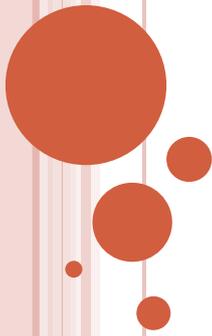


MUSEUM AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE IN NATIONAL/GLOBAL CONTEXT - COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE FROM AUSTRALIA AND JAPAN



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1 INTRODUCTION

Local museums and Indigenous people
Mainstream museums and Indigenous people



History, Social circumstances

In today's presentation, I will talk about cases of
Australia
and Japan comparatively

Aboriginal People, Australia
Ainu People, Japan



2 LOCAL MUSEUMS IN ARNHEM LAND

Arnhem Land, North Australia

Aboriginal Land Trust since 1970s, 10 square kilometers

Christian missions started to be set up since 1900s

Education, Medical service, and evangelism

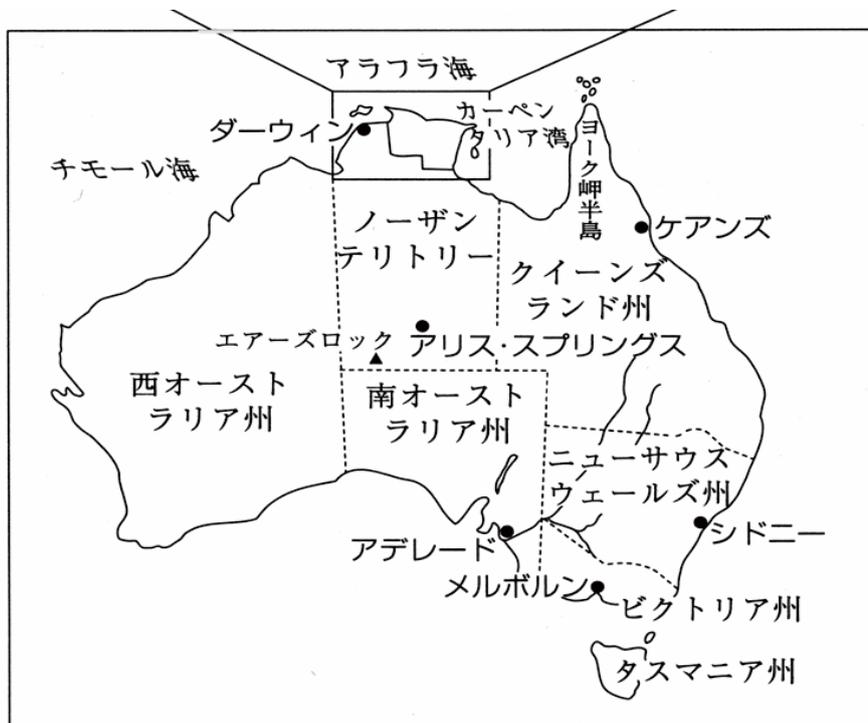
Assimilation Policy

1968 Referendum ⇒ Self determination

management by Aboriginal people

1971 Aboriginal Arts Board : promotion of arts & crafts

Art advisers were employed and sent to live in Arnhem Land



地図 1 アーネムランドと調査地

1980 First move to build local museums

Art advisers' initiative

People found the value of rich culture

⇒ not shared by Aboriginal people

1990 Repatriation and Keeping Place boom

ATSIC initiative

⇒ not shared by Aboriginal people



LOCAL MUSEUM AND ART CENTRE



3 LOCAL MUSEUMS IN JAPAN

Ainu: Japanese Indigenous people

Resides in *Hokkaido*

Force to assimilate to Japanese from 17th century

Current population; 27,000

Meiji period(1868-1912)

Settlers from mainland came to colonize
Hokkaido

☆Assimilation policy on Ainu

1899 “Hokkaido Former Native Protection Act”

Ainu people were marginalized and subordinated



3 LOCAL MUSEUMS IN JAPAN

1960s Hokkaido tourism boom

Siraoi Village 100,000 visitors each year

1964 560,000 visitors

Set up new site for tourists

Reconstructed Ainu Village

Apply for renting national land, with trees and a pond

1965 the new Ainu village, 'Proto Kotan' was opened

1967 museum in the village was opened

1976 Set up the foundation for the village



AINU ART AND TOURISM





4 CHANGE IN THE MAINSTREAM MUSEUMS IN AUSTRALIA

Repatriation

Form the end of 1980s on ~

Human remains ⇒ Secret-sacred objects

Radical change in the relationship between
Museums and Aboriginal people

1993 “Previous Possessions, New Obligations:
policies for museums in Australian and Aboriginal
and Torres Strait Islander People” was launched
by Council of Australian Museum Associations.
2005 “Continuous Cultures, Ongoing
Responsibilities” was launched by Museums
Australia



Representation

From the end of 1990s to early 2000s;
all the metropolitan museums renovated indigenous
exhibition

1998: bicentennial of first fleet

2000: Sydney Olympic

2001: centennial of federation

+ social issues of Indigenous people;

Stolen generation, Death in custody

2003-2005 interviewed curators of each museums

Table 1: Change of the Indigenous exhibition in
metropolitan museums in Australia

Museum (City)	Year	Aborigi- nal Curator	Local negotiation	Outside committee	Type of the exhibition
NMA (Canberra)	2000	○	×	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
AM (Sydney)	1997	○	×	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
MM (Melbourne)	2000	○	○	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
SAM (Adelaide)	2000	○	×	○	Material culture and accomplishments
WAM (Perth)	1999	×	○	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
QM (Brisbane)	2006	○	×	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
MAGNT (Darwin)	2004	×	×	×	Focus on Art

5 MAINSTREAM MUSEUMS IN JAPAN

Exhibition of Ainu is very rear and minor

National Museum in Tokyo has a small section

In Hokkaido, there are many museums exhibit Ainu

Hokkaido Museum recently renovated its Ainu exhibition

No communal policy on repatriation

In 2013, Ministry of Education's research on human remains found 1636 bodies (bones)

Ainu cultural revitalization since 1980s

1997 New law on Ainu culture and promotion

2007 Declaration of Indigenous Peoples rights in UN

2008 Hokkaido Summit & Parliament resolutions to recognize Ainu as Indigenous

Ainu Museum to be opened in 2020



6 DISCUSSION

Local museums

Arnhem Land, Aus: art advisors' initiative
purpose= cultural preservation

Ainu, Japan: Ainu people's initiative
purpose= tourism (economy)

Mainstream museums

Australia: active repatriation
inclusion of Indigenous voice (representation,
planning, and museum)

Japan: no repatriation policy, building plan of
memorial hall

representation is limited, inclusion is limited

☆Plan for the Ainu museum



COMPARISON OF INDIGENOUS-MUSEUM RELATIONSHIPS

	Local museum		Mainstream Museum	
	Initiative	Purpose	Repatriation	Representation
Australia	Art Advisor	Cultural preservation	Active	Inclusion
Japan	Ainu	Tourism	No policy	minor

6 DISCUSSION

☆Situation of local museums and mainstream museums reflects the relationships between mainstream society and indigenous people in each society

☆Comparative examination of local museums in social and historical context are quite important and meaningful

Museum and Indigenous people in National/Global context

- Comparative perspective from Australia and Japan

Sachiko Kubota (Kobe University)

1. Introduction

In the world, there are numerous local museums exhibiting local history and cultural characteristics of the area. Often they are expected to be functioned as the core of local identity. The local museums for indigenous peoples, on the other hand, have unique characteristics besides providing local identity. They reflect difference of the positions of indigenous populations and their histories in the society. In this paper, first I will describe the historical background and social circumstances surrounding local museums of indigenous peoples in Australia and in Japan respectively. And then, I will summarize the historical changes of the museums in the mainstream society in both countries, By comparing these cases, I will argue how these differences reflects social background, and historical circumstances of Aboriginal people in each country, and to point out how important to focus on local museums to understand the differences indigenous people face.

2. Local Museums in Arnhem Land

My research area is northeastern Arnhem Land, north Australia. Aboriginal people, Indigenous population of Australia, have migrated to Australian continent about 50000 years ago and have lived there as hunters and gatherers until colonization by England started in 1788. The population at that time is estimated about 300,000. The number declined sharply due to the violence and diseases brought by the colonizers. By 1900, their population was down to 60,000. In the south, where the colonization started, many Aboriginal people lost their livelihood and lived as dependents of the colonies. But in the north where climate is harsh and not suitable for pastoral or farming, Aboriginal people could continue their traditional life style relatively well until

beginning of the 20th century, when Christian missions started to build the settlements for their missionary work. The community of G where I have been working was built in 1942 by Methodist mission. People around the area started to live sedentary with the missionaries. Mission provided education for adult and children, medical service, and evangelism. These missionaries were quite friendly and not coercive to Aboriginal people. It is clear that their intention was to assimilate them but they pay high respect to local cultures and the mission was managed quite well until 1970s.

In 1968 referendum was held and it had a big impact for Aboriginal people. Now they have same rights to other Australians, and the policy was changed from assimilation to self-determination. Missionaries were left Arnhem Land and they have to manage their community by themselves. Government started various attempts to provide economic viability for Aboriginal people. The arts and crafts industry was the one of them. Art centers were established in the beginning of 1970s in Art advisers who were to help developing art industry were employed by the government came to Arnhem Land in early 1970s.

Around 1980, some moves to create local museums were appeared in Arnhem Land. The art advisers, who lived in Arnhem Land for a few years, came to understand deep and rich Aboriginal culture represented in paintings and carvings. It was those advisers who develop the idea of local museum and realized. One of earliest attempts was found in town M in 1980, an art adviser established the museum but was closed when he left the area. Another early example was at town Y in the late 1970s, it was kept as original until early 1990s but not so much in use for a long time. About the reasons of the relative failure of those local museums, I have discussed elsewhere, and I pointed that it was because of the difference in attitude to the materials. For the advisers they are the important items with rich local culture so that they have to be displayed in the museum. But for Aboriginal people in Arnhem Land, they are the things to be used in the rituals and daily life.

Since the middle of the 1990s the mainstream museums started to repatriate Aboriginal artifacts and human remains to the original communities. During the 1993-94 financial year, the Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders Commission (ATSIC)ⁱ increased the budget supporting the repatriation of cultural heritage. ATSIC also requested metropolitan museums to support in establishing local museums in remote Aboriginal communities. It became one of the important duties of curators to assist with this program. Thus it re-activated talk about local museums in Arnhem Land. It is in these circumstances that both towns, M and Y received special budgets and in 1996 they both reopened the local museums, although the situations surrounding local museums

are basically unchanged since 1980s. For the local people, items in the museums are not the things to look at in the room but the items to be used in their ceremony. As a result, after the festive opening ceremony, no Aboriginal people visit local museums. In other words, the idea of local museums is originated by white people who lived there, and was not shared by Aboriginal people in Arnhem Land.

3. Local museums of Ainu in Japan

Ainu, the Japanese indigenous people have been living in Japan without public recognition for the long time. In the 10th century, they were pushed away to Hokkaido (the northeast island) from mainland, and have been living there ever since. Currently their official population is 27,000. It is only 0.02% of Japanese total population and 0.5% of Hokkaido population (5,500,000). It is important to note that this statistics is of the people registered themselves as Ainu in Hokkaido. It is well known that more Ainu are believed to be living outside of Hokkaido, hiding their descent. So the actual number is hard to be known. Some say that it is more than 100,000.

There was a cruel history of colonization and assimilation by Japanese government and their culture was suppressed for a long time. Ainu people are now trying to reclaim their cultural distinctiveness and indigenous status. But they are not at all recognized by most of the Japanese general public. I have to say that most of Japanese are ignorant about current situation of Ainu. This situation, compare to the Aboriginal people in Australia especially, is dramatically different.

The local museums of Ainu have started to be set up around 1960s with the upheaval of the tourism. Since the 1950s, Hokkaido became the popular destination of domestic visitors, with economic recovery after the WWII. A several Ainu tourism spots scattered around Hokkaido were built, and there are at least 20 museums in Hokkaido that has Ainu exhibition. Most of the private museums were set up for tourism. I will focus one particular case in this paper, Shiraoi village.

Shiraoi is located at the south of Sapporo, about an hour drive, which have relatively high Ainu population. In 1960s, there were domestic tourism boom visiting Hokkaido. And people in Shiraoi were experiencing growth of the visitors who are interested in Ainu people. It is said that there were about 100,000 visitors each year, and it reached to 560,000 in 1964. They then decided to set up private company to run the tourist business. They planned to have suitable location for better service for the tourists. They applied for the loan of the state-owned land with trees and pond in the township to

reconstruct traditional Ainu houses on the spot. It was opened in 1965, and the folk cultural museum was opened there two years later. The spot is called ‘big pond village’ which has various facilities for tourists. Tourists can enjoy visiting the Ainu village, seeing inside the traditional houses and enjoy traditional dances and music there. The craft techniques were shown in those houses. Tourists also can visit the museum to see the cultural items to learn about Ainu. This tourist park has car park and the block of shops where they can purchase Ainu souvenirs.

In 1976, they changed the management system and formed foundation for Ainu traditional culture. Now they place strong emphasis on preservation and succession of tradition of Ainu culture more than recreation. They placed many active programs for preservation and transmission of their culture. Also they convey various research and collection activities. In other words, from the time of the establishment of the foundation in 1976, the emphasis on ‘cultural institution’ rather than mere tourism attraction was expanded. This is the time the national focus on Ainu is starting to be noticed. There was a move to register Ainu folk culture as intangible cultural heritage which formally registered in 1984.

You can say that this is one of the very successful tourism and cultural institution originated and organized by Ainu. Between 1976 and 1996, they had more than 500 thousand to 600 thousand visitors annually. Peak years were between 1987 and 1992, more than 700 thousand visitors, with highest record of 1992, 871,621 visitors. The numbers decreased since, but they still have about 200 thousands visitors every year.

4. Change in the mainstream museums- repatriation and representation in Australia

In Australia there were two big changes concerning indigenous people in mainstream museums since the end of 1980s. The first is the programs of repatriation which I mentioned already. The repatriation of human remains was followed by the repatriation of secret-sacred objects; important objects in local ceremonial context. Many of them were kept in the museums since the colonial era [Anderson 1990]. Government strongly supported the propulsion of the process of repatriation, and realized the new relationship between museum and aboriginal people.

In 1993, historically significant document, “Previous Possessions, New Obligations: policies for museums in Australian and Aboriginal and Torres Strait

Islander people”, was launched by the Council of Australian Museum Associations, the precursor body to Museums Australia. That year was the International Year of World Indigenous Peoples and this document symbolizes a major change in relations between Aboriginal people and the metropolitan museums. Beside the change of the repatriation policy, there were other major symbolic changes in the relationship. It was concerning representation.

The second change is on representation. Many of the mainstream museums in Australia changed their indigenous exhibition from the end of the 1990s lead up to the year 2001. In Australia 2001 was the centennial of federation of the Australian states, and the year 2000 was designated as Sydney Olympics. And 1988 was the bicentennial year of first fleet. On the Australian day of that year, there was a big demonstration by Aboriginal people claiming that this should be the day for mourning, instead of celebration. Aboriginal issue, especially the mistreatment of them in the colonial history was a hot issue in Australia. In this social climate, many metropolitan museums planned grand renovations of their exhibitions for this memorial timing.

In year 2003 to 2005, I visited major metropolitan museums to see the new exhibition and to have interviews about them. The table 1 shows the part of the research result. It shows clearly that there were intentions at least to include some indigenous participation or voice for the exhibition. Most have negotiation meetings with local community, some included indigenous experts in the external advisory committee for the planning, and all except two had indigenous specialist employed by the museum. And the remaining two museums employed indigenous curators by the following year of my interview. These indigenous content in the museums was completely absent in the 1980s.

In short, the indigenous participation for the development of the exhibition was enlarged. The space given to Aboriginal exhibitions was noticeably expanded, and more emphasis was given. Many museums began employing Aboriginal curatorial staff and organized local advisory committees including indigenous members, in order to incorporate the opinions of Aboriginal people into the renovations [Sculthorpe 2000]. As a result, the once common diorama style display of tools and ornaments for hunting and gathering, with a model house and human figures designed as a reconstruction of the past life of Aborigines has ceased. The museums are now concentrating on the post contact era and their history, the situation of Aboriginal people today. The aim now is to show them as individual people living in mainstream society.

Table 1: Change of the Indigenous exhibition in metropolitan museums in Australia

Museum (City)	Opened Year	Aboriginal Curator	Local commit.	Negotiation	Type of the exhibition
NMA (Canberra)	2000	○	×	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
AM (Sydney)	1997	○	×	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
MM (Melbourne)	2000	○	○	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
SAM (Adelaide)	2000	○	×	○	Material culture and accomplishments
WAM (Perth)	1999	×	○	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
QM (Brisbane)	2006	○	×	○	Current issues, Indigenous perspective
MAGNT (Darwin)	2004	×	×	×	Art perspective

5. Mainstream museums in Japan

In Japanese mainstream museums, Ainu exhibition is very rear and minor. There are permanent exhibitions in National museum in Tokyo, National Museum of Ethnology, and National Museum of History, all of them have one section dedicated to Ainu exhibition. But the latter two are research museums somewhat different in its nature. The National museum in Tokyo only exhibit clothing and ornament. In Hokkaido, there are three public museums exhibiting Ainu, Hokkaido museum, Monbetsu museum and Kushiro museum. All of them show Ainu as part of the history of Hokkaido and not so much from modern perspective. Only one exception is Hokkaido museum which recently changed its exhibition and now they place emphasis on the modern side of Ainu experience. Museums in Hokkaido have clear intention to exhibit Ainu as part of their history of colonization of Hokkaido, and museums in Mainland Japan do not place emphasis on Ainu.

Repatriation policy in Japan is not decided nor shared by the institutions. In 2013 the ministry of education held a research about human remains of Ainu held by the institutions and to our surprise, they found at least 1636 bodies of Ainu bones are held

in universities and museums.

Ainu Cultural revitalization started actively since 1980s. Ainu language courses were started in 1983; Ethnic festival was started in 1989. Exhibition of Ainu arts and crafts, projects of showing and learning traditional skills also started. Especially from 1990s, their claim expanded with the influence from international discourse on indigenous populations. For the opening ceremony of United Nations International year of the world indigenous Peoples in 1993, Ainu people were officially invited. It was not expected by Japanese government with prime minister who was claiming itself as homogenous country at that time. Japanese government realized at last that something have to be done. In 1994 they set up the expert committee on Ainu matters under the Cabinet office. After the series of meetings, they drafted a report in the following year. Based on this report, 'The New law on Ainu culture and its promotion' was enacted in 1997, by dismissing the 'The law for former natives' at last. With this new law, various cultural projects were made into practice. One of them was Iworu Project started from 2003. It is to rehabilitate the natural traditional environment of Ainu people with the plan for ecological museum.

In 2007, Japan voted positive to United Nations Declaration of Indigenous Peoples Rights, and it lifted Ainu peoples' expectation that their treatment will be changed dramatically because of this decision. In a reality though, it did not work that way, and disappointed many Ainu. In 2008, Japan hosted World Summit Meeting in Hokkaido. Ainu people started to lobby the government by saying it is the first world summit to be held in Ainu-Moshiri (the land of Ainu), and claiming Japan should recognize Ainu as indigenous people officially. Just a few weeks before the World Summit, parliament's resolution 'to start a process to approve Ainu people as indigenous people of Japan' was adopted.

And a month after the summit, another expert advisory committee to examine Ainu matters was set up by Cabinet Office. They held meetings for a year to develop a report. The members are mainly academics and politician but included only one Ainu person as a member. They presented the final report of recommendations in July 2009.

The report had three distinct points. 1) As Ainu is indigenous people of Japan, government have big responsibility on the treatment of them. 2) Government is responsible for the revival of Ainu culture. 3) Government has to realize the society which acknowledges cultural diversity.

Just after this report, in August 2009, the office of Ainu policy management was set up under Cabinet office. And in December 2009, Ainu Policy Promotion council was formed to realize the recommendation by the committee. One of the working

groups is to deal with the establishment of cultural center for Ainu. The idea is to build the research institution and/or museum within a traditional natural environment such as national park. The institution is expected to function as a center of cultural succession, learning, research and education. The working group has negotiated to decide the location for an institution. In 2015 a special committee drafted the blue print of the Ainu museum in Shiraoi, Hokkaido to be opened in 2020. They are planning to build the memorial building at the museum site and place the bones which are difficult to identify.

Thus, although no Japanese mainstream museums put emphasis on Ainu exhibition, and most have just started to include modern side of Ainu people, they decided to build a national museum dedicated to Ainu in the international climate.

6. Discussion – Difference between Australia and Japan

As we have seen, local museums in Arnhem Land were built by white art advisers in 1970s. The purpose was to keep the important and valuable local culture. But the idea was not shared by Aboriginal people. Whereas in Japan, local museums especially the private ones were built by Ainu people in 1960s. The purpose was for the tourism attraction. The intention was soon changed to include the cultural preservation and succession though.

Also for mainstream museums in Australia, you can see the big change of the attitude of museums to indigenous population since the end of 1980s. They started the programs of repatriation. And they have communal policy between mainstream museums. Also all the mainstream museums changed the representation of Aboriginal people between 1997 and 2006, placing more emphasis on ‘modern’. Also the relationships between Museums and Aboriginal people have changed; many have Aboriginal curators or staffs, form local committee, and include Aboriginal members in organizing committee.

On the other hand, in Japan, there were not enough changes happening in mainstream museums especially on mainland Japan. There is not any common policy of repatriation among Japanese museums which became very usual standard in Anglo countries. There are not many attempts to open the doors to Ainu people neither. Only exceptions are in NM of Ethnology and NM of History, which are the researching museums under ministry of education, with clear attempts to exhibit them as modern people and various programs to open museum as forum. The current decision made by

the government about human remains of Ainu is unthinkable one in western countries.

We can see that these drastic differences clearly show the status of indigenous people in their society and its history. Local museum of Ainu was initiated by Ainu people themselves for the betterment of their economy utilizing the occasion of tourism boom, where as in Australia, it was initiated by outsider who came to work for Aboriginal people. This difference shows the way how the indigenous are treated historically in their society.

Also in mainstream museums the changes reflecting social and international climate showing the difference of the relationship between Indigenous population and museum. In Australia, the changes of the museum attitude clearly respond to world trend of the museums; inclusion of voices of indigenous people both in the exhibition and planning, utilization of museum for training purposes of indigenous people, and repatriation policies of human remains and sacred objects and so on. Upon on that, domestic circumstances of reconciliation between indigenous and mainstream also influenced the renovation of exhibitions.

On the contrary, the situation of Japanese mainstream museums show how small the general interest in Japan about Ainu. They are quite different from western museums as far as indigenous issue goes. Particularly, the attitudes toward human remains are shockingly different. Nonetheless, they decided to build the national museum dedicated for Ainu. It was the response to the world requirement started from 1990s, Indigenous peoples' year in UN. As we have seen though, the Japanese 'recognition' of indigenous population is unsatisfactory still, which is reflected in the museums. I have to say that it is very superficial treatment.

To conclude, as we have seen in this paper, exhibition and policies of both local museums and mainstream museums concerning indigenous people reflects how they were treated historically and also currently in its society. Comparative examination of local museums for indigenous people in social and historical context may be the quite important and meaningful way to understand the situation of indigenous people in various countries.

ⁱ ATSIC (Aborigines and Torres Strait Islander Commission). This was established in 1989 as a committee for administration under the federal government. The Commission makes decisions about many matters and distributes the finance concerning Australian indigenous peoples [Kamata 2002].