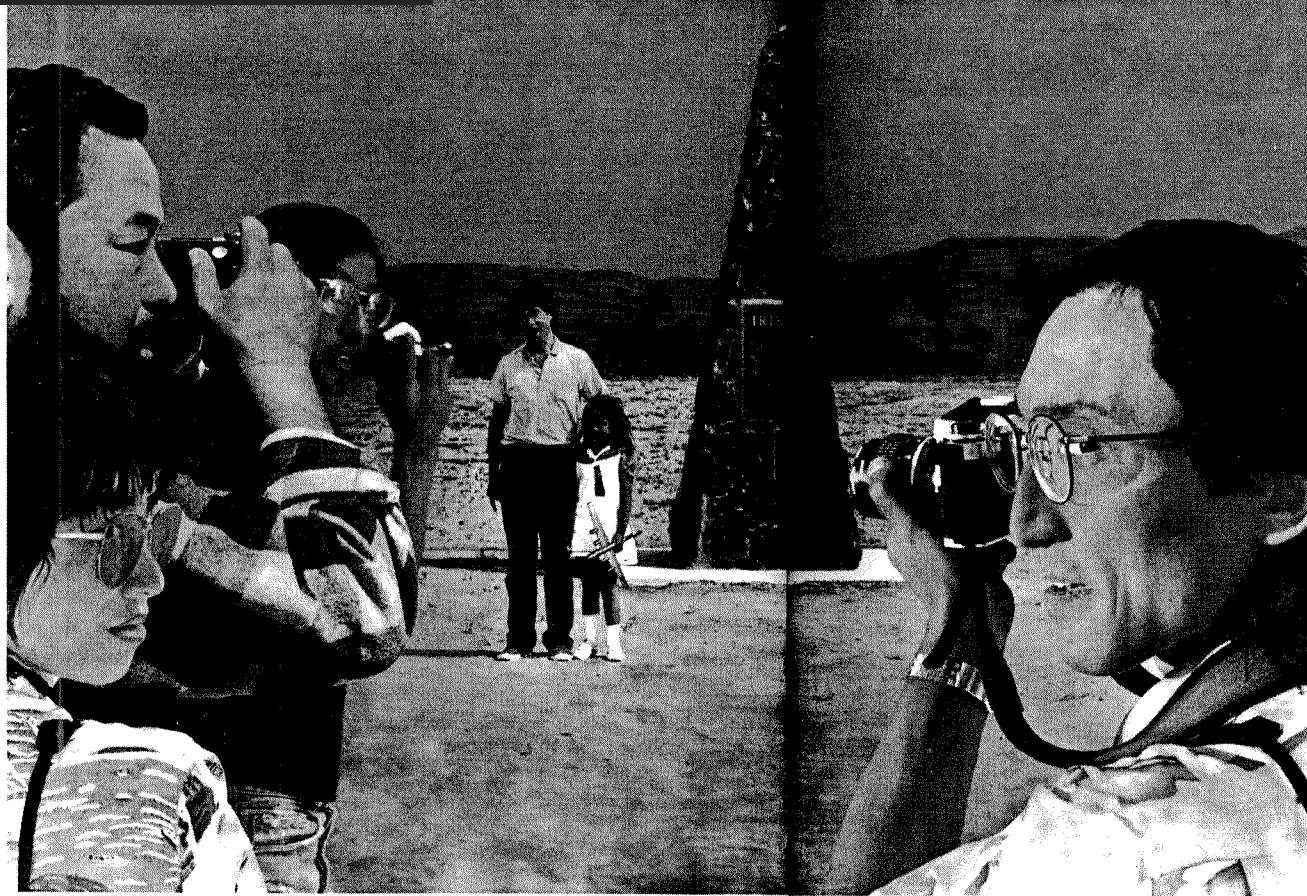


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Public Cultures/ Global Transformations

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MUSEUM FRICTIONS

developed. In the end, Fraser finds the notion of “public sphere” to be important and necessary but in need of revision. Bruce Robbins concurs that “public sphere” is “a concept that must remain both unacceptable and necessary,” surrounded by contradictions. See Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* and *The Structure of Communicative Action*; Fraser, “Rethinking the Public Sphere”; Robbins, “Introduction: The Public as Phantom.”

INTRODUCTION

Museum Frictions:

Public Cultures/Global Transformations

CORINNE A. KRATZ AND IVAN KARP

Museums and other display and collecting institutions are surprisingly protean organizations. They have different and often multiple mandates and complex and contradictory goals. They experience conflicting demands made on them from a range of interested parties, including funders, audiences, government officials, professional communities, collectors, and peoples who are represented in the museum displays. In addition, there are other cultural and display institutions to which museums are inevitably connected and related. Wherever they are found and whatever their specific histories, museums are defined—and define themselves—in relation to other cultural, civic, and community organizations, whether they be art galleries, schools, fiestas, fairs, expositions, department stores, or theme parks. Over the years museums have also increasingly found themselves in fruitful and frustrating conversations and interactions with a variety of media, including cinema, television, video games, and other interactive forms.

Given the complexity of relations, pressures, and incentives, it is inevitable that museums have been described in myriad ways: as temples of civilization, sites for the creation of citizens, forums for debate, settings for cultural interchange and negotiation of values, engines of economic renewal and revenue generation, imposed colonialist enterprises, havens of elitist distinction and discrimination, and places of empowerment and recognition—although

different people might be empowered and recognized at different times and places, just as these other characterizations may be most appropriate for different periods, places, and institutions. In every case, however, the range of museum roles, definitions, and cross-institutional relations entails conjunctions of disparate constituencies, interests, goals, and perspectives. These conjunctions produce debates, tensions, collaborations, contests, and conflicts of many sorts, at many levels—*museum frictions* that have both positive and negative outcomes. International and globalizing processes have always been a prominent factor affecting museums, but increasingly they influence contemporary museum and heritage practice in ways that both generate new museum frictions and recast old ones. The essays in this book examine the ways these frictions play out as museum-generated social processes and globalizing processes intersect and interact.

In a 1997 essay, cultural historian James Clifford adapted the concept of contact zones to portray museums and heritage sites as lively, contentious intersections, “because it opened them up to contestation and collaborative activity. It helped make visible the different agendas— aesthetic, historical, and political—that diverse ‘publics’ bring to contexts of display.”¹ The notion neatly captured and reiterated an emphasis on the museum as forum that emerged in museum practice and scholarly work alike during the mid- to late 1980s.² Yet a focus on the museum primarily as a zone or place can also imply a sense of boundedness that obscures the way these contests and debates arise from both within and outside the museum, shaped by museum contexts yet still also related to and often embedded in other contexts, institutions, and processes. While preparing this book, we developed the term “museum frictions” to shift attention toward the ongoing complex of social processes and transformations that are generated by and based in museums, museological processes that can be multi-sited and ramify far beyond museum settings. “Museum frictions” incorporates the idea of the museum as a varied and often changing set of practices, processes, and interactions. This sense of the museum as a social technology is a crucial addition to considering the museum as an institution of public culture and the different meanings and histories of the concept of the museum.³ The importance of this shift became particularly clear in the discussions and meetings that led to this volume, as we explored the international and transnational connections and global considerations that have become increasingly central to the circumstances and practice of museums today, multiplying both potential conjunctions and potential frictions.⁴

Museum frictions might arise in any number of sites and relations, with parameters and dynamics particular to each context and case. While it may be futile to try to locate museum frictions in general, for all situations, the

intersections of public cultures and global transformations provide potential sites and sources where they are engendered and multiplied. Such intersections entail a number of different orientations and highlight the different mandates, roles, and responsibilities that museums often seek to fulfill. Many of the earliest national museums developed from princely or private collections and cabinets of curiosity, with collections expanded through colonial expansion, imperial plunder, scientific exchange, and aristocratic, elite, industrial, and state patronage. At once a sign and demonstration of national reach, status, and wealth, an institution dedicated to producing and presenting knowledge, and a means through which to constitute, educate, and impress its citizenry, such museums were addressed simultaneously to national publics and to other nations. These characteristics continue in today’s national museums, whether museums of art, history, natural history, or ethnography, though in very different circumstances, with different ways of ordering knowledge and broader, more diverse understandings of publics and constituencies.

Other museums were founded and proliferated in major cities and far-flung colonies, staking their own claims to regional prominence, and providing similar kinds of experience and edification for those who did not or could not travel to the capitals or metropolises. Again, such museums faced in several directions at once, set in relation to local and regional institutions and matters and aligned in various ways with other national or metropolitan museums and concerns.⁵ Documenting and collecting a range of cultural creativity and natural diversity, museum activities and claims were at once scholarly and educational, as well as bound up with ideas about the values and identities that constitute society and cultivated individuals. Institutions of knowledge, power, and exhortation, museums combined the effects of advocacy, outreach, and public relations with those of the university and the treasure house, creating potent modes of authority and legitimation. They presented exhibitions and narratives that claimed particular worldviews and ordered knowledge in ways that would enlighten visitors about them and simultaneously inculcate particular ways of seeing and being. Yet visitors could always produce counternarratives, whether through different knowledge bases, resistance, or sheer miscomprehension.

In these ways, museums became one of the institutions and practices associated with modernity, part of the checklist for being a nation, a means for disparate groups to present and claim their histories and values in the public sphere, and simultaneously an arena and means for constituting community identities. With the proliferation of museums across a wide range of settings and scales—including community museums, industrial and corporate museums, and thematic museums as well as the burgeoning heritage indus-

try—museums and heritage organizations have increasingly become sites and means for political contestation as well. At once facing inward to local constituencies and outward to wider audiences through relations to other museums and sites, these institutions provide ways to mobilize an international—perhaps global—sense of local identities, histories, and concerns. They have become essential forms through which to make statements about history, identity, value, and place and to claim recognition. Reproduced, adapted, and transformed globally, museums are not just a place or institution but have become a portable social technology, a set of museological processes through which such statements and claims are represented, embodied, and debated. Whether they define their scope as national, regional, or community-based, museum spaces can become global theaters of real consequence.

Museums and the professionals who staff them have been international actors and part of various global orders for a long time. Yet the present global moment is one in which the changing nature of social relations and communication have produced circumstances to which museums and heritage organizations must adjust, exploring new possibilities and facing new challenges.⁶ However, not all museums are positioned at the apex of the new global order. The consequences of globalizing processes might just as well produce newly disadvantaged institutions and exacerbate regional inequalities as provide opportunities for expanding constituencies and adding new content and programs. It is a commonplace observation that globalization has been characterized by the compression of time and space, with new forms of communication and transport enabling contact and social relations among people who had previously been culturally and spatially separated. But it is equally important to note that uneven patterns in globalizing processes and integration can also uncouple places and institutions from broader systems. “Globalization is uneven among countries and regions, among regions within countries and among categories within regions.”⁷

Moreover, the term “global” can often obscure as many extralocal relationships as it illuminates. Many of the relationships and processes we examine in this volume are global only in the most general sense. They are often better described as “transnational,” “international,” “cross-regional,” “intra-regional,” or even “bilateral.” The overuse of “global” often conflates these differences and their implications. When the Guggenheim Museum describes itself as “global,” for example, the use of the term conceals the fact that the museum limits its expansion of programming to relatively wealthy parts of the world and has no plans for whole continents that have their own museum traditions. As with so many processes that are described as “global,” it is often vitally important to specify the type and kind of geographical and temporal

reach associated with the process, and particularly to note the direction of the flows that are called “global,” whether we are speaking of economics or culture. As Anthony Shelton reminds us with a range of examples, “it would be wrong to speak only of a European led process of globalization,” either historically or at present.⁸ We accept that recent decades have seen increasing speed, growing intensity, and multiplication of directions of extranational flows, processes, and relationships that are called “global.” But we also want to acknowledge that greater integration of the globe, either in cultural or economic terms, is not the necessary endpoint of globalization, which can produce uncoupling and isolation—the loss of opportunity—as much as it can produce new relationships and opportunities. A discussion of globalization does not require a triumphalist point of view. Such a viewpoint, in fact, obscures important components and effects of transnational and globalizing processes.

Within contemporary international relationships and global processes, circuits of transnational migration enable the configuration of new audiences and communities, thereby creating the possibility that the varieties of imagined communities that museums and heritage organizations address need to be rethought, particularly in light of changing institutions, policies, and practices. Yet, at the same time, they can also put some museums at risk of losing audiences and support. The contemporary focus on globalization should not mask the fact that many of these processes have deep historical roots and that some global connections and communications are centuries old. It is equally important to recognize that local institutions and conditions affect how broader processes are shaped and play out.

When we began this project we recognized that increasing international connections and global orientations were one of the major trends in museum and heritage practice in recent decades, yet their workings and implications were still relatively unexamined. Nor was much consideration given to how museums managed the often contradictory pushes and pulls that derived from globalizing processes and from the history of museums, which is sedimented in their organization, collections, and exhibitions. The sharp tension between past projects and achievements and new opportunities and constraints is one of the most significant features of the present museum and heritage scene, and few museums and heritage organizations have been able to manage these conflicts elegantly. We tend far too easily to forget that the goals of the past also can serve the needs of the present.

Hence we tried to examine the changing situation of museums but to keep in mind that we had reservations about the totalizing and triumphalist ways that globalization has often been portrayed. Much as we use the term “museum frictions” to foreground museum-based processes and transformations, we

found it essential to disaggregate globalization, to look at the range of globalizing processes collected under that term and consider both their interconnections and their limits. The processes and relations that constitute globalization in a general sense are shaped on one hand by social, cultural, economic, and political flows created through systematic exchange and circulation and on the other hand by varied articulations between and across different sites, institutions, and levels of organization and integration. These flows and articulations are often in a conversation, if not a debate, with the past, so it was equally essential to keep in mind the history of museums. A central point of the essays in this volume is that global flows and articulations work in contradictory as well as complementary ways, both in relation to one another and in relation to museum pasts embedded in the goals and aspirations of many museums.⁹

The cultural flows and processes with which many museums are specifically concerned are not the only elements with which they must contend. There are also economic, social, and political flows and processes that are interconnected complexly among themselves as well as with those related to culture. None of these flows and processes necessarily follows the same patterns as the others. Museums exist at the intersections of all of these, but cultural flows are their special province. Forms of cultural production and exchange that exist increasingly outside of the spheres and frames of reference to which many museums are dedicated, from local to national, provide subjects for museums and heritage organizations to examine and to help shape, even as they adjust to and engage with transforming circumstances.

It is important that they do so because culture, and its flows and processes, does not respect the political boundaries that so often define the terms “local,” “national,” “regional,” and “global.” As Simon During notes when attempting to define “global” in relation to popular culture, “culture is precisely that field in which differences and internal borders within the global system most persist.”¹⁰ At the same time global cultural flows can define terms of identity that operate outside of and often across conventional political borders, as the literature on diasporas amply demonstrates. These observations suggest that the contrast commonly made between the global and the local is no more than a convenient shorthand often used to invoke—but not necessarily to consider critically—what is involved in the range of articulations through which globalizing and localizing processes and cultural flows take shape. This (increasingly sterile) shorthand bears the risk of flattening complex processes and articulations into a conflating binary division, which evades the task of examining the new and unexpected geographical and temporal units and identities that are emerging.¹¹

In addition to looking across a range of sites and structural levels of inte-

gration and disjunction, it is equally important to understand the conditions under which these processes take place and to ask what they mean for differently situated actors and institutions. It is also important to recognize relations and connections that are not nationally based. We need to think about how museums articulate with units of different geographical and temporal scales, and how different scales themselves affect developments in public cultures. Apart from identifying the varied and systematic connections and disconnections that characterize contemporary subnational, international, transnational, and global structures and processes, one must also be alert to more ephemeral, conjunctural, quirky, and contradictory aspects that arise and shape them. These orientations in turn illuminate the ways that public cultures are produced through museums, heritage resources, and related institutions of public culture and ongoing global transformations in associated domains of knowledge and practice.

A number of tensions emerge and are highlighted as museums remodel themselves and negotiate among various projects and definitions that may be derived from different spheres of involvement and identity. These range across spaces that could be described as local to global but encompass and link many different spaces in between, each of which might be seen as a form of “local” in relationship to a more encompassing space. These tensions and definitions take different shapes and are managed in diverse ways by different types of museums, as well as being handled in different ways in different parts of the world. Some museums attempting to survive changing conditions may find that their very existence is under threat. At the same time, new museums and display settings and new collaborations have also been emerging in the past two decades.

Some ethnic and community-based museums in the United States, for example, are torn between competing tasks: developing programs for audiences with forms of self-consciousness derived from transnational migrations and diasporas, yet also following missions defined and associated with their history as museums fundamentally grounded in local and national concerns. Nor should we forget that these missions were developed in communities whose composition has often changed in fundamental ways and that the museums are sometimes facing different challenges and constraints in today’s financial landscapes. The Centro Cultural de la Raza in San Diego, California, provides one such instance. Founded by Chicano artists in the late 1960s and now a nationally prominent art center, the Centro has been the subject of a heated campaign and a four-year boycott by some of its founders, mounted in protest of a new director and board members appointed in 1999 in an effort to rescue a debt-laden organization. The Centro’s new leadership made changes in

programming and decision making as part of what the protestors regard as a depoliticization and mainstreaming that run contrary to the center's roots and original mission. The Centro presents its goal as "becoming the best Chicano cultural arts center in the United States. It's a goal that they readily admit requires certain things that would tend to rub a grassroots arts community the wrong way: corporate grants and sponsorship; alliances with local government; appeal to a wider, more conservative audience."¹²

In New York City, a parallel debate has raged around El Museo del Barrio, founded by Puerto Rican activists and artists, also in the late 1960s, to be a community museum and center in East Harlem. The neighborhood is now more diverse, with large numbers of Dominican, Mexican, and other Latin American residents, and has been undergoing gentrification. In the mid- to late 1990s, new board members at El Museo recast its mission and activities to put more emphasis on Latin American art, seeking to reach wider audiences—changes reflected in a 2002 blockbuster exhibit on Mexican art and a 2004 exhibition on Latin American art done in collaboration with the Museum of Modern Art. These changes have met with protests by a group called Nuestro Museo Action Committee, which, like the San Diego group, sees the transformations as inimical to the integrity and spirit of the institution as they have known it.¹³ The key point to recognize, in these examples and more generally, is that the processes and imperatives to which museums and heritage organizations must adapt—including increasing community diversity and articulation with the international order, on one hand, and service to long-standing components of local communities, on the other—do not happen sequentially. These are simultaneous, ongoing, and conflicting. Thus, El Museo has to contend not only with transnational connections and globalization (it has always had to do that) but also with competing social and cultural flows. In this case a Puerto Rican diaspora competes within the museum with the incentives and constraints produced by the increasing density of cultural, economic, and political relations with Latin America. These conflicts have been dramatically acted out on the stage of the museum itself.

Museums often strive simultaneously to be community-based, national, regional, and global in various ways, and must also negotiate those projects and definitions with other competitor/colleague institutions. Some museums are now modeling themselves after global corporations, and display events now exhibit emergent identities shaped by perceptions of non-national and sometimes global processes. The 2000 World Exposition in Hannover, Germany, for example, did not have a United States pavilion, but "American" companies such as Coca-Cola exhibited there not as American but as global corporations.¹⁴ Museums, communities, national councils, and transnational bodies

such as UNESCO are all grappling with categories, policies, and practices related to tangible, intangible, and world heritage as well as intellectual property rights. At the same time, community museums are seeking to define the communities they serve in ways that acknowledge that community boundaries change according to how they are identified, which of their historical experiences and cultural forms are being addressed in programming, and how they articulate with other communities. What effects do these tensions have on museums and the ways they define and serve visitors and communities? What do these issues look like from peripheries, from centers, and from dispersed diasporic vantage points?

Some new forms of display have been emerging that are derived from world's fairs, but taken in new directions in places ranging from Walt Disney World to cultural theme parks in Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia.¹⁵ New media have also presented ways for museums able to access them to expand their reach and range of activities, as well as possibilities for virtual exhibitions and forms of cultural production and social interaction that bypass museums altogether. How do these new directions exemplify changing forms of the social imaginary as it is constructed in what, following Tony Bennett, we call the public cultural and historical sphere?¹⁶ How are social identities constructed and for whom in these display forms? These are some of the many issues and questions raised as globalizing and museum-based processes interconnect, producing a set of conjunctions that we wanted to explore as we began the project that became *Museum Frictions*.

THE MOMENT

This volume's focus on transnational and globalizing processes in museum and heritage spheres both reflects and partakes in the kinds of shifts we noted when we began the project in 2000 (see the preface). Looking back at that time to 1990, we saw a museum and heritage landscape that was being remapped and had been marked by a number of salient processes and events. But the moment in which we find ourselves today is not the same as the one during which we began. Over the course of this project, some highly significant political events and cultural shifts occurred that began reverberating through museum and heritage sectors almost at once. Natural disasters such as the 2004 tsunami in the Pacific region and Hurricane Katrina along the Gulf Coast of the United States in 2005 brought devastation and misery on enormous scales, as well as worldwide responses. They have had significant effects on museums and heritage in these regions and will surely become topics of museum-based expressions as well. The attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States and sub-

sequent wars waged by the United States and others in Afghanistan and Iraq have changed global relations, regional and national cultures, and the patterns, meanings, and textures of life in many communities throughout the world.

They also spawned powerful exhibitions such as “Here Is New York: A Democracy of Photographs,”¹⁷ triggered knotty politics and debates about a memorial at ground zero (the former site of the World Trade Center towers), and created conditions for the looting of the Iraqi museum in Baghdad, the destruction of archaeological heritage, and the closing of the Kabul zoo—now seen as “a microcosm for the rebuilding of Afghanistan” as it is reconstructed with aid from transnational organizations and international donors from Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States, and other countries.¹⁸ Tougher customs and immigration restrictions now make it more difficult for some people and cultural institutions to work collaboratively and for exhibitions to travel internationally, just as some topics and interpretations in art, exhibitions, and programs have come under greater scrutiny, at times seeming to touch new taboos.¹⁹ This is the case particularly, but not only, in the United States. Yet at other times, both in the United States and elsewhere in the world, the daily workings and projects of museums and heritage institutions seem little affected by these recent geopolitical and cultural shifts, and other events and concerns may be more consequential to their local and regional circumstances and relations. This provides a cogent reminder that global processes unfold unevenly and differentially, ever shaped by specific settings and concerns.

There may have been some surprising turns, but developments taking place during the course of our project still built on processes in train when we began, significant events and trends that have been reconfiguring museum and heritage practice and institutions in various ways over the past fifteen years. There had already been tremendous growth in the numbers both of museum and heritage organizations and of visitors, a general trend that was continuing.²⁰ The period after 1990 saw the opening of a plethora of community, ethnic, and thematic museums around the world as well as a number of large, new national museums, including Robben Island Museum in South Africa (1997), Te Papa Tongarewa in New Zealand (1998), the National Museum of Australia (2001), the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, D.C. (2004), and plans for a new National Museum of China (expected to open in 2007). In these settings, museums were still defined as spaces for advertising national wealth and achievement, but in some of them the nature of the nation and its relationship to its society were contested and even challenged. Once again the outward-looking aspect had to contend with dynamics internal to the society itself, whether this meant splitting the director’s authority between Maori and

Pakeha (non-Maori New Zealanders) at Te Papa Tongarewa or contesting the role of different and competing liberation organizations in interpretations at Robben Island Museum in South Africa.

In these new museums, nation and citizenship were defined in relation to plural societies in ways that contrasted with such definitions in national museums founded a century or more earlier, in very different times. Many smaller organizations also drew on and grew from pluralist and multicultural emphases, casting their appeals and displays around local histories and cultures, minority populations, and special themes. Older, established museums also sought to reconfigure some of their displays, collections policies, and relations with visitors and communities within a continuing cultural and political context that recognized that the social order is composed of diverse elements and groups, some of whose presence had not been acknowledged in the museum sphere. Museums and heritage sites were also perceived as a means of claiming or appropriating a role in broader public spheres and of legitimating identity, history, and presence, a perception that shaped this change and growth.²¹ Representation and legitimation could matter within social groups as much as, and sometimes more than, they did in wider arenas. Communities sought the legitimacy conferred by museums for themselves, not necessarily to display themselves to others.

Exhibitions were central manifestations of and forums for these processes and debates, with a significant, perhaps increasing number presenting topics related to particular cultural identities, histories, diasporas, and hybridities and involving consultative engagements with the communities depicted and/or those living in a museum’s own vicinity. The range of topics and community engagements was also one face of efforts to increase visitor numbers, an effort simultaneously intended to help provide secure fiscal foundations. Blockbuster exhibitions with similar audience and revenue goals sought to be crowd pleasers with tried-and-true topics: treasures rarely seen or associated with the lives of the rich and famous, sweeping historical surveys, or broad, generic themes that assembled objects without historical connections to illustrate universalist or humanistic connections. In the United States this resulted in exhibitions of varying quality and success on dinosaurs, mummies, and Impressionist art; “Matisse” (1992), “Vermeer” (1995–96), “Rings: Five Passions in World Art” (1996), “Picasso” (1996), “Star Wars” (1997), “Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids” (1999–2000), “Leonardo da Vinci, Master Draftsman” (2003), “Matisse/Picasso” (2003), and Wonders, an international series of exhibitions produced in Memphis, Tennessee, that included “Rameses the Great” (1987), “Catherine the Great” (1991), “Splendors of the Ottoman Sultans” (1992), “The Etruscans” (1992), “Napoleon” (1993), “Czars: 400 Years of

Imperial Grandeur" (2002), and "Masters of Florence: Glory and Genius at the Court of the Medici" (2004).

Blockbusters flourished particularly in the United States and in larger museums, continuing a trend that began in the late 1970s (when "Treasures of Tutankhamun" toured), but blockbusters have also taken root in Australia, the United Kingdom, and elsewhere and frequently involve international cooperation in mounting the exhibition and international venues on exhibition tours.²² "Matisse/Picasso" showed in New York, Paris, and London, for example, but international blockbuster tours rarely, if ever, reach so-called less developed countries, which from the organizers' viewpoint lack both the funds that such exhibitions require and a sufficiently elaborate infrastructure to support them.

A parallel development has seen dramatic blockbuster-like reinstallations of permanent collections completed or under way in a number of major museums, including the Louvre (with seven galleries reopened in 1999), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (with reinstallations opened in 2000 and 2004 and an ambitious project of further reinstallations called "21st Century Met" launched in 2004), and the National Museums of Kenya (ongoing). New exhibition halls on African cultures alone opened at the Field Museum (1993), the Smithsonian's National Museum of Natural History (1999), and the British Museum (2001). Also related to the spirit of the blockbuster, in contemporary art the last fifteen years have seen a burgeoning series of biennial exhibitions hosted around the world, along with other large-scale exhibitions such as Documenta in Germany. These have brought issues of globalism and globalization to the forefront of curatorial practice and artistic display in that field, also raising questions about exhibitionary form and postcoloniality.²³

The 1990s also saw museums and exhibitions taking center stage in the public sphere with waves of public controversies centered on exhibitions, shaping public cultures and the ways that cultural politics played out in many settings. In the United States, there were vociferous public debates about "The West as America" (1991), the exhibition of the *Enola Gay* in "The Last Act" (1994–95), "Back of the Big House" (1994; see Ruffins's essay in this volume), "Sensation" (1999), *Our Lady*, an artwork depicting the Virgin of Guadalupe in the "Cyber Arte" exhibition at the Museum of International Folk Art (2001), "Mirroring Evil" (2002), and many others, raising issues about the interpretation and representation of history, race, religion, and identity; whose perspectives should be represented; what financial relations lie behind exhibitions; and the role of museums and exhibitions in public culture more generally. Similar questions were in contention in Canada over "Into the Heart of Africa" (1989–90), in South Africa over "Miscast" (1996), in Germany over "The War of Extermina-

tion: Crimes of the Wehrmacht 1941–44" (1995–97), in Australia over "Body Art" and "Sensation" (again) (both 2000), in England over "Trading Places: The East India Company and Asia" (2002), and in India over removal of artwork by Surendran Nair from the National Gallery of Modern Art in New Delhi (2000), to name just a few. In each case, the particular sparks that set off controversies and the framing of issues were particular to the context and situation, but taken together these debates point to a prominent role for museums, exhibitions, and heritage sites as forums where such contests take place and where public cultures take shape. They also highlight the sometimes conflicting demands and expectations that communities place on them, and the ways that controversies in one part of the world might replicate and combine patterns and strategies used elsewhere. It is also important to note that controversies have rarely arisen around exhibitions in some countries, and to consider some of the reasons why.²⁴ In the end museum controversies are not wholly predictable, as we argued in *Museums and Communities*, but always are shaped and set off by the very same relations with civil society and communities that museums rely on. However, a significant difference that has emerged in the years since the publication of *Museums and Communities* has been the development of media and communication technologies that have enabled widely dispersed communities to organize and lobby museums.

The 2001 controversy over the Virgin of Guadalupe image by artist Alma Lopez relied on the Internet to help galvanize a far-flung network of conservative activists, just as the curator of the "Cyber Arte" exhibition herself used the Internet extensively in organizing the show.²⁵ New media have gained far greater prominence in the museum and heritage sector in the past fifteen years, incorporated in many ways. Increasingly powerful Web-based design and digital imaging capabilities have combined with growing popular usage of electronic media in many parts of the world to spur the range and extent of their use. They have become an increasingly common part of exhibition design and changed the ways that contextual information and explanation are provided for visitors. Many museums, cultural centers, and heritage organizations have launched digital projects as part of their collections management, making information about their collections more widely accessible, and Web promotion has become an integral part of marketing plans and outreach. The growing integration of new media into museum and heritage practice has resulted in a certain democratization of access, with collections and exhibitions available in virtual form in homes, schools, and elsewhere, and it has provided the basis for cooperative ventures among institutions. Yet it simultaneously creates new barriers defined by digital divides both within and among countries. Only wealthy

institutions can afford the initial investment and extensive upkeep such endeavors often require, for instance, and only some people in some parts of the world can readily access them.

Over the past fifteen years, virtually all museums and heritage institutions, new and old alike, have grappled with financial issues and with continuing debates about how to combine and balance education and entertainment in exhibitions and programs. These concerns come together quite pointedly as institutions seek to tap burgeoning tourism industries. Indeed, the museum and heritage sector has been undergoing significant restructuring that brings business concerns and greater emphasis on visitor volume clearly to the fore. This has repercussions for management structures, staff organization, exhibitions, marketing, community relations, and far more. As Derina McLaughlin put it, "The new museology has resulted in the convergence of museums, the heritage industry, tourism, profit-making and pleasure-giving."²⁶ This is not a new process in museums. Neil Harris documented the competing relationship between museums and department stores in the United States in the 1930s, and Corinne Kratz and Ivan Karp have examined the authorizing role that museums play as part of Walt Disney World (see also Hall's essay in this volume).²⁷

As business models, branding, and bottom line issues gained greater prominence, some specialized and small organizations have been forced to close, ranging from the Musée de Terra Amata in France (1996) to the Daventry Museum in England and the Graves Museum, the Heartland Orthodox Christian Museum, and Chicago's Terra Museum of American Art in the United States (all 2004). Some were casualties of fiscal and management problems, but others closed to make way for real estate development or due to lack of interest and support.²⁸ While museum and heritage professionals and institutions everywhere grappled with funding shifts, the specific mix of funding and sources of support available and the nature of those shifts varied considerably across the globe and across institutions—the full range of sources might include governmental bodies, foundations, private donors, corporate funders, public-private partnerships, and income-generating enterprises such as entry fees, shops, restaurants, and IMAX theaters.

These differences, as they related to place and institution, were a recurrent topic in the preliminary workshop we organized in Buenos Aires. Participants particularly noted weak (or nonexistent) traditions of philanthropic support in a number of countries and saw a trend in Latin American museums toward privatization, a change they characterized as moving from a European model of support to an American one.²⁹ Speaking of the Museo del Barro in Paraguay, Ticio Escobar commented that the museum receives a lot of international support, but since it is not supported by the state, it is constantly struggling to

identify funders and to support itself. During our next-generation workshop, which followed the conference for the volume, Veerle Poupeye asked a more general question: what difference does it make when museums are highly dependent on external funding and international support and revenue? This can also be extended: how do financial relations work with and against the possible range of relations among museums and communities, and with and against models of museums as places that can mobilize and galvanize as well as educate and entertain? This is a substantial question, one that addresses the effects and influences of international funders and organizations, which have had major influences on "third-world" museums especially. The Scandinavian countries have been major actors in this field, and the ecomuseum model that is so important in Scandinavia has been influential elsewhere in Europe and in places such as Vietnam and South Africa.³⁰ The International Council on Museums (ICOM), International Centre for Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (SIDA), and Swedish-African Museum Programme (SAMP) have been among the most important sustaining organizations for African museums, yet no one has considered the effects, both positive and negative, of these organizations on the work of museums and the orientation of museum professionals in different parts of the world.³¹

These organizational shifts and economic concerns were at times an integral part of simultaneous developments that saw new cross-national and global linkages within the museum and heritage sphere. The Guggenheim Museum's international expansion after 1990 presents one such paradigm, now self-described as "a worldwide network of museums and cultural partnerships" with branches in New York (opened 1939), Venice (1951), Bilbao (1997; see Fraser, this volume), Berlin (1997), Las Vegas (opened September 2001, closed January 2003; see Hall, this volume), and plans discussed at various times for Taiwan, Brazil, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Guadalajara.³² Also established were a number of innovative collaborations and networks linking institutions in different parts of the world for a range of purposes. A few examples that have sought to unite far-flung museums around common issues and to foster information sharing and research on collections include the International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience; the Relational Museum project, based at the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford, England; and the Indigenous Collections and Knowledge Archives Research Network, launched in Australia in 2003.

The International Coalition of Historic Site Museums of Conscience, begun in 1999, joins together museums that present and interpret "a wide variety of historic issues, events and people . . . to assist the public in drawing connections between the history of [these] site[s] and its contemporary implica-

tions.” The coalition currently includes museums in Bangladesh, South Africa, Senegal, Argentina, England, the United States, Russia, and the Czech Republic. The Pitt Rivers Museum’s Relational Museum project (2002–2005) examines the history of its collection and of relations with communities in different parts of the world from which objects came, and establishes collaborative links with related institutions in the United Kingdom and Europe. A related project, the Indigenous Collections and Knowledge Archives Research Network (known as IDIG for short) seeks to broaden the purview of such collaboration to include the “full range of Indigenous collections and knowledge archives, covering ethnographic, anthropological, historical, linguistic and fine art collections; and sound, film, photographic and print materials.” Beginning with the Australia-Pacific region, IDIG hopes to expand its linkages to institutions and colleagues in Europe, the United States, and elsewhere.³³ In addition to such formal institutional linkages, the past fifteen years saw a wide array of short-term international collaborations on specific exhibitions and projects and the international circulation of museum professionals. Many of the new national museums, for instance, relied on consultants and design companies from around the globe (see Morphy, this volume).

International cooperation and exchange among museums is not new, of course, particularly in matters related to collections. International coordinating bodies have also been in existence for decades, such as the two major non-governmental bodies that advise UNESCO on museum and heritage issues and policy—the International Council of Museums (ICOM), created in 1946, and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), founded in 1965 and having over a hundred national committees today.³⁴ But the extent and current range of such initiatives and integration, their particular forms, and the degree to which they are publicly presented as distinctive and forward-looking are important components of a configuration that has been taking shape in the museum and heritage sector in the past fifteen years or so. And with tourism as a continuing frontier of growth and rapidly expanding heritage sectors, attention to heritage policies and politics by transnational organizations such as UNESCO has also heightened and expanded in recent decades, along with contests and frictions over legal issues related to cultural and intellectual property rights (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “World Heritage and Cultural Economics” in this volume).³⁵

This section has sketched in broad outline many developments and shifts that seemed to define the global museum and heritage landscape as our project began and developed. Some are more centrally connected with globalizing processes than others, while others are more strongly influenced and mediated through local and national concerns. Yet the interrelations and articula-

tions among these various processes and shifts have together helped shape the ways that museum and heritage practitioners and organizations are being reimagined in a context of emphatic international and global connections. The essays collected in this book evoke more particular inflections of these processes and examine cases that show how they play out in specific settings and circumstances.

THE BOOK

Museum Frictions offers a series of accounts and analyses of contemporary museum and heritage practice. Together the essays present not a panorama but a prismatic view—one in which perspectives are located in a diverse range of positions, places, and institutions and at different organizational levels, from macro to mezzo to micro. This is only appropriate, as museological processes involve an array of actors, perspectives, and interests, and globalizing processes themselves affect different sectors, institutions, and localities differently. Such perspectival shifts are essential to convey the variability and complexity of intersections among museological and globalizing processes, and the frictions they provoke. Though wide-ranging, *Museum Frictions* is not intended to be comprehensive or encyclopedic, and it carries traces of the project and contingencies through which it was produced, resulting in both concentrations and lacunae that were not entirely intentional. These patterns have to do with geographical representation and with the kinds of institutions and aspects of museum and heritage practice that are considered.

While the workshops and conference that led to this book emphasized Latin America and Africa regionally, *Museum Frictions* includes cases, examples, and authors based in every continent of the world but Antarctica. A single book can sample such a vast area only very selectively, but including clusters of two or three related papers provides a way to glimpse different facets of museum and heritage practice in the same country and to consider museological processes from different vantages within linked locations. At the risk of neglecting other important examples, then, we included three papers that focus on South Africa (Witz, Rassool, Bunn), two that consider Australian exhibitions (Morphy, Myers), and two in which museum displays on the history of slavery are central (Ruffins, Kreamer). These papers were initially chosen for the analytical insights each provides and the cases each describes. Yet in addition, the different concerns they raise and the resulting clusters illustrate specific issues from a number of points of entry, ranging from how museums confront transformation in a single society to the transnational nature of problems of representation, intercultural translation, and the production of different

values. They may be read to show far-reaching connections that can be diagnostic of globalizing museological processes and the entanglements, contradictions, and opportunities that arise as these are localized across a range of sites, scales, and articulations—identifying particular frictions involved with Australian exhibitions located in Canberra and New York, with slavery displays in the United States and Ghana, and with international bodies, finance, and tourism providing parameters for heritage institutions in South Africa (and elsewhere).

The three South African essays appear in different sections of the book, in conversation there with other essays on the basis of common themes and concerns. However, they can also be profitably read together to gain an understanding of the complex currents and dynamics of South African public cultures during a remarkable and consequential period of transformation, still ongoing, that stretches from 1990, the year Nelson Mandela was released from prison, through the country's first democratic elections in 1994 and the recent celebrations and stocktakings occasioned in 2004 by their ten-year anniversary. Museums and heritage resources have been vital in shaping, interpreting, and contributing to transformations in public culture in South Africa over the past fifteen years, caught up in intricate interplays between forceful national (and regional) imperatives, local interests, and globalizing processes.

The papers here provide a taste of these dynamics as well as a sketch of the history and array of settings involved, including established national museums, thriving and struggling community museums, national heritage policies, a landscape full of memorials, transfrontier parks, and places such as the Gold Reef City theme park and casino in Johannesburg (mentioned in Hall's essay in the first section). Just as these geographically related essays can be read together across sections, so too intriguing connections (and frictions) might also arise from other juxtapositions across sections (e.g., Fraser and Morphy on the creative and subversive potentials of performance in museum settings; Bunn and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett on the politics of tangible and intangible heritage). Because they treat nations with colonial histories as settler societies, the South African and Australian essays also provide a cluster of papers with potential comparative interest. It would be well worth developing analyses that consider contemporary globalizing processes in museum and heritage domains in relation to continuing sedimentations from earlier globalizing processes such as different colonial systems and empires. Gustavo Buntinx's notion of marginal occidentality, developed in his paper on Peru in this volume, would have broader relevance in such a study as well.

The cases and examples in *Museum Frictions* include national museums and a wide array of community museums, historic sites, heritage landscapes,

and theme parks. Major metropolitan and urban museums are included, but they are only one kind of setting considered; smaller institutions have a more prominent place, which is appropriate in a volume that seeks to have something of a global reach. The institutional and geographic range of the essays here has the effect of decentering the metropolitan and European/North American foci that often seem to dominate writing about museums. The two earlier books in this series, *Exhibiting Cultures* and *Museums and Communities*, had a similar institutional range and included essays about Japan, Zimbabwe, India, and elsewhere, but they had a preponderance of North American and European examples. Including a broad comparative range of examples can make salient concerns that are distinctive to different settings, the varied dimensions of common issues, and the complex interactions and frictions involved as global and museum-based processes intersect.

Two important aspects of museum and heritage practice are addressed here only in passing, despite discussion of them at the workshops and conference and efforts both to include essays in which they are central and to encourage authors to consider them. Museum education programs create interfaces with a range of visitors and constituencies, who interpret museum exhibitions, projects, and the institutions themselves. Fred Myers's paper in this volume shows how productive a careful consideration of museum programs—in his case a public symposium—can be. Yet, oddly, such programs receive little sustained attention in the literature of the new museology. Similarly, the diverse expectations and experiences of those who visit museum and heritage venues—visitors and audiences—are not as much in evidence as we wanted them to be. More analytical emphasis is devoted to production than to consumption and the kinds of interpretive movement that take place as people connect their own experience and concerns with exhibitions, collections, memorials, and so forth.³⁶

Again, this is a limitation that our book seems to share with other literature on museum and heritage practice. After tracing different phases in the history of visitor studies in the United States, Neil Harris concluded in 1990 that “[t]he museum visit may well be . . . a continually revised set of transactions between exhibitor and visitor, with constant renegotiations of meaning and value. . . . But the impact or the intensity of [museum experience] . . . remains, perversely enough, mysterious.”³⁷ With the turn to reception studies in media and literature, visitor experience has been receiving more careful examination in recent years.³⁸ In workshop and conference discussions, we underlined the importance of taking account of differences and variations among visitors, how they understand museums, exhibitions, and heritage resources, and what they do with them. With the increasing emphasis on raising visitor num-

bers, questions were also brought up about what constitutes a critical mass, how much is enough, and who is most concerned with attendance figures and visitor studies.³⁹

Museum Frictions is divided into three sections: "Exhibitionary Complexes," "Tactical Museologies," and "Remapping the Museum." In each section short pieces that we call "Documents" are interspersed with full-length essays. The Documents offer striking examples from current worlds of museum and heritage practice and interesting cases from other parts of the globe, as well as a change of pace within the book. They illuminate issues raised in the longer essays from a different angle, and often elaborate papers with which they are juxtaposed or sharpen the frictions to which they point. Documents might be short excerpts from other works or statements drawn from actual situations; they might reproduce news articles or be brief pieces written specifically for this volume.

Each section begins with an introduction and is also described briefly below, but four crosscutting themes and concerns are also worth noting. First, all three sections are informed by a concern with the ways that museum and heritage institutions are defined and how their premises, principles, and workings relate to one another and to other institutions of public culture. While this is particularly foregrounded in the title of the first section, "Exhibitionary Complexes," authors throughout the book embed their descriptions and analyses within broader relations of cultural production. This is critical to understanding the pervasive and varied effects of globalizing processes and how different topics, places, and people articulate across public cultures.

The prismatic view mentioned earlier extends throughout the book as well. This is not simply an artifact of reading different essays together but also characteristic of individual essays in each section. The involvement of more than one perspective is part and parcel of museum frictions, and many authors here move across different sites and scales and among different vantages as they consider their material. Furthermore, essays throughout the volume seek to historicize the cases and situations under discussion, an integral part of the emphasis here on social, cultural, and political *processes*, both museological and global. Yet this is not just a matter of filling in facts of historical context, for the cross perspectives produce intriguing critical and ironic historiographies, as found in Ingrid Muan's "musings" from Phnom Penh, Andrea Fraser on the Guggenheim Bilbao, David Bunn's paper on Kruger National Park, Gustavo Buntinx on Peru's museum void, Fath Ruffins on museumizing the history of slavery, and others.

The collection of authors itself constitutes the final feature we want to note. Our workshop and conference discussions identified a telling shift since the

two earlier books were produced: that notions of community and community museum have become ever more complicated. This can be seen particularly in the essays of the "Tactical Museologies" section, but it is also evident in the ways that the volume's authors participate in a number of activities often taken to be separate. A substantial number of authors combine the roles of scholar, practitioner, and activist in various ways and blur assumed divisions among the museum, the academy, and engaged social action. Such combinations are more common among authors here than in the earlier volumes, and this may be partly due to the fact that a substantial number of the essays were written by scholar/activists in so-called third-world countries. Hence a number of essays are—or could have been—written in the first person, about projects and institutions with which the authors have been significantly involved. As a result, the essays often have a reflexive and self-critically engaged stance. Striking a balance between critical assessment and testimonial chronicle is both difficult and complex and produces its own tensions and frictions in the writing itself. But accounts that proceed, in part, from interventions and mediations made by the authors themselves—as practitioner-scholar-activists—in transacting meanings and value into different public spheres may also be keenly sensitive to the different locations involved in the production of knowledge and to different modes of knowledge.

A few examples can illustrate such conjunctions and overlapping engagements. Artist Andrea Fraser melds tough political economic analysis and sociological theory with evocative public performance in her work, represented here in the form of a museum tour commentary. As anthropologists, Howard Morphy and Fred Myers have both worked in Australia with Indigenous communities over several decades as advocates in mediating and facilitating translations of artworks, cultural landscapes, audiences, and meanings in the world of the museum and the art market. Leslie Witz is a university-based historian with research interests in public history who has curated several exhibitions in recent years and participated in antiapartheid activities in South Africa before 1990. Fath Davis Ruffins, as a researcher and scholar at the Smithsonian Institution, has been at the forefront of debates about the museumization of African American history since the early 1980s and most recently has prepared research and exhibition plans for the creation of the National Underground Railroad Freedom Center in Cincinnati. Finally, Ingrid Muan's work with the Reyum Institute of Arts and Culture in Phnom Penh brings together her background in art history, gallery exhibitions, and the wrenching memories and silences in Cambodian public culture. Similar conjunctions of public scholarship, museum and heritage practice, and social and academic engagement could be described for other authors as well.

These features and concerns thread through the entire book, along with analyses that consider how both structural/institutional dynamics and social actors and agencies shape and take shape through museological processes and museum frictions. Museological processes are characteristic of, but not necessarily unique to, museum and heritage settings. When found outside such contexts, they seem simultaneously to evoke museums and to decenter them. Yet values, memories, identities, and histories are produced in ways that range across these sites through various forms of cultural display, collection practices, and the very creation of museums and related settings and institutions.⁴⁰ With the entanglement of museum and heritage practice in globalizing currents, the reach and compass of museum-based processes may also alter, just as the notion and shape of the museum itself transform in different settings and institutional configurations. In workshop and conference discussions during this project, these phenomena generated a persistent conundrum having to do with how the “local” relates to different scales—global, regional, national, and transnational—in museum and heritage practice.⁴¹

Transported and taken up in places around the globe, the museum is at once transformed in these diverse settings and simultaneously transforming of local understandings through its transnational notions of professional practice and heritage values, its status as an indicator of national or regional identities, and so forth. Yet professional and public cultural debates outside Europe and North America often raise questions about the existence of appropriate “museum cultures” and articulate an urgent quest for museums and exhibits in a “local idiom,” whether this yearning is expressed by museum professionals in Jamaica or elsewhere in the Caribbean, in South Africa, in Indonesia, or in the goal of having “a museum for all Australia.” This impulse seems to have several sources, including (1) a genuine concern to address local audiences and constituencies in appropriate and understandable ways, (2) nationalist understandings of distinctive identities, defined *vis-à-vis* other nations, and (3) insatiable global markets for identity and authenticity, for tourist dollars are often a concern as well. The tension inherent in defining the local in part through transnational and global notions and values and the dialectic this sets in motion are at the heart of this conundrum.

But what does this mean? What would a “Caribbean” or “South African” idiom or an “Australian museum” look like? How would one recognize it? Does it have to do with topics or themes addressed? Are there signs of national culture or indigeneity in a formal or design sense? Would it be related to differences in social practice, organizational plan, or the particular economic circumstances in which it operates? Most likely the answer would be all of the above, in various ways, but this is something to be articulated more specifi-

cally. In talking about this at the next-generation workshop, Veerle Poupeye (who has worked in Caribbean museum settings for over a decade) observed that the “local idiom” question raises other issues. If one looks to local display styles (e.g., street art displays) to create a local idiom, one must ask whose idiom is adopted, since there will be more than one. Similarly, popular cultural styles can change quickly. If one is selected for development, it may in the end enshrine a nostalgic or dated idiom.⁴² A local idiom has to do with aesthetics, with synesthesia, and with structures of feeling, and can be vexingly elusive and hard to define. This is but one example of the issues and debates that arise as museological processes and globalizing processes intersect. Essays in the book’s three sections discuss many more.

The first section, “Exhibitionary Complexes,” takes as its starting point Tony Bennett’s concept of the exhibitionary complex, a notion that informs essays throughout the book in various ways. While Bennett formulated the concept in relation to a particular time and place, it has become the basis of a more general framework that examines the museum within an array of related cultural institutions and as a means of governmentality through which values and notions of citizenship and publics are inculcated, imposed, and portrayed through exhibition design and behavioral habits as well as exhibition topics and themes. Essays in this section seek to reexamine and update the concept for a time that is roughly a century after the period in relation to which Bennett first developed it, with different sorts of globalizing processes at work, and for locales beyond his original European and North American focus.⁴³ What this implies first of all is that the concept has to be pluralized. We are speaking here of a variety of complexes that have to be specified and mapped. Relationships between museums and other forms of leisure and entertainment are profoundly altered by changes in and the emergence of forms of governance, by technologies, by social, political, and cultural tasks undertaken by display institutions, and by options and constraints that emerge out of the changing global environment. These broader processes open up some of the terms that were originally considered by Bennett, notably how the constitution of subjects operates in changing exhibitionary complexes and how citizenship is addressed when the appeal to and concern with audience either changes internally in a nation or is addressed beyond the nation. What happens when forms of community draw on and imagine themselves to be part of a non-national public culture?

Authors in this section try out a variety of alternative terms that emphasize different aspects of these processes, including shifts in the relations among cultural institutions, exhibition technologies, the nature of visitor expectations, and ideas about audiences and publics. Apart from “exhibition-

ary complex,” then, Martin Hall proposes “experiential complex,” Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett talks about an “expository complex” in the section’s introduction, and Tony Bennett examines what he calls “dialogism” as a paradigm in contemporary museum practice, related in part to various concerns with multiculturalism.⁴⁴ It is also fruitful to think about how analytical perspectives are shaped by the priority that the notion of “exhibitionary complex” seems to place on exhibitions, which are only one aspect of museum and heritage work. Other authors offer careful explorations of workings within a particular exhibitionary complex, whether the Guggenheim Bilbao, as in Andrea Fraser’s essay, or Leslie Witz’s discussion of a range of postapartheid South African museums. The section’s two Documents spotlight issues, representations, and rhetorics in play in the heritage boom as well as in monuments, museums, and art that address the historical meaning of nuclear nationalism in the United States, with pieces on the “U.S. Department of Retro” from the farcical New York-based newspaper *The Onion* and on commemorations at the Trinity Test Site in New Mexico.

The second section, “Tactical Museologies,” considers the relationships between museums and different actors as they adapt to and use complex environments of the sort discussed in the first section. Working from multiple vantage points, essays in this section provide different ways of thinking about museum and heritage practice. They treat the museum as an institution whose value lies in the way it can be made to serve different constituencies, a task that entails reflection and theorizing. The museum is seen as a specific kind of framing that can be mobilized for good or ill, not something to be given a fixed definition. Exhibitions and the museum are treated as a technology of space, time, and representation. While museums often provide a place apart or a time-out, these essays show how they are also clearly connected to contests beyond their own spaces, a means of engagement and tactical maneuver. They may be engaged in tactics vis-à-vis the metropole, class-based inequalities, public culture representations, or other kinds of contests. The notion of tactical museology instantly grounds issues—whose tactics, vis-à-vis what issues? Essays in this section show these different facets and the range of issues that come together in sometimes contradictory or ironic ways. In doing so, the casts of people involved and the variety of their positions and relations come particularly to the fore. The essays likewise show how different senses of community are produced in a variety of ways.

Each essay in this section presents a case study that draws on and, to greater or lesser degree, alters the definition of the museum—or at least pushes it in directions that are not easily read from the standard history of European or American museums (as in the Cambodian and South African cases discussed

by Ingrid Muan and Ciraj Rassool). In each case global processes and international linkages become resources on which local institutions and actors draw (in Cuauhtémoc Camarena and Teresa Morales’s essay on Mexican museums, among others) or which they resist (as Gustavo Buntinx describes in Lima). Other examples could be added in which these transformations and reformulations are signaled by debates about the very name to be used, with different terms suggesting different associations, charters, and positions within communities—whether it be museum, gallery, cultural center, project, or “keeping place” (as in some Australian instances). One of the most important conclusions that can be drawn from this section, and that the essays demonstrate, is that the relationship between museums and, for example, communities cannot be read simply from the changing nature of global relations as they encompass the local. Historical and contextual aspects remain fundamental to understanding how museums operate and their tactical significance and potential.

There is a tactical sense in all museums and institutions, but this set of essays deals particularly with cases of new museums, often smaller museums, that have a self-conscious sense of shaping and reshaping themselves and that often work from marginal positions in relation to the government, other state institutions, and the metropole. They show what a fundamental place of theoretical articulation that can be. Yet they also manifest profoundly vulnerable moments and the tensions of institutionalization and professionalization—a certain security and continuity are needed to sustain a critical stance in public forms. The Documents in this section represent museums from both ends of the scale: the “Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums” issued in December 2002 and signed by eighteen directors of European and North American art museums, the statement “Art Museums and the International Exchange of Cultural Artifacts” issued by the Association of Art Museum Directors around the same time, and “Some Words from the Director” of Museo Salinas, a museum founded in 1996 in the bathroom of artist Vicente Razo in Mexico City. All are instances of tactical museologies. The first is a thinly veiled intervention in international debates about repatriation, the second addresses the smuggling and looting of art and heritage from a similarly authoritative stance, and the third contains a bold commentary on Mexican government at the time and on the potential of museums themselves. When we selected these Documents, we wondered whether Razo’s statement might be the start of a counterdeclaration on nonuniversal museums.

In the third section, “Remapping the Museum,” essays examine how the concept and practice of the museum are affected by extramuseum contexts, and also the converse: how other contexts, interests, and normative institutions are affected by the museum and museological practice. Global processes

are once again an organizing but not determining factor. In this section essays consider the meaning of placing objects or people in a museum space, or how spaces external to museums draw their legitimacy from museums. These processes are complicated by factors that include law and regulations related to heritage and the definition of objects, or how the history of ideas associated with one museum or heritage form becomes a means to realize institutional and community goals in another context. Each case shows how these actions and contexts are complex, are not necessarily contiguous, and cross conventional definitions of institutions and place, as likely to reinforce institutional definitions as to challenge them.

These papers are also very much about differences of power and authority and how these are mediated across institutional locations, for the zones of engagement central to these essays stretch beyond the museum. The translations, disjunctures, and displacements this entails are simultaneously processes of value creation that operate across contexts. David Bunn's discussion of the contradictory and many-layered meanings of landscape management in South Africa finds a counterpart in the recent repatriation of lions from Baghdad to South Africa reported in one of the Documents here. The Junkanoo Museum, described in the section's other Document, poses interesting questions of revaluation and collection practice. Based on an annual festival in the Bahamas, the museum intercedes to collect, display, and thereby revalue abandoned costumes, only to destroy them a year later. Fred Myers's paper notes that he felt himself displaced in a New York museum symposium with Aboriginal Australian artists. Part of his discomfort might have arisen from being enmeshed in the very kinds of mediation and transformation associated with the metacultural operations of reproducing and explaining intangible heritage, as discussed by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett in the first section. These issues are prominent as well in essays by Howard Morphy on performance as a mode of cross-cultural engagement and exhibition, Christine Kreamer on exhibitions in Ghana's Cape Coast Castle Museum, and Fath Davis Ruffins on exhibitions about slavery in the United States. As they tack among different perspectives, the essays in this section also incorporate a range of historical scales and dimensions.

Taken together, the essays in *Museum Frictions* convey a multifaceted sense of museum and heritage practice and institutions today and their complex engagements and roles in the production of public cultures. They offer serious consideration of an array of issues that emerge when museum-based processes and globalizing processes come together. By examining carefully located cases in settings and circumstances around the globe, the essays show how such conjunctions have become increasingly central to the practice of museums of vari-

ous kinds and to related cultural institutions. Global transformations involve institutional articulations across a range of scales along with flows of knowledge, people, capital, objects, and more. It is important to recognize, however, that such transformations, articulations, and flows reconfigure the museum and heritage landscape in ways that are uneven. New possibilities and synergies that may emerge are inevitably accompanied by tensions and contradictions, neglect, and failure. The challenge is to recognize and embrace museum frictions with all their potential and their risk, and to find ways to work with them so as not simply to survive but to flourish.

NOTES

- 1 This quote is from Coles, "Interview with James Clifford." The 1997 essay is in Clifford's book *Routes: Travel and Translations in the Late Twentieth Century*. He takes the notion of "contact zones" from Mary Louise Pratt's book *Imperial Eyes*, while she in turn borrowed and adapted the concept from linguistics and the study of pidgin and creole languages.
- 2 See Cameron's influential essay "The Museum: A Temple or the Forum" and the development of this idea into the concept of exhibits as "contested terrains" in Karp and Lavine, "Museums and Multiculturalism."
- 3 In this sense these essays develop the themes of the previous volume in the series, *Museums and Communities: The Politics of Public Culture*, which tended to focus primarily on social processes in museums but recognized that members of museum audiences and museum professionals alike brought complex, multifaceted, and often conflicting identities to the museum setting.
- 4 While our manuscript was in final preparation, a new book appeared that uses the metaphorical image of friction to consider global interconnections among business interests, environmental action groups, and empowerment projects in Indonesia during the late 1980s and 1990s and the role that universals play in these interactions. See Tsing, *Friction*. Though Tsing's case study focuses on a domain other than museums, heritage sites, and related cultural organizations, many of her assumptions and ways of approaching global interconnections are in harmony with those in this volume.
- 5 Compare Bennett's discussion of past-present alignments and realignments, using a notion drawn from Patrick Wright, in "Out of Which Past?" 147-48.
- 6 Nederveen Pieterse talks about recent developments as one of a series of periods of "accelerated globalization," where what have been more gradual and ongoing processes in global communication, technology, and political relations seem to intensify through a series of changes and developments. See Pieterse's "Multiculturalism and Museums," 131.
- 7 Pieterse, "Globalization North and South," 129.
- 8 Shelton, "Museums in an Age of Cultural Hybridity," 233-34.
- 9 Appadurai's formulation for looking at disjunctures and relations among cultural flows in terms of a series of "scapes" has been influential. He identifies five dimensions

of global cultural flows: ethnoscaples, mediascaples, technoscaples, financescaples, and ideoscaples. Originally published in 1990, his article "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy" has been republished several times, and collected in his own book *Modernity at Large*. More recently, Appadurai has characterized globalization simply as "a cover term for a world of disjunctive flows." See "Grassroots Globalization," 6. Based on an Indonesian case study, Tsing's description in *Friction* of global connections introduces essential qualifications to this formulation, emphasizing the frictions, transience, instability, and conjunctural qualities that are often central in the social and cultural processes involved.

10 During, "Popular Culture on a Global Scale," 825.

11 Nederveen Pieterse notes that different modes of articulation with specific historical and geographical circumstances affect the character of multiple modernities and capitalisms, but the point can readily be extended beyond these parameters. "Globalization North and South," 134.

12 Davis, "A Question of Ownership." Tomás Ybarra-Frausto drew our attention to debates about San Diego's Centro Cultural de la Raza and the Save Our Centro Coalition. In addition to the summary in the Davis article, see <http://www.centroraza.com/about.htm> and <http://www.calacapress.com/centrowatch/about.html> (accessed July 25, 2004).

13 On El Museo del Barrio, see Morales, "Spanish Harlem on His Mind" and Dávila, "Latinizing Culture." Yasmin Ramirez also talked about the debates concerning El Museo del Barrio at the next-generation workshop that we organized in November 2002 (see the preface to this volume).

14 This global reach and identity is also presented in exhibitions at the World of Coca-Cola in the corporation's home city of Atlanta, Georgia.

15 See, for example, Stanley, *Being Ourselves for You*; Volkman, "Visions and Revisions"; and Witz, Rassool, and Minkley, "The Boer War, Museums and Ratanga Junction."

16 Bennett, "Out of Which Past?"

17 This powerful exhibition began as a grassroots effort in a storefront in the SoHo neighborhood of New York City, near ground zero, eventually gathering over five thousand images from professional and amateur photographers. All were displayed simply hung from wires, without captions or attribution. The exhibition eventually traveled to Switzerland, Ireland, England, Japan, France, eleven other venues in the United States, and four in Germany. A nonprofit organization with the same name was also established, selling the prints for \$25 each to raise funds for the Children's Aid Society WTC Relief Fund. The project created an ongoing Web site and later developed a video and oral history project called "Voices of 9.11." The exhibition is now available in book form as well: George et al., *Here Is New York*. See also <http://hereisnewyork.org> (accessed August 1, 2004).

18 See <http://www.aza.org/Publications/2004/04/April04KabulZoo.pdf> (accessed March 26, 2006). The plight of the Kabul Zoo and its animals was publicized in 2001–2002 particularly through stories about Marjan, an aged lion that had been a gift from Germany in 1979. See also the Document on repatriating lions from Baghdad included in the "Remapping the Museum" section of this book; BBC, "Lion of Kabul Roars

His Last," January 26, 2002, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1783910.stm; National Geographic News, "Conditions Improving at Kabul Zoo," June 10, 2002, http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2002/06/0610_020610_kabulzoo.html; and <http://www.nczoo.com/News/20050908154106238> (all sites accessed August 1, 2004 and March 26, 2006).

19 A few examples of how the political climate in the United States has affected exhibitions and artists in many communities: the longtime director of the Southeast Museum of Photography at Daytona Beach Community College quit in December 2001 after being told to cancel an exhibition on Afghanistan; an annual prize given by California's Redwood Art Association was withdrawn in December 2003 because of the artwork's depiction of George W. Bush; and early in 2004 a painting by Los Angeles artist Victoria Delgadillo, part of a tapestry called "Eye-Speak" at the Los Angeles airport's international terminal, became the center of debate for its depiction of nudity and the twin towers collapsing on 9/11. See Stewart and Brownfield, "DBCC Museum Director Claims Censorship," and other articles and commentary that followed, available in the *Daytona Beach News-Journal's* online archives; Ridgeway, "Bush-League Censorship"; Victoria Delgadillo, "Censorship at LAX," <http://www.latinola.com/story.php?story=1578>; and Oldham, "Art Work Spurs Flap." Other examples are noted in Max Blumenthal, "Political Art Is Dangerous Again" (<http://maxblumenthal.blogspot.com/2004/06/political-art-is-dangerous-again.html>) and in the project "9–11 New Adventures in Censorship (New Meanings for Old Work)," announced on the Web site of the Artists Network of Refuse and Resist, <http://www.artistsnetwork.org/news3/news145.html> (accessed August 1, 2004).

20 For some figures on this rate of growth, see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Museums, World Heritage and Cultural Economics," 4, and Kreps, *Liberating Culture*, 20–22.

21 *Museums and Communities* and *Exhibiting Cultures* dealt specifically with such concerns; these shifts and their implications have continued to develop in the 1990s and into the new millennium.

22 For instance, "Egyptian Art in the Age of the Pyramids" was organized by the Royal Ontario Museum (Toronto), the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York), and the Réunion des Musées Nationaux (Paris). Blockbusters shown in Australia include "Gold and Civilisation" (2001; the first in the new National Museum's blockbuster program), "Chinese Dinosaurs" (2002), "Caravaggio" (2004), "The Edwardians: Secrets and Desires" (2004), and "The Impressionists: Masterpieces from the Musée d'Orsay" (2004), while the United Kingdom has had "Titian" (2002), "Armada" (2003), and more.

23 See Griffin, "Global Tendencies" for an interesting roundtable discussion on global exhibitions in contemporary art.

24 A series of such controversies were examined in a workshop called "Cultural Battlegrounds: The Changing Shape of Controversy in Exhibition and Performance," organized by the Center for the Study of Public Scholarship at Emory University in March 2002. Several recent books examine particular exhibition controversies and related issues in the politics of representation, though most attention so far has been paid to controversies in the United States (even in relation to the "Sensation" exhibition,

- which generated conflicts in a number of countries). See Harwit, *An Exhibit Denied*; Henderson and Kaeppler, *Exhibiting Dilemmas*; MacDonald, *The Politics of Display*; Dubin, *Displays of Power*; Butler, *Contested Representations*; Rothfield, *Unsettling "Sensation"*; Kratz, *The Ones That Are Wanted*; and Luke, *Museum Politics*.
- 25 Ice, "Invoking Community."
- 26 McLaughlin is an exhibition coordinator and manager in Australia. See Derina McLaughlin, "Is the Development and Touring of the Blockbuster Exhibition in Australian Museums and Science Centres a Long-term Strategy?" (1998). This is a shorter version of a paper presented at the National Museum Australia Conference in September 1997, and can be found at http://www.astenetwork.net/issues/blockbuster_phenomenon.html (accessed August 1, 2004).
- 27 Neil Harris, "Museums, Merchandising and Public Taste: The Struggle for Influence"; Corinne Kratz and Ivan Karp, "Wonder and Worth."
- 28 These issues were the focus of a workshop called "High Expectations, but Low Funding: How Do Poor Museums Meet Their Targets?" organized in Lusaka and Livingstone, Zambia, in 2002 by the National Museums Board of Zambia and one of ICOM's international committees. A private folk art museum in Shanghai, for instance, was closed to make way for a road and development, while the Seagram Museum in Waterloo, Canada, was closed in 1997 to make way for a multiplex movie theater. The Latin American Art Museum (LAAM) in Florida "closed its doors on June 30, 2004 because of lack of support and building problems." The Terra Museum of American Art closed in October 2004 after "failure to draw crowds even after effectively eliminating its admission charge a few years" earlier. Even the Guggenheim had to retrench after its rapid expansion. See a description and papers from the Zambian workshop at <http://museumsnett.no/icme/icme2002/>; Xinhua News Agency, "First Shanghai Private Art Museum Closed," <http://www.china.org.cn/english/culture/69823.htm> (accessed August 1, 2004); Nunn and Jalsevac, "Museum Closed, Converted into Cineplex"; the LAAM Web site, www.latinartmuseum.org; Bernstein, "A Museum in Chicago Is Closing Its Doors"; and Kimmelman, "An Era Ends for the Guggenheim."
- 29 These points were made by Marcelo Pacheco, Maria José Herrera, and Charlotte Elias, among others.
- 30 For instance, a new ecomuseum was launched in Vietnam in 2003 at the UNESCO World Heritage Site of Ha Long Bay with Norwegian support.
- 31 ICCROM's work in Africa has included the Prevention in Museums in Africa program (PREMA), 1996–2000, and its current Africa 2009 program, started in 1998 and focused on the conservation of immovable cultural heritage in sub-Saharan Africa. The West African Museums Programme, started in 1982, also serves as an intermediary in securing small grants from SIDA and the Ford Foundation for museums and cultural organizations in the region, in addition to organizing conferences and training programs.
- 32 See <http://www.guggenheim.org> (accessed August 11, 2004) and Vogel, "Despite Criticisms."
- 33 See <http://www.sitesofconscience.org>; <http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/RelationalMuseum.html>; and <http://www.idig.org.au/about.htm> (accessed August 11, 2004).

- 34 More recently ICOM has also supported such regional bodies as AFRICOM (International Council of African Museums), which grew out of a series of meetings organized by ICOM in 1991. UNESCO also declared an International Decade for Cultural Development from 1988 to 1997, a proclamation that went along with efforts to foster and emphasize connections between cultural heritage preservation and development. See Kreps, *Liberating Culture*, 118–20.
- 35 However, Shelton cautions that "if essentializing discourses have largely retreated from ethnographic exhibitions, they have re-grouped in a dangerous, new exhibition genre which treats culture as heritage, and objects as the embodiment of the cultural genius and identity of a distinct group or peoples. . . . [H]eritage detemporalizes and homogenizes history, permitting globalization to naturalize itself as a permanent condition." "Museums in an Age of Cultural Hybridity," 245.
- 36 See Kratz, *The Ones That Are Wanted* for further discussion of visitors' interpretive processes, and Kennedy, "With Irreverence and an iPod" on the creation of unofficial audio guides to exhibitions.
- 37 Harris, "Polling for Opinions," 53.
- 38 In addition to Kratz, *The Ones That Are Wanted*, see Pekarik, Doering, and Karns, "Exploring Satisfying Experiences in Museums." Lisa Roberts recounts the history of visitor studies from a museum educator's perspective, noting shifts in focus from visitor demographics to evaluation of exhibition components. She advocates incorporating methods of narrative research and analysis into studies of museum visitors. See Roberts, *From Knowledge to Narrative*.
- 39 Jonathan Yorba was particularly helpful in framing the latter questions during the next-generation workshop.
- 40 Kratz analyzes such cross-media, cross-contextual processes in relation to the production and perpetuation of stereotypes in *The Ones That Are Wanted*.
- 41 The following discussion of local idioms draws on Kratz, "Rhetorics of Value." Christina Kreps also describes examples of indigenous practices that parallel museological practice. She considers museums "a site of cultural hybridization where local approaches to the interpretation and representation of cultural materials are mixed with those of a wider, international museum culture" and the disjunctions this entails. Kreps, *Liberating Culture*, 16.
- 42 In addition to Poupeye's astute observations, Wayne Modest was persistent in pursuing these questions in the lively discussion at the next-generation workshop. Kirsten Wehner broadened the issues by noting that questions about local idiom are not limited to museums but also come up in relation to national broadcasting in a number of countries (e.g., in regulations governing the percentage of "local content"—difficult though that may be to define—that must be broadcast in media in Australia, Malaysia, Yap, France, Canada, South Africa, Kenya, and elsewhere).
- 43 Bennett, "The Exhibitionary Complex."
- 44 See also Shelton, "Museums in an Age of Cultural Hybridity" and Nederveen Pieterse, "Multiculturalism and Museums."