybrid discipline.

The theme of the conference "Making People Better" hinted both at the restorative and pre-emptive potential of biotechnology in the area of health care, admittedly, the latter (and arguably more glamorous) strand receiving more attention overall in presentations, with topics including preimplantation genetic diagnosis (PGD) of human embryos, therapeutic use of embryonic stem cells, and human-animal chimeras. For sheer scope of fascinating (and controversial) empirical enquiry, bioethics cannot be beaten, and the extent of scholarly attention to such "cutting- edge" topics in recent years certainly reinforces the significance of Bioethics' endeavours.

For social scientists interested in the social impacts of biotechnology, and in medical/lay relationships generally, some of the underlying assumptions about PGD, in particular, may represent a useful starting point from which to theorise about the future good of human genetic screening. PGD is carried out on embryos created during a cycle of IVF treatment and involves the removal of several embryonic cells for screening for a number of genetic conditions. Screened embryos are then transferred into a woman's uterus in the hope of a pregnancy occurring. This technology is currently available in New Zealand; since late 2005 it is publicly funded for couples at high risk of passing on serious genetic disorders to their children. Privately-funded PGD is now also approved within New Zealand for those wishing to screen for genetic conditions associated with older maternal age (such as Down syndrome) or fertility problems. The arrival of PGD in this country raises a number of questions regarding the potential social impact of the increased availability of genetic screening. Some are not new, and mirror the same ethical dilemmas generated by other forms of prenatal screening, including concerns around targeting fetuses with specific genetic disorders for termination. However, screening technology such as PGD which is applied *prior* to conception generates new questions – is the ethical status of an embryo in a petri dish different to that of one implanted in the uterus? What is the status of embryos which are not needed? Might there develop a consumer-driven trend of IVF undertaken by those with no fertility problems who wish to access PGD? Will increased opportunities for "genetic health" enabled by embryonic screening come to be regarded as the domain of the wealthy?

Not surprisingly, the kinds of issues deemed to be within the scope of bioethics research - such as PGD, genetic enhancement, xenotransplantation - are generously funded by government bodies and private laboratories. Collaboration around such research crosses both geographic and economic boundaries, as in the case of international gene-mapping projects funded by both government and private bodies. Yet for sociologists, the funding allocation for the study of such issues might better be spent elsewhere – on addressing current health inequalities, for instance. For such a well-resourced field, then, the range of bioethics topics under investigation may seem rather

narrow. Indeed, to the outsider, the very aims of bioethics are somewhat unclear. Other than identifying issues of "ethical concern" raised by existing and proposed biotechnologies, there appears to have been surprisingly little consideration given to questions around the nuts and bolts of bioethical governance, issues such as how well-equipped those in society designated with such responsibilities are to unravel the unprecedented complexity of the issues which confront them, and to preside over what at times may be apparently insoluble conflicts of interest. This inevitable clash of values generated by human genetic technologies surely generates a daunting burden of responsibility for ethics committees.

One does not need to search far to find real life examples to illustrate the unenviable position of those weighing conflicting beliefs and values, then making judgements with real-life implications for ordinary people. To carry out such a weighty brief within a committee context surely adds another dimension of challenge, and in some instances it seems difficult to imagine how arriving at an ethically sound *consensus* could really even be a reasonable expectation. It is interesting to consider the following examples, both drawn from personal anecdote, in response to current policy in New Zealand:

1) A parent of a child with Down syndrome wishes to raise with an ethics committee an objection to state funding of a national screening programme with clinical targets for decreasing the incidence of Down syndrome through selective termination. Her objection is on the basis that such targeted screening constitutes a breach of international human rights legislation which protects the rights of individuals with a disability.

2) An Iwi representative objects to ethical approval being granted for pre-implantation genetic diagnosis of human embryos, opposing the notion of interference of human genes as a grave affront to cherished cultural values such as maintaining the integrity of Whakapapa.

Both examples highlight the apparently intractable ideological conflicts which are the bread and butter of bioethics, and may give clues as to why clear definitions of the discipline and its scope may be so elusive.

A sense of the uneasiness associated with negotiating complex, ethically uncharted terrain was acknowledged on a number of occasions during the conference by individual members of various regional and national ethics

bodies. The challenges of such work are in fact the subject of broader reflection within bioethics circles, with questions around the limitations of the field frequently aired in international periodicals. However, the public face of bioethics, at least within the New Zealand context, appears to be one of quietly self-confident professionalism. There is a dilemma here in terms of how ethics committees choose to represent themselves to the public. Clearly it is no easy task to build (and earn) public confidence in ethical governance while at the same time acknowledging an element of uncertainty about the appropriateness of the decisions being made. Such a tension is a public-relations nightmare and the temptation to retreat into professionalism, to sideline issues of public information, consent, and participation in ethical decision-making in favour of procedural efficiency would not be difficult to imagine. However, it is messiness which makes bioethics what it is, dealing ultimately as it does with the inescapable fragments and loose-ends that constitute ordinary human experience. The ability to foster tolerance for such tensions within a model of professionalism, as well as to vigilantly foreground awareness of the real life impact of decisions made on paper, these seem to suggest a way forward for those working to make what seem to be the right decisions.

The phenomenon of the ethics committee probably deserves a good deal of sociological attention in its own right and it is not my intention to discuss this in any depth here, other than to note several observations about the ways in which bioethics may choose to position itself. The notion of the *professionalisation* of bioethics as a field raises a number of issues of sociological interest, not least the potential for ideological "contamination" of bioethics through its close association with biomedicine, and the question of how to balance scientific interests with competing social values. Such issues, while touched on in one or two presentations, were not explicitly addressed during the conference and this lack of broad critical analysis struck me as a potential weakness of the way bioethics currently approaches issues of concern. While sometimes rich in empirical, descriptive data, bioethical analysis appears to lack consistency in terms of being able to "step back" from the data and draw on theoretical frameworks which might enable a more in-depth unravelling of the structural influences involved in ethical issues.

Champions for a closer engagement between ethics and the social sciences (e.g.,Haimes, 2002; Shaw, 2004) suggest that bioethics would benefit from drawing on a broader theoretical framework, not least because this might bring about within the discipline an acknowledgement that bioethics is itself a cultural product, subject to the same structural influences as the phenomena it seeks to describe and delimit. As a significant proportion of those who identify themselves as "bioethicists" are themselves professionally engaged with the field of biomedicine, it seems vitally important for the discipline to openly acknowledge its ideological genealogy - for example, to have an ongoing commitment to acknowledging the vast normative potency of medicalisation in the landscape of contemporary Western health care. An acknowledgement of the social construction of knowledge, including scientific "facts", while fundamental to a sociological analysis, arguably cannot be taken for granted within an ideologically diverse field such as bioethics. This may be of concern if we wish to have a brand of bioethics in which we are confident that the full variety of ideological currents which flow in society will be treated with due and equal consideration.

The potential of a more "sociological brand" of bioethics was particularly evident in a presentation entitled "What's wrong with enhancement technologies?" by Carl Elliot, of the University Of Minnesota. The presentation traced the cultural evolution of health technologies leading to the science of "enhancement", including cosmetic surgery to increase breast size or "de-asianise" eyes, use of human growth hormone to make short (but healthy) children taller, and prescription of drugs for "cognitive enhancement". The discussion was animated by consideration of the socio-cultural terrain of modern-day health care, including the ways new technologies may both subvert and reproduce oppressive cultural norms. Rather than simply debating the ethics of new technologies per se, the speaker urged us to consider the cultural context into which we may choose to release a new technology and question whether this would represent a good for society *as it is now.*

"Reproductive autonomy and the right to choose genetic characteristics", presented by Dana Wensley from the Bioethics Centre at Otago University, likewise applied a broader theoretical frame to questions around the use

and value of genetic technologies, examining contrasting feminist critiques of prenatal testing within a legal framework. It was, however, interesting to note that while issues raised by prenatal screening such as informed consent and the ethics of "choice" have been extensively addressed in research undertaken by social scientists within the last two decades (e.g., Rapp,1987; Lippman, 1989, 1994; Rothman, 1994), such work does not appear to have significantly influenced debates around prenatal screening. While I agreed with the presenter's observation that in fact very little debate has occurred around this issue, leading to a perception that prenatal screening technologies raise no new dilemmas, I couldn't help thinking that these issues were nothing new in the social sciences.

Overall, then, the conference was a fascinating and lively confluence of perspectives, as well as an opportunity to come to grips with the range of startling developments in biomedicine. Were my questions about bioethics answered? Not entirely, but I came to appreciate more clearly the challenges for the field, both internal and in terms of bioethics as a social good. Complexity, ambiguity, the disconcerting inevitability of compromise – these are familiar features of the territory of bioethicists, these are inescapable social realities unleashed by technologies such as PGD. For those in society ordained to preside over ethics, openly acknowledging such tensions may seem a weakness, but perhaps in fact it represents a possible core strength for the field. Perhaps a self-effacing bioethics is our best guarantee that for most of the time, most of the decisions are the best ones possible for most of us.

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Reviews

Liberal eugenics: In defence of human enhancement
Agar, N. (2004). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishing.

Reviewed by Rhonda Shaw

When the Book Review Editors of *New Zealand Sociology* asked me if I would review Nicholas Agar's new book, there was a condition: the book must have sociological relevance. Their concern, understandably, was that a book by a philosopher may be too esoteric, or of little interest, to an audience of sociologists. Despite its clarity, the analytical style of philosophical argument that characterises Agar's book may not have wide appeal to sociologists. However, the subject matter of Agar's discussion - genetic technologies - is squarely on the sociology agenda. For sociologists to ignore such a text would be remiss, especially given the current importance of dialogue and public debate about the use of biotechnology in New Zealand.

Agar's aim in this book is prescient. He seeks to "think beyond the limits of current science" (p. 34) by opening up debate regarding innovations in biology, genomics, and medicine about which we presently have few ethical guidelines or principles. The kinds of technologies Agar is principally defending are what he calls "enhancement technologies", covering such procedures as pre-implantation genetic diagnosis (PGD), genetic therapy, and cloning. Agar's position in this book occupies the middle-ground between gung-ho posthumanism and risk-averse conservatism. His argument draws on a germinal essay originally published in 1998, also called "Liberal Eugenics". The titles of both pieces clearly mark Agar's position on the subject of genomics as belonging to a tradition of thought that has gained considerable currency in Anglo-American scholarship in recent years: liberal eugenics.

For advocates of this school of thought the "new" liberal eugenics is unlike Nazi eugenics insofar as it is anti-authoritarian, and does not advocate *social* engineering. In other words, liberal eugenics is not a state-imposed

effort to regulate and delimit human variation. In this line of thinking, liberal eugenics is primarily concerned with issues of reproductive choice or procreative liberty. Rather than restrict reproductive choice, Agar, who draws on John A. Robertson's (1994) influential notion of procreative liberty, says the new eugenics is primarily "concerned with the protection and extension of reproductive freedom" (p. vi).

According to Agar, this is the right to decide "whether or not to reproduce, when to reproduce, and how many times to reproduce" (p. vi). But, procreative liberty is not just about protecting and extending people's rights to reproduce. It also extends to parental choice in deciding the genetic characteristics of one's offspring. For Agar, the freedom to choose genetic characteristics for one's children is discretionary, like any other choice parents make about their children's education or diet. Hence, he sees no difference between nurturing one's children by way of socialisation practices and modifying their "nature" genetically. In short, Agar makes no distinction between parents' maximising their children's opportunities through education and maximising them through genomics. Both strategies are aimed at improving their children's life chances in order to secure for them a good or better life.

In addition to blurring the line between nature and nurture, Agar makes no distinction between therapeutic (healing and curative) benefits of genetic engineering and enhancement benefits (that is, making people better than well). This is a moot point for those who oppose the new eugenics. Opponents believe that there is a morally relevant distinction to be made between the use of genetic screening, diagnosis and therapy technologies for "medical", correction or repair purposes, and the use of genetic screening, diagnosis and therapy for "non-medical", positive enhancement purposes. The significant issue here is whether a distinction can be justified between therapies that aim to treat, cure, or prevent diseases for someone outside the normal range in order to repair or replace defective genes, and "enhancement" therapies that seek to alter genes in already healthy bodies to improve genetic characteristics in perceived favourable ways. The traditional justification that underpins the repair or correction of genetic defects, diseases, and disorders rests on a view of medicine as relieving or

preventing pain and suffering. Therefore, if we can achieve alleviation of suffering we have a moral duty to do so. However, since enhancement technologies are held to be discretionary, and have to do with parents' procreational liberties, many ethicists argue that we have no duty to publicly provide these kinds of treatments.

In keeping with his desire to protect reproductive liberty, Agar is reluctant to extend the scope of therapy to cover ever-increasing procedures (p. 84). His view is that once a procedure is defined as *therapy* it becomes obligatory (i.e. we have a duty to cure). Conversely, if the line between therapy and enhancement is blurred then all procedures remain potentially permissible, but not necessary. For Agar, viewing therapy and enhancement as commensurate is useful because it forecloses the likelihood of coercion and the prospect of social eugenics. There is no compulsion to heal or cure, in other words. On the other hand, if all genetic procedures are discretionary then the state has no obligation or duty to intervene whatsoever, even for therapeutic purposes. Although Agar suggests that some degree of state control over parents' genetic choices is required, it is the market-place that ultimately decides health care as well as enhancement preferences in Agar's model.

It is a bit cheap to criticise a book for what it is not, but short of perfecting extra-uterine foetal incubation, it is still largely women's bodies that provide the raw material for research and implementation on genetics and assisted reproduction. One of my reservations with Agar's book is the absence of comment about the impact of genetic enhancement technologies on current practices surrounding human reproduction, generally speaking, and on women's bodies in particular. This gap in the text regarding the consequences of introducing these technologies really does need to be addressed, especially given evidence that people already feel they should know "the facts" of their genetic inheritance and take responsibility for acting on that knowledge. These issues raise serious questions about the freedom to choose innovative techniques to make ourselves better (or better than well), and to opt out of using such technologies when they are made available. Without adequate regulatory mechanisms, genetic technologies (and PGD is a good example of this) may in fact increase surveillance over the human body as more and more people feel compelled to subject

themselves to the genetic gaze and to social obligations that ensure their offspring conform to genetic norms and aspirations of the day.

Agar doesn't explore these kinds of issues in his text in any depth. However, sociologists who take the time to read *Liberal eugenics* will definitely want to situate Agar's philosophical discussion of enhancement technologies within the context of broader debate about the body politic, and concerns about social exclusion and inclusion.

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The policy implications of diversity

Boston, J., Callister, P., & Wolf, A. (2006). Victoria University of Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies.

Reviewed by Charles Crothers

This monograph provides a high quality review of the policy implications of New Zealand's increased diversity. It lays some solid conceptual foundations for tackling some more specific diversity issues. It is a particularly opportune time for such a volume, as it is highly appropriate now that New Zealand begins to more systematically confront and manage its growing diversity. Certainly, explicit, sophisticated, and evidence-based treatment of these issues is a lot better than the present tendency for "crisis discussion" at successive election periods.

The history and context of the project are covered in an appendix: "The origins of this project .... date from late 2001, following a meeting of departmental chief executives at Boomrock that considered their common interests in improving strategic thinking in the medium term on matters of a "cross-cutting" nature. Subsequently, in meetings with the then acting director of IPS ... a range of sample themes was developed for possible focused attention. Two of these, "diversity" and "community" were selected (p. 193)." The former theme was pursued through David Robinson's work on social capital. This monograph results from the second pursuit, seeking to: clarify the nature, meaning and ethical significance of diversity; map and assess some of the key dimensions of social diversity in New Zealand; and examine the policy relevance and implications of diversity. These three tasks each receive separate treatment.

The first part covers a wide territory, plotting out alternative dimensions of the discourse on diversity. Some of the multiplicity of meanings are identified, different technical issues involved in measurement are pointed out, and alternative ways of conceptualising diversity are discussed. Although interesting alternative dimensions are mentioned at this point, in the remainder of the discussion recourse to the tried and true dimensions of gender and ethnicity are almost exclusively relied upon. This is somewhat

ironic since an interesting point which is made is that diversity is sometimes a shorthand for particular kinds of diversity (for example, ethnicity) rather than wider possibilities.

The more empirical meat in the middle part of the sandwich - Part Two - is reported to have assisted in the rejuvenation of the project when it was flagging at mid-point, with Paul Callister preparing three case studies which consider: culture and ethnicity; family structures; and working hours.

These chapters are useful summaries of literature also published elsewhere but also document that, at least in these areas, evidence for increasing diversity can be documented. The third case study usefully draws attention to methodological issues. It is reported that besides contributing empirical material "this new thrust has influenced the current report". To the sociological eye, it is hard to imagine the monograph being very interesting without this enlivening material. On the other hand, a considerable gap in the monograph is that this empirical material was not then taken forward into the policy analysis. Perhaps this would have been a tall order, but some worked-up policy analyses which engage with documented realities would have given the monograph much more weight.

Additional data is added within the third part of the monograph in the form of some information on (the increasing diversifying success of) institutional representativeness, although reports of several small-scale investigations by School of Government students are not worked into the overall argument. On the other hand a subtle analysis (based on Q-sort methodology), with a few senior public servant respondents, produced three patterned views of diversity: practical, passionate and perverse ("let it be"). This seemed a more immediately useful (if understated) empirical contribution.

Part Three focuses on "the implications of diversity, including increasing diversity, for policy analysis, policy making and public management" (p. 108). They argue that in the contemporary more diverse situation New Zealand is in, policy researchers and analysts will need to use a wider range of appropriate tools. Moreover, diversity is likely to require more extensive treatment at each stage of the policy cycle: in consultation, in institutional design and in implementation. Issues such as "representativeness" in institutions and the role of "population-based Ministries" are discussed, as

are the implications of possible recourse to affirmative action. Potential for "cleavage management" is discussed. In covering this extensive ground, the monograph usefully maps the territory that might need to be covered in any particular policy project, and makes useful (albeit preliminary) points across this landscape.

There are a few criticisms that may be useful in driving further debate. The report is well-written and presented, although with some lapses. For example I did not find the following passage which purports to summarise the whole enterprise in the slightest bit helpful: "community is a site (not necessarily a geographical place) where different human identities (usually in self-defined groups) interact with the state. Diversity, in turn, becomes the apt conception of these interactions and the processes of social change that they entail" (p. 194). On the other hand, a strength of the writing from Wellington-based quasi-insiders is that the monograph contains many useful snippets providing insights into, or information on the Wellington scene.

In general, the monograph is couched more as setting the stage than actually showing some policy action in play. This gives it a broad, overly-skeletal feel. But pushing into closer analysis of a few issues (indeed, perhaps those essayed empirically in the middle part) would have made the study far more useful.

There is a plethora of highly useful lists, but the logical relationship between some of them needs some sorting into an overall order. Theoretically, it seems odd that the burgeoning sociological literature on "inclusion" has not been invoked (apart from a couple of fleeting mentions) as this provides a huge set of intellectual resources which bears on diversity.

One of the difficulties of diversity as a topic is that it can be politically charged. The report handles this rather awkwardly: citing the infamous Orewa speech, but then failing to directly engage with this viewpoint, apart from the tart remark that Brash's view falls towards an extreme part of the range (p. 173). However, the general discussion might be read as an indirect challenge to this viewpoint.

There is a determined blindness to survey attitudinal data, as opposed to official data, or small scale ethnographic exercises. Such data needs to be used carefully, but may throw light on points where the present monograph falters. For example, there is New Zealand attitudinal data (sometimes

comparative too) which relates to this passage in the monograph: "Although we lack detailed or comprehensive data on their participation, Maori, Pacific peoples, "new settler immigrants" ... and vulnerable groups face well-recognised difficulties in consulting with government (p. 130)". There is also relevant survey data on perceptions of conflict cleavages, on support for degree of representativeness, and most relevantly, on support for diversity. Bringing such data into the equation might have given the analyses more meat.

New Zealand is a small society and its social research establishment is small, leading to some suppression of diversity of viewpoints. This purposefully robust review is intended to contribute to the diversity and quality of policy analysis in New Zealand.

Creative industries
Hartley, J. (Ed.) (2005). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Reviewed by Amanda Bill

Creative industries rhetoric usually begins with claims about the value that creative enterprise brings to advanced economies and this book is no exception. Fortunately though, it goes beyond normative prescription or "cheerleading" (Cunningham, p. 288) and provides, if not exactly a critique, at least an overview of where the concept has come from and why it is currently useful. This makes it a timely contribution to literature about the creative economy, a programme still very much in ascendance.

The book is a collection of readings developed for the Creative Industries Faculty at Queensland University of Technology (QUT), who according to editor John Hartley (also their Dean), were "not fully confident that they had a clue what their new name stood for" (p. viii). To remedy this, Hartley's introduction summarises the history of the idea of creative industries from its beginnings in civic humanism and the creative arts, and gives constructive definitions based on its main premise: creativity is at the core of culture and is operating differently in a post-industrial society. Hartley says the book was inspired by a spirit of pragmatism, rather than positionality, so readings were selected not because they directly address creative industries, but for being symptomatic of the field in which creative industries operate.

Chapters are reproduced from the work of academics, pundits, consultants and one business person, Luigi Maramotti, who is president of the MaxMara Fashion Group. As you would expect, these authors present a multiplicity of topics, ranging from the poetics of jazz (Umberto Eco, p. 177), to Michael Porter's treatise on clusters in a global economy (p. 259). I was familiar with many of these readings. Of the ones I hadn't encountered before, I particularly enjoyed J C Herz's article about harnessing "massively networked innovation" in online games. Herz was the first computer games critic for the *New York Times* and her writing sparkles with interesting ideas. Her "hero-story" about "Homo innovatus" is very funny (p. 327). At a different level, I appreciated Justin O'Connor's thoughtful reflection on a

project financed by the European Union that drew on the expertise of Manchester's Creative Industries Development Service to promote cultural industries in St Petersburg. The problems involved in attempting this in post-Soviet Russia, in the absence of an SME support structure and without the social and civil underpinnings of a market, were illuminating compared with how easily creative cities projects have captured hearts and minds in New Zealand. O'Connor discovered that both officials and dissidents in St Petersburg resisted attempts at commercialization as a vindication of the role of artists and a preservation of high art which was clearly atrophying in the West. O'Connor was challenged by his role as cultural policy "expert" and he points out the necessity of having "an explicit cultural politics" to gain trust and be effective as "transnational cultural intermediary" (p. 255).

These diverse chapters are organized into six sections, each with a fairly lengthy introduction by a "specialist" from QUT. For example, in the first section, *Creative world*, Ellie Rennie is concerned with creative communities and creativity as a dynamic not just for the talented few. Her introduction covers the "aggressive localism and outcast behaviour" of skateboarders and surfers (Craig Stecyk), open source codes (Lawrence Lessig) and the commons debate - whether governments should ensure internet access and resources necessary to allow anyone the opportunity for creative participation "from the ground up". She cites Geert Lovink's article about the Sarai New Media centre in Delhi, whose members dismiss the digital divide as a "social consciousness" term, born of guilt (p. 49).

Rennie also introduces Néstor García Canclini on the development of a Latin American audiovisual space and a chapter on activist use of the internet by Graham Meikle. These show the creative possibilities that exist in amateur and alternative spaces of resistance. Rennie argues "Resistance is Fertile" (p. 51) and does more than simply generate alternatives for capitalist co-option. Creativity doesn't have to be about commercialising culture, but is also manifest in "dissent and the imagining of new futures". Alternative media should be understood as "the creative manifestation of new economy critique that is not separate from it but a part of the self-reflexiveness of a knowledge society" (p. 53). To me, this argument doesn't present much of a challenge to hegemonic claims about the knowledge economy, even though Rennie tells us the term creative industries was invented to signal

some critical themes in the way this economy works. Perhaps because of word limits, she simply presents us with a series of tensions - between property and freedom for instance but offers no way to think past them. One way of doing this might have been to acknowledge not just "alternative creativity", but alternative *"creativities"* (Gibson & Klocker, 2005).

The introductions to each section do a good job of demarcating the field. They report on creative identities (mostly the human capital version of identity), distinguishing practices of creative industries (the art arguments), the creative re-imagining of cities, the effects of "the big three - convergence, globalization, and digitization" (p. 282) on new modes of enterprise and research, and the relationship of creative industries to the knowledge economy. I read *Creative industries* during the week the new economy officially arrived in New Zealand - when Sam Morgan's Trade Me showed how mega-millions could be made out of geekdom – so I couldn't help thinking of the entrepreneurial opportunities the book pointed to. This is probably one of its strengths. It is certainly pragmatic - theories that could provide critical analytical strategies seem to be carefully avoided, perhaps to suit students in creative industries programmes who rarely have time for theorizing. At the same time, undergraduates would probably be lost in the vast multi-disciplinary knowledge presumed by the selections. Even though I've been reading around creative industries for a while, I occasionally felt I'd been dropped into the middle of a conversation. For instance, I had to google the acronym NICL in the chapter by Toby Miller and colleagues because I couldn't find an explanation in the text. It turned out to refer to the *new international division of cultural labor* that supports "Global Hollywood" (p. 147).

The book itself exemplifies the creative editing that is said to be at the heart of creative industries, producing new meanings from existing materials, customized and re-versioned for local markets (p. 115). In this case, the aesthetic is reminiscent of the Open University *Culture, media and identities* series rather than, say, the *Zone* publications that so beguiled "creatives" during the 1990s. Unlike those there's nothing visually creative about the form of the book. From a design perspective, I find it curious

that, given its topic, the book doesn't have any digital complement. It is unapologetically an analogue "reader" that privileges cognitive rather than aesthetic or expressive registers of knowledge (Allen, 2002).

Taken as a whole, *Creative industries* rehearses the differences political economists and social scientists still have with certain versions of cultural studies. It is not empirical enough, not theoretical enough, not politicised enough. In terms of its message about creative industries, I'm reminded of what J C Herz says about massively multiplayer game systems - the great thing is that people really care about them. The awful thing is that people really care about them (p. 341).

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Sex and pleasure in western culture
Hawkes, G. (2004). Cambridge: Polity Press.

Perspectives in human sexuality
Hawkes, G., & Scott, J. (Eds.) (2005). Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

Reviewed by Johanna Schmidt

These two books on sexuality, published within a year of each other, one written and the other co-edited by Gail Hawkes from the University of New England in Armidale, Australia, both appear to set themselves up as undergraduate texts. It is with this in mind that I am writing this review. Although the book authored by Hawkes is an historical exploration of Western sexuality, while the edited collection offers a more contemporary overview, I would hesitate to recommend both for the same course, largely because there is not only material repeated between them, but also because both style and approach are largely similar.

Hawkes' *Sex and pleasure in western culture* would maybe work well as an introductory text, outlining as it does how attitudes towards and practices relating to sexuality have changed substantially over time. Starting in Greek antiquity, Hawkes moves through early Christianity, the courtly love and other practices of the Medieval era, the discourses of civilisation that marked the Renaissance, and the shifts in attitudes that resulted from modernity, into what she terms the "sexual" twentieth century. Discussions of these eras are based around the control and construction of sexuality, a focus which is made explicit in the prologue. Here Hawkes does an excellent job of outlining the relationships between discourse and social control, explaining how even twentieth century discourses of "sexual freedom" that are implied in, for example, the preponderance of sexuality in advertising, actually continue to place limits around what is and is not "acceptable" sexuality. This interplay between dominant social discourses and prescriptions around and attitudes towards various forms of sexuality underpins the text as a whole. However, in the epilogue this critical tone turns into a rather cynical attitude to the apparent "choices" offered by

postmodernity – an analysis that is maybe useful for questioning liberal discourses of contemporary times. Nevertheless, this could have been tempered by an acknowledgement of the benefits that have resulted for some groups from these discourses.

Some aspects of Hawkes' writing were also troubling. She is inclined to use the phrase "we will" in her writing, which I am never particularly keen on, implying that *all* readers will read the same things into the material as the writer has. There also tends to be a rather subjective tone adopted at some points – for example, I found Hawkes suggestion that the "sexual self help" manuals of the nineteenth century "bring to mind training manuals one might purchase for domestic pets" (p. 123) somewhat odd, while her chapter on the "sexual century" opens with some rather unfounded suppositions about how "historians" might view the twentieth century.

While Hawkes' writing style is perhaps less than academically rigorous, it does provide an approachable read for the undergraduate student. Hawkes also gives clear and concise explanations of sociological concepts that can be difficult to communicate to students. These include the links between the development of modernity and the shift from conceptualisation of good/ evil to normal/abnormal and orderly/disordered, and how modern phenomena such as "lower class tenements" and "men and women working together in factories" were related to fears about "uncontrolled sexuality".

On the whole, however, were I teaching a course in this area, I would be more inclined to use the collection edited by Hawkes and Scott, especially for second or third year students. As with Hawkes' book, *Perspectives in human sexuality* also adopts a straightforward and readable style necessary to introduce undergraduate students to an area that is currently replete with complex theorising, while the focus on Antipodean concerns makes this a more relevant text to the local context. With fifteen chapters in all, organised into three different sections, a wide of range of material is covered. Each chapter opens with an overview which concludes with a list of the topics that will be covered in the chapter, giving the reader a clear indication of whether it is worth reading or not. Each chapter also concludes with a series of discussion questions, and lists of suggested additional readings and internet resources. Relevant terminology is highlighted and defined in a glossary.

While *Perspectives in human sexuality* is thus extremely well organised as a teaching text, and would be an excellent resource for tutorials, there is an unfortunate lack of cross-referencing between chapters. Given that there are four chapters that relate specifically to homosexuality, some acknowledgement of mutually relevant material would be beneficial, especially as a means of getting students to look beyond the chapter immediately recommended for specific lectures. Chapters on sexual dysfunction, public health, and prostitution also would benefit from referring to each other. The text could also use an opening chapter on the construction and changing models of heterosexuality, given that this is what so many of the chapters use as a starting point. Without this, many authors have to open their individual chapters with their own descriptions of heteronormativity before moving into their more specific discussions, resulting in often-repeated material and concepts.

As with any edited collection, there is also some variability in writing. Given the editors explicit intention that this be an undergraduate text, I do feel that there could have been more attention paid to ensuring that accessibility was maintained across the text. While most chapters are clear and use a good range of explicit examples – always a bonus when teaching theory to undergrads – chapters such as that on contemporary gay cultures in Australia and that on homophobia were notably more theoretically dense than others. Notwithstanding this, most chapters provide a good overview of their topics, and many use very current research. For example, the chapter on sexual dysfunction clearly draws on the recent work on the discourses around and unforeseen effects of Viagra usage. The chapters on prostitution and pornography are also notable for their discussions of the various approaches to these issues, and their avoidance of explicitly adopting either of the possible feminist stances on these topics.

Given that there are four different chapters dealing with issues relating to homosexuality, I feel that one or two of these could have been sacrificed in the interests of including some notably absent material. For example, there is no real discussion of transgendered sexuality, a topic that raises interesting and complex issues in relation to the body, sexuality, sex, and gender. The issue of bisexuality is also raised only briefly, and deserves greater discussion, again because of its troubling of the binaries of sexuality

and gender that continue to be maintained by the homo/hetero paradigm. However, some other complex issues are tackled very adequately – for example, dominant discourses that westernisation has "corrupted" non-western sexual practices and identities are addressed in relation to heterosexuality by the chapter on indigenous Australian sexuality, and in relation to non-heterosexual practices and identities, by the chapter on queer cultures and globalisation.

As already noted, the theoretical aspects of *Perspectives in human sexuality* are somewhat patchy, while Hawkes seldom mentions either theory or theorist in *Sex and Pleasure*. I personally found the brief mentions of Foucault particularly concerning, given that both books clearly rest heavily on Foucauldian approaches to sexuality. Most of the theorising that does occur, especially in *Sex and pleasure*, does so at a fairly basic level. However, while this absence of any complex theory leaves the reader bereft of any real challenges, the resultant conceptual clarity can be useful for undergraduate students, and the gaps can be easily rectified with supplementary material. Don't expect any surprises from either of these books, but do consider them, especially *Perspectives*, if you are teaching in the area.

Barbed wire: A political history
Razac, O. (2002). New York: The New Press.

Reviewed by Steve Matthewman

Barbed wire, writes Olivier Razac (2002, p. x) is "a tool of power" that "serve[s] authority." His book's triumph is to treat barbed wire to prolonged scrutiny as none before him. That is to say, he considers this durable, lightweight and strong technology – which scholars have seen through rather than seen – *as primarily a political tool.* It is worth stressing that it is the *uses* to which technologies are put that are bad rather than technology *per se.* Though in this case it is an artefact that fulfils its design brief particularly well; the effective constraint of movement. Thus Razac's work is not a continuation of that strand of social theory stretching from Martin Heidegger's (1977) standing reserve to Paul Virilio's (1997) dystopian pronouncements that sees technology as an evil in itself. Technology is not at war with humanity. Humans are at war with humanity. In doing battle they conscript technology. Razac's work shows how barbed wire helped transform the American West, modern war, and population management in favour of its controller.

 As Alan Krell (2002, p. 7) observes, "[b]arbed wire's simplicity of concept and ease of realization belies the critical role it has played in the modern experience: territorial expansion and settlement, regional and international conflicts, incarceration and extermination." But this is not Razac's concern. His interests lie in social imaginaries: the appearance of barbed wire in the arts, the media and in popular culture. For the modern experience, which conscripts "barbed wire [as] a device which separates those who will live from those who will die", as something that "produces a distinction between those who are allowed to retain their humanity and those reduced to mere bodies" we need Razac (2002, p. 85).

Prior literatures on "the Devil's Rope" fell into two camps, human histories in which technology falls out of the picture, where barbed wire is invoked for literary effect as emblem of oppression, and technical literatures in which the wire itself is the actor, an authentic part of the heritage of the American West (Netz, 2000, p. 35). The former tend toward symbolism

without substance, the latter to substance without symbolism. There is also the question of judgement. The human stories are always negative, while the technical stories are more positive. These literatures exist in isolation yet the phenomena they describe are connected. Simply stated, barbed wire's "form illustrates its function" (Razac, 2002, p. 66). A technology aimed at the living, and first visited upon animals, barbed wire would soon be inflicted upon human beings. Pioneered in America as a cheap fencing option to control stock, it would be deployed on the battlefield and the home front to control enemies without and within. Again, Razac illuminates the relation. Barbed wire "justified by an animalizing propaganda, is a means by which man is transformed into pure living material, able to be liquidated or forced into labor: at once livestock, savage beast, and vermin" (2002, p. 89). Through such use the simplest of technologies became "a key element in the modern texture of power" (Netz, 2000, p. 35).

Razac explores this central component of modern power through three historic lenses: the enclosure of the American prairie, the fortifying of the trenches of the Great War, and the encircling of German concentration camps during the Second World War (where totalitarianism is Nazi power plus electrification). Each of these episodes is swiftly dealt with before a broader meditation on barbed wire's management of space. This consideration of barbed wire as a tool of surveillance and control is finished with thoughts about barbed wire's fate. Signposting along the way suggests that barbed wire may have had its day (although everything that we have read concerning cost, strength, efficiency and effectiveness suggests otherwise). Its visibility is part of its weakness: barbed wire requires constant surveillance. As disenfranchised farmers and cowboys in the Texan Range Cutting Wars of 1883 demonstrated, it only takes wire cutters. Since visibility means vulnerability, the trend is toward an unseen violence of power: video surveillance, security guards, electronic identity cards and detection devices. Given this visibility and, equally importantly, how darkly its design is interpreted, Razac argues that barbed wire is yesterday's protection for today's plutocrat. Here he does not seem to have the strength of his own convictions, and it is not hard to see why. There is a massive difference between subtle control and complete containment. For total domination of mass populations barbed wire remains without peer. And

there is a very good reason why barbed wire's design, unlike virtually any contemporary technology, has scarcely altered since J.F. Glidden's 1874 patent; it was frighteningly perfect at its conception.

What Razac presents us with, then, is a richly illustrated work of interest, bringing our attention to important, yet habitually overlooked issues. Whether he does them justice is another matter. At 132 pages including the index it is a slight offering. (If we forget the black and white photographs, the enclosure of the American West is fenced into 16 pages.) One can imagine the ire of historians. Which leads to another point: who is this book for? *Barbed wire* is not easily located within the customary disciplinary matrix. A philosopher by training, Razac's publisher classifies it as Science/History. It is more properly a work of politics, its underlying concern being the distribution of power. This squares with the author's own opinion. As he explains, he is not concerned with "a comprehensive history of barbed wire" but with its "most significant political implications" (Razac 2002, p. 3). In fencing we go beyond physical division, the act also speaks of social distinction. In enclosing land, in declaring ownership, in controlling movement or in completely denying it, we are always engaging in a political act.

In a wider sense, Razac's work reminds us of the importance of technology in our world. Sociologists need this reminder. We tend to forget that technologies (of transportation, communication, habitation and so on) keep most of our social relations in place. The missing masses must be restored if our sociological explanations are to be adequate. As such we need to pay much more attention to *things* than we do. And often it is the smallest things that are the most important. Modernity, as any number of scholars have told us, is a rationalising, categorising project. It also rests heavily on notions of stability, order and control. Barbed wire has been integral to processes of capture, control, concentration and liquidation. What better symbol for our times?

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