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**Rethinking Heritage and Display in National Museums
in Ghana and Mali**

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Thesis submitted for the Degree of PhD in the History of Art and Archaeology

2012

Department of Art and Archaeology, School of Oriental and African Studies,

University of London

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Abstract

The research project explores the trajectories of cultural heritage institutions in Mali and Ghana and their relationships with their publics in a range of contexts. The principal case studies are the National Museums of Mali and Ghana. Following on from cabinets of curiosities and the formation of modern public museums in Europe, periods of intense salvage ethnography in West Africa in the early 20th century enriched collections in Europe and shaped the organisations of collections of the future national museums in post independent West Africa. Within the conceptual frameworks of the civilizing missions of museums, indigenous material culture was displayed and positioned within rapidly changing societies as testimonies of pre-colonial pasts, albeit framed by colonial assumptions and contingencies. These re-presentations of cultural heritage are one of the many legacies that continue to haunt the museums today in West Africa. I examine whether the institutions have emerged from their colonial foundations to occupy a space in local African discourses and to what extent they are indeed able to do so.

Colonial legacies associated with these institutions have incited a re-evaluation of the roles of the museum as appropriate avenues for stimulating local cultural knowledge according to a closer association with local audiences' perceived needs. Interesting initiatives have been set up across Mali and Ghana to foster local participation. As part of these initiatives, attention has focused on some rejections of museums by local groupings. Conceptually in this thesis I consider the category of the non-visitor as a means to analyse this phenomenon. The initiatives also serve to explore tensions over the management of cultural

heritage(s), state agencies and the economic pull of tourism in the realm of museums today. Within the wider contexts of transnational museums, the thesis concludes with concerns over existing concepts of a universal heritage, questioning to what extent access to world cultures is universal within the framework of museum settings in West Africa.

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

AAG	African Archaeology Group (University of Cambridge)
AOF	<i>Afrique Occidentale Française</i>
AEF	<i>Afrique Equatoriale Française</i>
AFRICOM	International Council of African Museums
BC	<i>Banque Culturelle</i>
BM	British Museum
CCF	<i>Centre Culturel Français</i>
CDEAO	<i>ECOWAS member states (Economic Community of West African States)</i>
CHDA	Centre for Heritage Development in Africa
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CNA	<i>Cinéma Numérique Ambulant</i>
CSSV	Cocoa Swollen Shoot Virus
DNAC	<i>Direction National des Arts et Cultures</i>
DNPC	<i>Direction National du Patrimoine Culturel</i>
EPA	<i>École du Patrimoine Africain</i>
GMMB	Ghana Museums and Monuments Board
ICOM	International Council of Museums
ICCROM	International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFAN	<i>Institut français d'Afrique noire</i> <i>Institut fondamental d'Afrique noire</i> (renamed after independence)
IWAAISS	Institute of West African Arts, Industries and Social Sciences
INA	<i>Institut National des Arts</i>
IPRs	Intellectual Property Rights
NMG	National Museum of Ghana
NMK	National Museums of Kenya
MNM	<i>musée national du Mali</i>
MPM	Manhyia Palace Museum
MST	Museum of Science and Technology
MQB	<i>musée du Quai Branly</i>
PANAFEST	Pan African Historical Festival
PREMA	Preventive Conservation in Museums of Africa
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
UAC	United Africa Company
VRM	Volta Regional Museum
WAMP	West Africa Museums Programme

A note on orthography, translation, photography and ethics

Original French text has been inserted into a separate Appendix (appendix 1) that covers all chapters. All personal communications are listed (appendix 2). I have omitted a few citations that came from unrecorded conversations but existed in written note form. For foreign words that are frequently used, I have un-italicised them. For clarification purposes I have inserted subheading titles to assist the reader.

The town of 'Djenné' has several spellings. I have decided to use '*Djenné*' which is most frequently found in recent published works and other sources (Bedaux, Diaby and Maas 2003; Joy 2008; Marchand 2009). There are various spellings for 'Jam Sai', including *Jam si*, *Jam say* and *Jam Sai*. In Chapter 6 I chose the spelling used by M El Hadj Mbaye Gueye, the project programme evaluator for the CultureBank (BC).

I employ the original orthography for the National Museum of Mali with regards to capital letters in French: *musée national du Mali* (see Dias 2000). I also interchange between the French and the English (National Museum of Mali, using capitals in the English version as is custom). It is worth noting that there are two museums in Bamako, and the *musée national du Mali* should not be confused with the *musée du District de Bamako*. In most cases I have adopted the acronyms MNM (*musée national du Mali*) and NMG (National Museum of Ghana). In Chapter 2, I interchange between 'International Exhibitions', 'International Expositions' and 'World's Fairs' according to usage at their locations. Throughout the work, I also interchange between referring to 'French Sudan' and '*Soundan français*'. The local term 'bamana/n' has been employed instead of the French '*bambara*'.

Interviews were recorded and carried out with prior permission. I also sought prior permission to cite the informants' names in my text, which was granted. On two occasions the informants requested the interview not to be recorded, and I took written notes instead.

All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

All photographs are my own unless otherwise stated.

Chapter 1 Introduction

“Although much art in Africa is made to be admired, most of it must also be engaged. It is not viewed by passive spectators for their detached enjoyment. Rather, it confronts them in the context of public performances or private contemplation and harbours the potential for interaction. Audience members at performances of masks, for example, can be approached by these dancing artworks and expected to perform themselves. They can be questioned, chased or even abused, and often they are expected to respond to the masks in an informed and artful fashion.” (Pelrine and McNaughton 1988: 12)

This research project is an in-depth study of the positionings of material culture in national museums. Comparing the trajectories of museums in Mali and Ghana in West Africa, the project examines how they were established. In so doing, it provides a critical consideration of the historiography of museology and an analysis of both institutions’ formations as they emerged from European framings of material culture and cultural heritage. The conservation and display of material culture in West Africa generally pre-dated the arrival of Europeans on the continent, such as the Asantehene’s storehouse and Benin Palace wall plaques according to late 20th century claims on how the latter had been used in the past (pers. comm. Gore 23.12.11). But in the 20th century there was the deployment of material culture within the colonial states’ model of the ‘modern public museum’ that derived from developments in Britain and France from the 16th century onwards. This dimension was therefore a significant factor in contributing to my research project.

A central theme of the project was to further understandings of the positionings of national museums in Mali and Ghana in their contemporary localised and regional settings. Key questions addressed the roles of these institutions. What was the degree of local audience participation and of *interest* in the displays of artefacts? How did the relationships between notions of history, memory and agency play out in the public sphere? My own cross cultural approach to case studies of cultural heritage projects at local, regional, national and transnational levels considered the makings of these public(s) (Ellen 1984: 19). It thus explored discursive analyses on the interpretation and local notions of 'ownership' of the past in a diverse range of environments. The public dimension of cultural heritage institutions means that they are exposed to a wide range of local and overseas audiences, and consequently develop as sites of dialogue and/ or contestation in a single location. Through this research project I examine the different tiers of museums within Mali and Ghana and then position these in relation to transnational heritage framings.

Particular considerations focused on the ways in which material culture presented in museums exhibit artefacts to instil, communicate, or frame particular cultural significances and assumptions (Pritchard 1940: 89; Bennett 1995: 6; Moore 1997: 50). Historically, conceptualising cultural heritage was influenced by anthropological studies in material culture (Lowenthal 1985, 1996; Ravenhill 1996; Rowlands 2002) and museum specialists' studies in the public roles of cultural institutions (Bennett 1988, 1995; Ardouin 1992, 1996; Pearce 1992; Hooper-Greenhill 1994; Kaplan 1994; Arinze 1998; Arnoldi 1999, 2006). Debates in museological practices, particularly since the 1980's in Britain, have devoted more attention to the museum visitors' needs. I have combined the

methodologies of participant observation and structured and semi-structured interviews and surveys and processes of triangulation with phenomenological approaches to museum visitors' needs and to the ownership of tangible and intangible cultural heritage and rights. The relevant literature was interdisciplinary and spanned the work of historians, anthropologists, art historians, artists, critics and cultural heritage specialists. The languages in which they were published are principally English and French.

Sharing the conviction of a growing number of cultural heritage professionals that museums have the potential to inspire, enrich and empower people as effective means of reaching and educating wider audiences, through this research project I seek to expose and analyse some of the relationships between cultural institutions and their publics. My research questions how the national museums of Mali and Ghana attempted to access these wider audiences, how they constructed and disseminated knowledges in this institutional space and how the publics engaged with these processes according to their own phenomenological experiences and conceptualisations of the past, both individual and collective.

The overall structure of the thesis is chronological. It charts the birth of the public museum in Europe in Chapter 2. Chapter 3 examines colonial history in the French Sudan and Gold Coast and the shaping of museums *in situ* (see archival methods below). Chapter 4 considers the national museum projects with the emergence of Ghana and Mali as independent nation states in 1957 and 1960 respectively. In Chapter 5, I examine museological discourses that emerged in the 1980s within Africa by African cultural heritage specialists and

museologists. Chapter 6 assesses local responses to community heritage projects that came out of museology debates within Africa. I reposition local responses within the contexts of marketing heritage sites for international audiences (with a particular focus on Ghana's forts and museums) in Chapter 7. The final Chapter 8 widens the research to a study of transnational institutions and concludes with a review of museum regimes within a globalised circulation of consumption, value and exchange.

How I became involved in the research topic

My first visit to the National Museum of Ghana (NMG) was in 1999 and I met with then acting director. I became involved with the musée national du Mali (MNM) four years later during the course of a ten-month internship with the education department. The opportunity was facilitated through employment at the British Museum (2000-03). My work at the British Museum coincided with the launch of the *Sainsbury Africa Galleries* in 2001 and I became curious to learn about exhibitions of African cultural heritage located on the African continent and how local publics in local settings received these. I decided to formulate a multi-sited research project proposal considering cultural institutions in (formerly Francophone) Mali and (formerly Anglophone) Ghana. I conducted a preliminary site visit to Mali in December 2005 and in 2006-07 I chose to carry out my initial fieldwork in Mali. This enabled me to outline my research methodologies and to then adopt similar approaches for my fieldwork in Ghana. For these reasons the length of time spent in Mali was longer than in Ghana (six months and four months respectively).

The research design of this project is multi-sited and it explores the connections and circulations (Appadurai 1986; Clifford 1997; Marcus 1998: 79-105) between modes of cultural heritage display in these respective spaces. I remain hesitant to describe the project as comparative research, particularly outside of the early colonial accounts of the institutions in French Sudan and Gold Coast. This is because of the complexities involved in drawing analogies between two very different countries, with their own histories, legacies and trajectories (Appadurai 1993: 419), which have influenced the development of their cultural institutions and also because of the disparate funding resources one institution (MNM) has received over the other (NMG)ⁱⁱ. Rather, the research project takes a multi-sited approach to the study of various formations, trajectories and contemporary usages of cultural heritage projects in Mali and Ghana.

Literature Review

The development of the modern public museum has roots in the interplay between heritage and display throughout 18th and 19th century Europe. As merchants, missionaries and explorers sent the objects they collected to Europe, they began to be systematically arranged according to their type, origin and in relation to each other. Shifts from private curiosity cabinets to public displays in Bologna and the early museums of the Ashmolean or the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford have been well documented by scholars Altick 1978, Laurencich-Minelli 1985 and Pearce 1992. Laurencich-Minelli began with her work on 17th century shifts in Italian museology towards orderly display, for example. The open displays of fine art in Stately homes in Britain in the 18th century further helped spread the notion that heritage was to be shared with the nation (Cameron 1971).

The belief that it was possible to understand non-Western societies if their material culture could be correctly ordered and classified began to develop. In his work *Hybrids of Modernity*, Harvey (1996: 179) has argued that challenges to previously accepted truths represented a new commitment to logic and order in the late 18th century. In the 19th century, the birth of the discipline of anthropology and the commitment to sequential logic and order was developed through public displays at the International Exhibitions in Paris and London. Through the civilising missions of international exhibitions, fairs and the shopping mall, Tony Bennett in his seminal study *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (1995) combined an historical analysis of the development of the modern museum with an exposé of its reformatory nature.

Influenced by Bourdieu's study of museums and their visitors in France (1966) as well as Foucault's work on regulating power and discipline (1979), Bennett used case studies to illustrate the techniques of regulation that were inherent in these institutions. He ascertained that museums' designs and dominant architectures instilled culture barriers for the visitor, and that these exclusionary regimes counterclaimed museums' commitment to representing humanity and access to all. Bennett also addressed heritage and display in the 19th century as a means of shaping national identities. Within the contexts of rapid industrialisation and mass media, the manner in which 'other' cultures and people were displayed in the Exhibitions – as well as in the museums – contributed to impress upon its visitors a new social order, with Europeans placed at the height of civilisation. The sheer volume of artefacts arriving in Europe from overseas increased with the Colonial regime. Tythacott (2001) has documented this in her research on the Liverpool Mayer Museum's collections that arrived via the Elder Dempster Shipping Line at the turn of the 20th century.

A critical and detailed study of the representation of Africa in Britain at the end of the 19th century and early 20th century is Annie Coombes' work *Reinventing Africa: Museums, material culture and popular imagination in late Victorian and Edwardian England*. First published in 1994, Coombes surveyed the number of artefacts transported to Britain between 1880 and 1918 and the effects that they had on the construction of a British national identity. She challenged the notion that their representations emanated from a singular imperial ideology and argued that there existed multiple, and at times contradictory representations of 'Africa' in Britain. In particular, Coombes insisted upon the role that anthropology played in supporting contradictory depictions. Her research drew

upon a wide range of source materials related to institutions such as the Pitt Rivers Museum and the Horniman Museum. The curiosity in material that was presented to the public in ethnographic museums and the early developments in the discipline of anthropology led to a re-questioning of the validity of displays at the International Exhibitions, which had become increasingly frivolous with imperial and racist undertones. Literature published by Jamin 1982, Edwards 1992 and Ravenhill 1996 have detailed how collections began to be recorded and studied by trained specialists 'at home' who claimed specialised knowledge and greater authority to be able to classify non-Western societies. In the early 1920s the French ethnographer, Marcel Griaule attempted to develop a contextual approach to understanding non-Western cultures and societies by collecting a vast amounts of material (and notes) from the field. Anthropologists such as Malinowski and Rattray also began to spend extended periods in the field, and rejected their predecessors' approaches to anthropology as 'armchair anthropologists'. The processes of 'typifying' societies according to their material culture however, continued to form the backdrop to this period of early 20th century ethnographic research and display.

James Clifford 1988, Nélia Dias 1991, Annie Coombes 1994 and Sally Price 2001 offered important contributions to the study of collectors of ethnographic material as well as collections in ethnographic museums in the early 20th century. Clifford published a critical ethnography of the West, *The Predicament of Culture*. His analysis of cross-cultural encounters tackled topics from international travel to the history of exhibiting art in ethnographic museums. More specifically, Clifford's in-depth historical and political contextual approach

challenged the notion of curatorial authority inherent in museum displays and he was a pioneer in the debates around authenticity.

With the continued influx of material arriving in museums in the West and more specialists spending time in the field emerged the concept of creating museums *in situ*, in West Africa. In the late 1930s the *Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire* (IFAN) in Dakar formed a platform for launching future local museums in the region and discussions began to circulate about creating a museum in the British Gold Coast. Advocators of these institutions claimed that indigenous societies were rapidly changing under the colonial regime, and that their cultures and societies needed to be preserved (and displayed) for future generations. Emphases on the preservation of antiquities and how to display collections *in situ* generated debates at the time between European curators (for example, Dr Brauholtz, Keeper at the British Museum and Theodore Monod, former employee of the muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris) and colonial officials (Governor Burns and Gouverneur-Général, Jules Brevié). The model of museums that was launched in West Africa (in the French Sudan and the Gold Coast) derived essentially from French and British interpretations of the role of the museum. One notable exception was sourced from my archive research in the UK and Ghana, and is addressed in Chapter Three of this thesis. It is worth a reference here, as the memorandum from Nigerian-born London-based art student at the time, Ben Enwonwu to Dr Brauholtz provided a unique indigenous insight into advocating a museum in the Gold Coast that was sensitive to local needs (n.d circa 1946).

Debates surrounding the role of museums in the display of indigenous heritage have formed the basis of discussions on museums in Africa to date. The decolonisation period in Africa generated shifting modes of interpretations of the museum and an awareness of its use as an educational tool to strengthen nation building and to shape identities in the present. West African museum specialists were pioneers in this field, influenced by international bodies such as UNESCO (with the 1970 World Heritage Convention). The former archaeologist, president of Mali (and Chairperson of the African Union), Alpha Oumar Konare (1981, 1983, 1990, 1995a, 1995b, 2000) advocated that the public dimension of the museum and its 'Africanisation' desperately needed to be addressed.

Konare and his contemporaries such as Emmanuel Arinze (1983, 1998), Kléna Sanogo (1999), Alexandre Adande (2002), Claude Ardouin (1990, 1992, 1995, 1996, 2009) and Samuel Sidibe (1991, 1995, 1996, 2006) were instrumental in developing ideas about the museums. Recurrent themes in their work included the lack of funding, how to further collaborations according to an 'African' national perspective and how to reach local populations in part by rejecting external influences in the form of colonial legacies inherent in their museums. In the early 1980s, Konare (1981) put forward practical suggestions for inclusive strategies with local communities such as employing local craftsmen to work on inventories and extending opening hours to allow workers to visit at the end of the day. It was hoped that such processes would succeed in positioning local museums within their communities whilst distancing them from their early colonial associations. Another example proffered by Arinze was to use local vernacular in museum displays as a means of redressing the ban of local languages that had been imposed in schools across colonial Nigeria (in

Resources for Teaching Cultural Heritage in Nigerian Schools 1983). The work of these museum specialists was published in journal articles in *Museum International* (UNESCO) and *Museums Journal*.

With support from Philip Ravenhill (curator at the National Museum of African Art in the United States), John Mack (the British Museum) and Doran Ross (UCLA) the West African Museum Programme (WAMP) was established in Dakar in 1982 (in 2001 Boureimi Diamitani succeeded Adande as Executive Director and in 2009 the head offices were transferred to Niamey). The organisation provided a strategic platform for francophone and Anglophone West African heritage specialists to debate, exchange ideas and cooperate, but also to contribute their case studies in an important series of publications: *Museums and the Community in West Africa*, *Museums and Archaeology in West Africa*, *Museums and History in West Africa* and *Museums and Urban Culture in West Africa*. In the early 1990s, the International Council of Museums coordinated a conference entitled *What Museums for Africa?* (ICOM 1992). Heritage specialists from across the continent attended and proceedings were published in 1992. The organisation 'International Council of African Museums' (AFRICOM) was also set up as an outcome of the conference. Highlighting the awareness of the need to protect and valorise heritage in and outside of the museum field, advocating local sensitivisation, was further developed in a special edition of *African Arts* (volume 28, 1995). An edited volume *Plundering Africa's Past* published by archaeologists Schmidt and McIntosh in 1996 exposed the illicit trade in antiquities and the destructive effects of looting in Mali. Contributions to the studies of heritage and display in Africa have tended to appear across journal articles or edited volumes and to focus heavily on

museum practice supported by specific case studies. Arnoldi (1999, 2005, 2007), Crinson (2001), and Fogelman (2008), have provided historical and critical reviews of cultural heritage institutions in Mali and Ghana, consistently re-visiting the question of museums, displays and local audiences.

New collaborative and globalised exchanges have been growing between organisations and institutions. In 1994-2004 the 'Slave Routes Project' was set up in collaboration with the National Museum of Ghana, UNESCO and with the National Maritime Museums of Denmark and Holland, and a review of the project was published in 2007 by Katharina Schramm. In 2007, UNESCO also supported the Joseph Project to commemorate the 200 years' abolition of slavery in Ghana for example. Long-term collaborations have been ongoing between the Volkenkunde Museum of Leiden and the National Museum of Mali since 1989, and the Museum received support from the European Union, for example, for its redesign in 2002. The 'Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums' was drawn up in 2003 and the processes and outcomes of the Declaration were reviewed by Curtis (2005, 2006) and are critiqued in Chapter 8 of this thesis. In 2006, a European-funded project was launched between European and African institutions to re-visit the question of what museums and heritages for Africa (the theme of the project was entitled *Africa: museums and heritages for which publics?*). The organisers of the conference that took place in Bamako invited participants from Mali, France, Senegal, Belgium, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burkina Faso, Benin and Holland. A series of papers were subsequently published in an edited book by Bouttiaux in 2007. The project demonstrated a focus on collaborations between international institutions and how to adopt inclusive strategies in rural

and urban museums across Africa. Unlike the WAMP proceedings, however, the participants were from predominantly French-speaking countries. Outside of the field of historical studies (such as, for example, Hopkins' *An Economic History of Africa* 1973) and the activities of WAMP, there is an absence of studies that treat French-speaking and English-speaking West Africa together. For this reason, I decided to research the fields of heritage and display in Mali and Ghana for this research project, to mutually address these absences.

The purpose of this literature review has been to provide an overview of the significant developments in the field of heritage and display in Europe and West Africa in relation to historical debates. The interdisciplinary nature of this type of research is vast, not only geographically but it also touches on a wide range of issues connected to museums that are situated in literature on museology, anthropology and history, such as, for example, memory, oral histories, migration and members of the diaspora community. Of central concern to students of heritage and display is how the role of the museum in particular has developed and to question its relationship with local communities, as we have seen above. In order to provide an original contribution to these debates, my own approach advocates carrying out research via interviews and surveys outside the museums studied. I re-visited the questions of 'What Museums for Africa?' by addressing issues of exclusivity and inclusiveness and consulting people that did not already visit their institutions. This is an important contribution to the existing body of literature on museums and their visitors, and helps to understand the various positionings of who comes to the museum, who doesn't and why they don't.

Methodologies

The thesis adopted an interdisciplinary approach to museum studies with the first two chapters drawing upon historical and archival material to provide a detailed contextual background to museum development in Europe and the formation of national museums in West Africa (a strategy advocated by Clifford [1988: 10]). Published and documentary sources were gathered from library research and museum and national archives such as, for example, the reports produced by the British Council and British Museum (Mack, Rose and Ardouin 2005). My BA and MA (in Social Anthropology and Museum Anthropology respectively) and MPhil courses provided me with research material and opportunities to gain skills in a range of research methods and to develop a geographical and historical overview of the region.

Archival research into colonial reports and correspondences compiled by French and British administrators constituted an integral part of the project in order to comprehend what were the early motivations for creating museums in West Africa. I began with the *Archives Nationales, Section 'Outre-Mer'* in Aix-en-Provence where all the collections relating to France's overseas territories were held. The National Archives of Mali (at two repositories: pre-1960 and post-1960) were particularly useful for evidence of administrators' early proposals to build a museum in the French Sudan, and of the detailed discussions that circulated on the preservation of cultural heritage *in situ*. Documents post-1960 included newspaper clippings on the roles of the national museum in wider settings. I also consulted the archives at the musée du Quai Branly (MQB) in Paris. Research into British West African museums and

cultural institutions in present-day Ghana was carried out at the National Archives of Ghana (Accra) and Britain (National Archives at Kew). Through this work I was able to contextualise and link reports and letters that circulated at the time between the Gold Coast and Britain. Research outside the capital cities took me to Kumasi (National Archives and the Manhyia Palace archives). At the time of my visit, the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) archives were closed due to relocation. The NMG museum accountant provided me with the specific GMMB records that I required.

Prior to conducting field research in Mali I applied for a research permit from the Ministry of Education and remain indebted to the MNM's director, Samuel Sidibe for his support with this. Upon completion of my fieldwork research I submitted a full report for their national records. In Ghana I presented my findings to key museum staff in a general meeting that was then followed by open discussions. I believe the practice was beneficial to both parties. One of the features I encountered whilst conducting interviews was the widely held view among Malians and Ghanaians that the benefits of research were one-sided. It was frequently recounted to me that research students had conducted similar work in the past, then 'disappeared' and the information gathered served only to further their own career. For these reasons I am committed to providing the libraries of the NMG and of the MNMⁱⁱⁱ with copies of my completed thesis and I have maintained continued relations with members of staff (by telephone and email). I have begun to launch and curate a series of exhibitions on everyday lives in Bamako and London, collaborating with artist photographers from host countries and shown in London (May 2011) and in Bamako (September 2011). I believe that these projects will be beneficial to local audiences and in

this way I hope to share my own findings. I maintained field notes and a diary throughout the duration of my research project. Upon my return from fieldwork in Mali and Ghana, I transferred field notes to index cards and arranged them according to topic headings. This practice was instrumental as a source of information for writing up and, with the field diaries influenced an ethnographic approach to the topic (Ellen 1984: 289).

Inside the museum

In practical terms, I began my fieldwork research with a study of both institutions from my positionings as a PhD student in the capitals of Mali and Ghana (which included internal structures, meeting all the staff and consulting archival documents). I collated monthly and annual visitor statistics that were available from 2000 onwards and studied visitors' comments books from previous and current years. Visitors' comments provided interesting sources to use as data. They allowed for intimate views to be expressed and sometimes textual conversations emerged as visitors responded to what had been written before them (see also Macdonald 2006: 123)^{iv}. I carried out collections and exhibition analysis and participant observation in the galleries, noting visitors' behaviours and orientations. In total I carried out over one hundred interviews and conversations (inside and outside of the museum) of which forty-eight were recorded on tape. Several of these were repeat interviews, such as, for example when I had come across new data that I felt required further analysis. Discussions generally varied from ten minutes to over an hour and a half, and approximately sixty (including repeat interviews) were conducted among a wide range of former and present museum staff members. These more qualitative

resources combining participant observation with discussions helped feed into non-positivist approaches to my work on phenomenology in the museum, largely covered in Chapter 5. The supportive relationships that I built up with museum staff proved invaluable in enabling further discussions and research based upon the material that I later collected from visitors and non-visitors. Utilising processes of triangulation (LeCompte, Preissle and Tesch 1993: 11) I integrated conversations (largely semi-structured outside the museum) with structured interviews in the museum. In retrospect this gained me further insight into the workings of the museum but also, I believe, fed feedback into staff's analysis of their roles in developing the museum. I intentionally coincided the start of my research in Bamako with an international conference on cultural heritage that was hosted by the National Museum. The contacts, papers and discussions that emerged from this event proved timely and helpful for my research. Proceedings from the conference were published in Bouttiaux (2007) and are referred to consistently throughout the research project^v. The start of my research in Ghana coincided with celebrations of its fifty years of independence from Britain, on the 6th March 2007.

Outside the museum

To understand how the general public responded to national museum projects outside of the tourist and school groups' category, the second stage of my work progressed towards compiling more structured questionnaires^{vi}. The exercise proved useful in shaping my research, considering what themes I wanted to cover, how to 'take' institutionalised heritage outside of the museum whilst also remaining faithful to my core research questions. I am grateful to my research

assistant Derek Madjitey in Accra who carried out questionnaires and I observed his interactions, noting in particular informants' responses to a local researcher. To understand individual and collective constraints that hindered a visit to the museum, the discussions and insights gained from informants as we went through questions together were particularly useful. Spontaneous responses to questions proved surprising and sometimes entertaining such as, for example, a school girl in Bamako who replied to the question that was translated for her 'cite an object from the past that you like' by selecting her grandmother. Perceptions of the museum came from formal and informal discussions with market traders, taxi drivers, bar workers, street hawkers and others. I signed on, for example, as an apprentice with a woodcarver in Kumasi and with a local wood carvers' association in Bamako (carving wood sculpture is a personal interest and activity of mine) and again, conversations circulated daily and regularly about heritage and the role of the museum. Everybody knew of the museums' existence but very few had visited them. Most individuals wanted to share their views on the museum and this led easily to debates about the factors that would motivate their visit, should they choose to visit.

Central to my research, and key to my approach is the study of the 'non-visitor' — which is a generic category but one that is too often overlooked and frequently lacking in museum-visiting studies (Wright 1989: 142). In order to understand why potential visitors stay away from museums it is necessary to seek these views directly. In this sense, I intended to explore visitors' absences rather than presence. Many visitor surveys risk being self-fulfilling as they are too restrictive, being conducted within museum grounds already. My experience outside the museum space was very well received by individuals and

encouraged by staff members. I also carried out structured interviews with former members of museum staff; government officials employed by the ministries for culture and other heritage and tourism specialists in Mali and Ghana. The directors of both museum institutions told me they were grateful for my interest as it is often unfeasible for their own staff to conduct such research due to lack of time and for practical reasons. This is an important point, integral to my work, and one that I feel validated my research project further. Individuals were pleased that their opinions were asked and my own position (not as an employee of the state or a member of museum staff) allowed respondents to be frank and expressive with me as I was seemingly outside the institutional hierarchies of authority.

I invited a selection of 'non-visitors' into the museum. They came from diverse backgrounds (security guards, street hawkers, a vet and a hotel receptionist, for example) and in pairs, which I believe allowed for easy discussions as informants might otherwise have felt intimidated or examined upon entering this 'alien' space with someone who was foreign and from a differing academic background. The activities were worthwhile. I gained insight into perceptions and views that I could not have foreseen, I was able to integrate social observation of my guests in the gallery spaces into a set of direct social relationships (Walsh 1967) and this fed into Chapter 5 that addresses these issues within a phenomenological framework. In Accra I conducted an intimate focus study session with five students from a local Junior Secondary School (JSS). They had visited the museum before and expressed some strong opinions on levels of access and the artefacts displayed there. Using a pre-

selection of images, the discussions opened up debates over the widening of museum definitions.

Research at the National Museums in Bamako and in Accra led to questions about local participation with the institutions (or in some cases, lack of) and I decided to widen my research to include case studies in 'smaller' or rural settings such as the CultureBank in Mali, Manhyia Palace Museum and the Volta Regional Museum in Ghana. Within these contexts, the thesis focused on local audiences' involvement in the management, marketing, content and presentation of their museum. Particularly integral to this section of my research were questions over ownership of material culture on display. In the cases of the CultureBank and the Manhyia Palace Museum I spent over a fortnight living with the community, conducting interviews, carrying out surveys and consulting documents relevant to the institutions. As I explain in Chapter 6, my stay at the Volta Regional Museum in Ho was brief, but insightful and I decided to include the material in the thesis.

Considerations on cross-cultural museum studies

At this stage, it is necessary to reflect upon my own interpretations of cultural heritage and how they influenced the research of this project. Despite my familiarity with the cultures and societies in West Africa, particularly from repeated visits to Mali and the forging of long term friendships, I was of course at times acutely aware of being perceived as an outsider by my host community and of the consequences of carrying out research on cultural heritage influenced by my own social experience (Hallam and Street 2000). The first situation is not unique, for example after living for over forty years in Britain my French mother still encounters categorisations of herself as a foreigner. Were she to embark upon the discipline of social science, she might find herself confronted by a space where contexts of meaning are derived from a specific localised subjective context (of meaning) (Walsh 1967). Such positionings carry disadvantages but also advantages. Furthermore, interpretations or theoretical presuppositions always shape the data which is gathered (Phillips 1973: 115 in Ellen 1984: 27). Participating in a conference in Amsterdam, a Zambian museologist asked me why I was researching museums in Africa, with undertones that I was not an African and therefore should not embark in these studies. My own response is that ascribing to prescriptive notions of ownership of culture here serves to consolidate outmoded and negative dichotomies between 'us' and 'them'. Rather, I advocate cross-cultural research, welcome existing and potential African students of European heritage studies and museums for example, and I am thankful that my own project encountered positive encouragement both from museum staff across Mali and Ghana and from the individuals I met outside these spaces (see also Dia's comments cited

in Clifford [1997: 201]). Nonetheless, cross-cultural studies require certain factors to be taken into consideration. I was careful not to insert my own voice or opinions during conversations and to remain as neutral as possible, thus allowing my informants to express themselves more freely. Propositions that I have made in this thesis are built upon a wide range of information^{vii} and have been fully contextualised and supported by references, citations and other narratives collected throughout my research.

Another integral aspect to consider in the display and preservation of material cultural heritage is an acknowledgement that the 'European' or 'Western' obsession (particularly since the 1980s, see Lowenthal [1996]) with 'heritagisation' (Rowlands, conference *Cultural Heritage in China* 06.05.10)^{viii} is not necessarily shared. Indeed the extent of appreciation of the past remains as divided within European societies and cultures as those of Malian or Ghanaian. MacCannell (1976: 88) eloquently expressed this point within a European context, observing that negative attitudes towards past artefacts shift towards nostalgia when "the object in question is the last of its kind." I was particularly struck by a conversation with an intern at the cinema *le Babemba* in Bamako (pers. comm. 26.10.06). This entrepreneur in his mid-thirties' explained that he had no desire to visit the National Museum, and never had. He associated the National Museum with his ancestors and felt ashamed of and humiliated by their lack of achievements, arguing that if they had worked harder, Malians today would not be suffering from such extreme poverty-related issues. He asserted that younger Malians preferred visiting his cinema rather than the museum because they did not want to be reminded of the past and because they wanted to escape their present to "dream of a better future". In his opinion,

the National Museum served as a reminder of his nation's failures. Similar narratives are raised and discussed in Chapter 8. They illustrate how the effects of changing economic possibilities as well as a range of cultural factors, such as, for example, religious shifts can affect younger generations' responses to and interpretations of cultural heritage. The gradual growth of Islam in Mali has also contributed to the fact that people were uncomfortable with ritual artefacts placed in a museum context as part of their own historical heritage and by consequence, their public display. The shame devout Malian Muslims felt was repeatedly expressed to me. The son of a local Imam in Bamako (pers. comm. 22.01.07) reported that his father and his brother had expressly forbidden him from visiting the museum because of its associations with figurative and animist fetishes. A close friend and museum staff member confided to me during our visit to the galleries (pers. comm. anonymous 19.10.06) that she used to be embarrassed by the masks displayed as part of her heritage because her Islamic beliefs led her to reject these practices. According to my colleague, it took her a long time and a certain amount of education to consider this as part of her shared culture, to be celebrated and conserved alongside other key elements of her cultural history.

These interventions lead to a final remark regarding the construction of the past for the present. The director of the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park (KNMP) in Accra (pers. comm. Quaye 23.03.07) voiced his own concerns over the 'objectivity' of interpreting heritage for local contemporary audiences. At the time of my visit, a statue of former President Kwame Nkrumah (commissioned by Italian sculptor Nicola Cataudella, Crinson 2001: 247) stood at the entrance to the National Museum (see Chapter 5). The statue's arm was badly damaged

during the coup d'état in 1966 that overthrew the then unpopular President of Ghana. By the time of Ghana's celebration of its fiftieth anniversary, Nkrumah's image was renewed, revered and re-popularised by the general public and the media. The director wanted the statue to be restored to its original form. He resented the negative histories that the statue had at certain times represented. Opinions on this topic remained divided among other staff members according to their positionings, with respect to this history (see also Connerton 1989; Wilks 1996). Eddie (pers. comm. head of Education, KNMP 30.03.07) remained sceptical about the erasure or distortion of knowledge from the past in order to benefit those in the present. He claimed that "history should be objective, the statue should not be restored, that aspect of the story will be taken off". Ivor Wilks (1996: 4) also cautioned that within the context of (de)colonization, African historiography can be used as a powerful instrument for the political present (see also de Jorio 2006: 98)^{ix}. Whatever the outcome of these interpretations, it is impossible to take for granted that artefacts necessarily frame collective memory. Thus museums, memorial parks, and (we shall see in Chapter 2) International Exhibitions or World Fairs bear the peculiar burden of selecting the past to popularise it and so shape particular communal memories and identities (see Coombes 1994). It might be worth noting at this point on 'selective histories' or 'negative memories' such as, for example, for the Babemba employee cited above, that life under colonial rule in West Africa was rarely depicted in the national museums that I visited. To consider the "museum as an artifact" (Philip [1992: 104] lamented this missed opportunity by curator Jean Cannizzo) provides a fascinating 'window' on public perceptions of the past — as a form of emblematic chronology (MacCannell 1976: 79). It also potentially enables a reflexive interpretation of the making of current

communities and societies within contemporary settings. This is the core theoretical approach that I have applied to my research project and I do not enter into artefact analysis or the discipline of history of art relating to the material culture on display in the museums. I shall therefore now provide at this stage, following a section on country profiles, a brief exhibition review of the main galleries at the NMG and MNM below and return to the topic in Chapter 5, placed within a phenomenological framework.

Mali: country profile

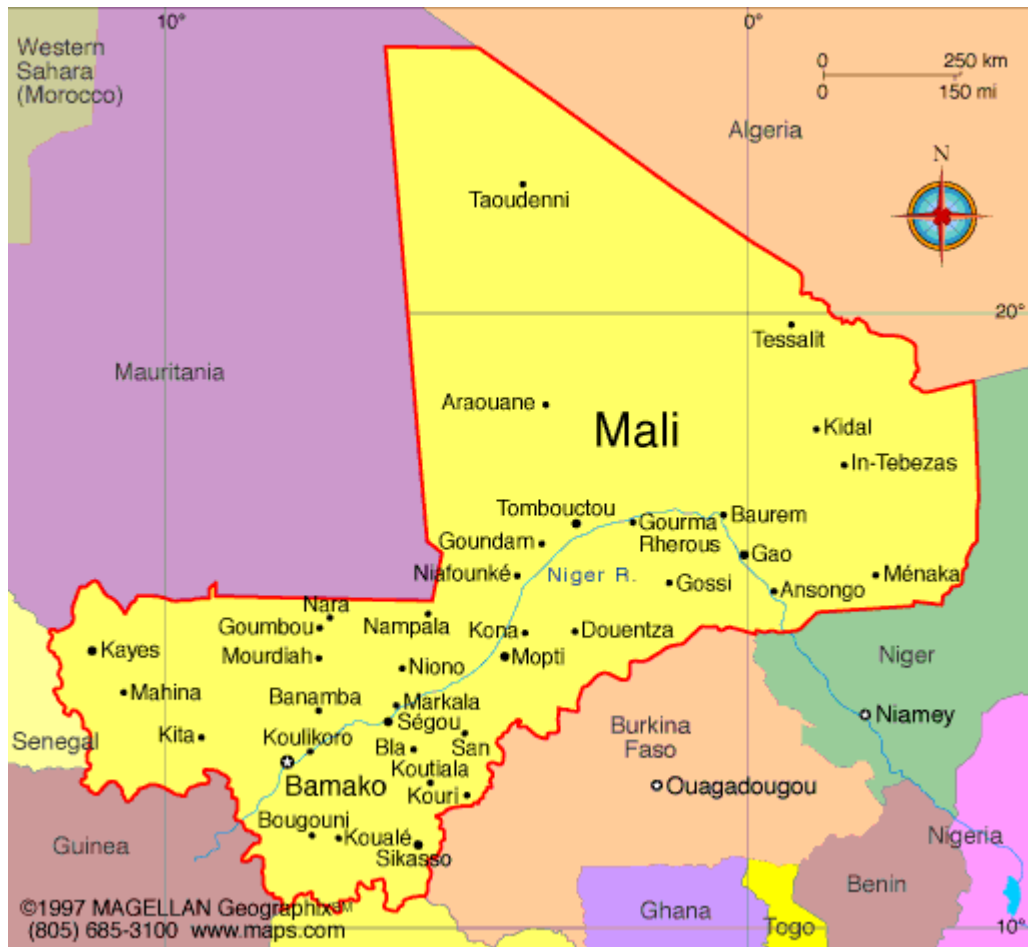


Figure 1: location map of Mali^x

The Republic of Mali, located southwest of Algeria is a vast 1,240,192 km² (Decraene 1980: 5) land-locked country with 20,000km² of water^{xi}. It is heavily dependent upon its neighbouring countries for external trade, sharing its borders with Algeria, Niger, Burkina Faso, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Senegal and Mauritania. Mali can be divided into three natural geographical regions: the Saharan area in the North, the Sahelian area to the south of the Sahara belt and the Sudanese in the South (Decraene 1980: 8). The climate varies from subtropical (in the south) to arid, hot and dry from the middle belt to the north, which receives only a few millimetres of annual rain. The river Senegal runs across the West of the country (1,600km) and the Niger river (4,200km) in the

South provides tens of thousands of square kilometres of alluviated land upon which its people (the vast majority live in the South) depend for agriculture, cattle-raising and fishing. The country is principally Islamic (90-98%) with a few Christians (mainly Catholics). Despite ongoing Islamisation some Muslim factions overlap with those of animism. Mali's populations are diverse, ranging from the predominantly nomadic pastoralists and traders, such as, for example, Tuareg and Peuhl/ Fulani speaking peoples to the sedentary Bamana (Malinke, Dioula, Marka), Senoufo (and Minianka), Sarakole (or Soninke), Songhaï, Dogon and Bobo speaking peoples. Smaller ethnic groupings include Toucouleur, Bolon, Bozo and Samogo speaking peoples. The country has eight administrative regions and its larger cities and towns include Bamako (the capital, which in 2009 had a population close to 2 million), Segou, Mopti, Kayes, Sikasso, Gao and Timbuktu. Gao in recent years has replaced Timbuktu as the crossroads for trans-Saharan trade. In 2008 only 32% of the population lived in urban centres^{xii}. In rural parts of the country people are largely engaged in fishing along the inland River Niger and agriculture (comprising of rice, millet, corn, vegetables and tobacco). Mali is an important cotton producer but has increasingly restricted access to the global market as a result of the high cotton subsidies paid out to US farmers, against which Malian politicians are currently lobbying^{xiii}. Other main exports include gold; Mali is the third highest African producer following South Africa and Ghana^{xiv}. With livestock (cattle, sheep, goats), cotton and gold constitute 80% of the nation's exports^{xv}.

In certain areas Mali has reached or is projected to reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). Gross education enrolment was at 80% in 2008^{xvi} and the ratio of access to drinking water has increased. However, according to

a combination of sources for country statistics such as the UNDP, the World Bank, Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and BBC, Mali is considered one of the poorest countries in the world. Adult illiteracy rates stand at 73.8%^{xvii} (compared to 35.0% in Ghana for over fifteen year olds between 1999-2007, UNDP 2009: 178)^{xviii}. In June 2007 life expectancy at birth was estimated at 48.1 years (UNDP 2009: 174). This compared with 56.5 years in Ghana (UNDP 2009: 173). The birth rate is high, currently approximately 45.62 births per 1,000 population estimated in 2011 (27.55 births per 1,000 population in Ghana est. 2011) with an average of 6.44 births estimated per woman in 2011^{xix}. The infant mortality rate in Ghana is at 48.55 deaths per 1,000 live births estimated in 2011, which contrasts significantly with 111.35 deaths per 1,000 live births in Mali estimated in 2011^{xx}. The country's total population was approximately 14.5 million in 2010^{xxi} with an annual growth rate of 4.5%^{xxii} and in Ghana; the total population was estimated to reach 24.5 million in 2010 in the Population and Housing Census^{xxiii} with a growth rate of 6.6%^{xxiv}.

In recent years, Mali has experienced an alarming rise in security issues due, in part, to its extensive permeable borders shared with countries particularly to the north (Algeria) and east (Niger). There have been serious terrorist incidents of kidnappings, death threats and attacks carried out on individuals from France, the US, Saudi Arabia, Canada, Spain and Britain. The Briton Edwin Dyer was executed by al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) on 3 June 2009. All kidnaps and attacks (except for one case in Gao and another in Hombori^{xxv}) were instigated in neighbouring countries and then brought across the border into Mali. Official US and British government warnings advise tourists not to travel to the regions outside of Bamako (and this area includes the regions of

Mopti, Timbuktu, the Eastern borders with Mauritania and the provinces of Kayes, Gao, Kidal, Koulikoro and Segou)^{xxvi}. In turn, media reports had disastrous consequences for Malians who depend upon cultural tourism as an economic resource, as culture is one of Mali's most important economic assets (de Jorio 2006: 88). At a meeting which included the individual responsible for the Sahel desk at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London, concerns were raised over briefings^{xxvii} that potential visitors needed to be made more aware that security threats targeted the vast northern regions of the country and that these are approximately three days' journey away from the safer regions surrounding Bamako. Similar views have been consistently expressed by the Malian government, and in the newspaper 'Le Republicain' (Dembele 16.11.10) the Prime Minister Modibo Sidibe reconfirmed the need to continue promoting tourist destinations that are in secure areas of Mali^{xxviii}.

Ghana: country profile

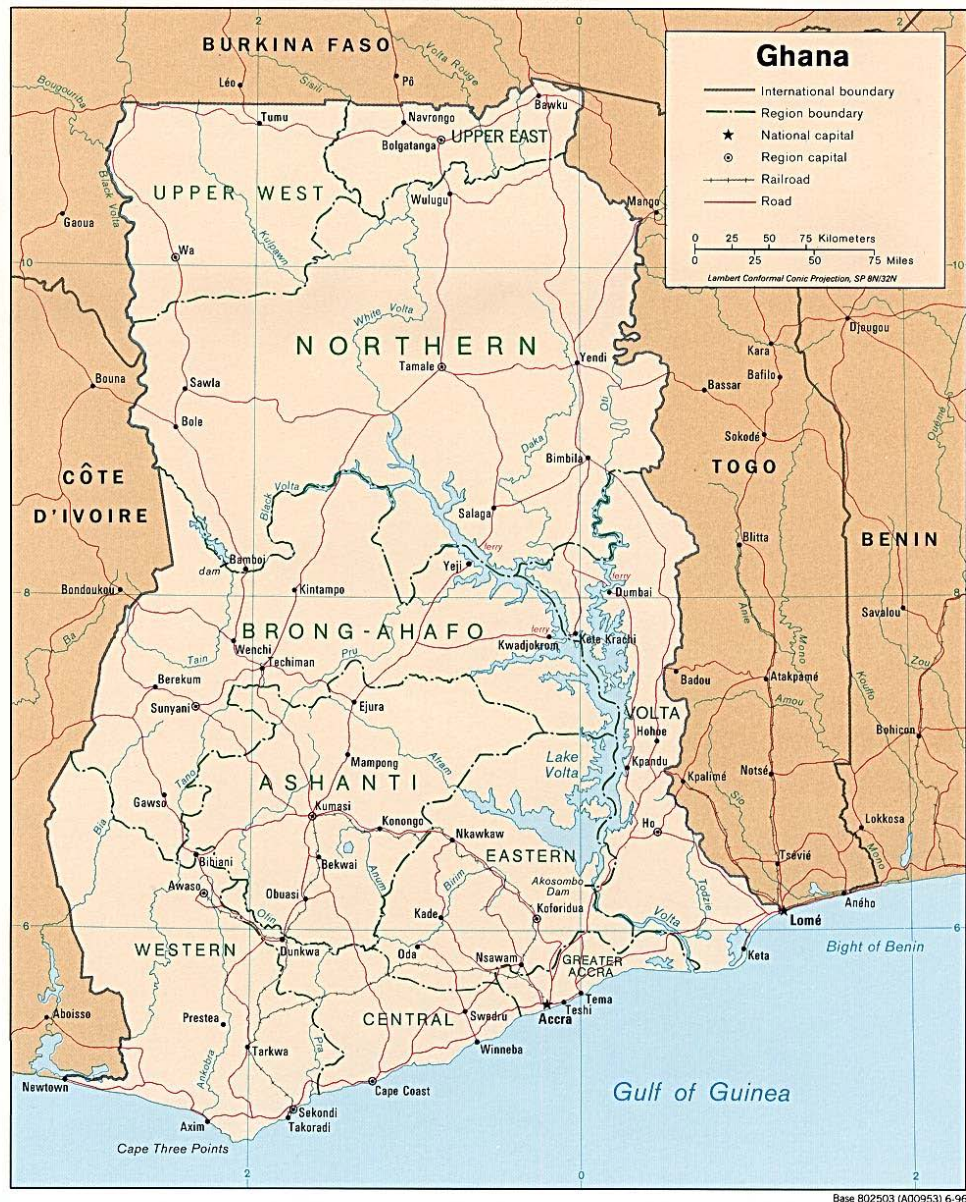


Figure 2: location map of Ghana^{xxix}

The Republic of Ghana is located in the centre of the West African coastline and shares its borders with the Ivory Coast in the West, Burkina Faso in the North and Togo in the East. It covers 238,540 km² (Gocking 2005: 1) of which 11,000 km² is water^{xxx}. A significant part of the latter comes from the artificial Lake Volta as a result of the Akosombo dam project in the late 1960s. The

Black Volta and the White Volta are tributaries of the lake and the Tano and Ankobra are two more rivers (to the West of the country). Ghana can be divided into two geographical regions. The more fertile South is made up of rainforest with evergreen and semi deciduous trees producing timber exports and cocoa across the middle belt in the Ashanti and Brong Ahafo regions. The cash crop cocoa is Ghana's second largest export (and the world's second largest)^{xxxii} after gold (Gocking 2005: 3). Gold constitutes 36% of all Ghana exports (tourism is the third largest revenue after cocoa and gold). Further mining includes manganese, diamonds, rich deposits of bauxite and aluminium and other natural resources include rubber, hydropower, salt, silver and limestone^{xxxiii}. Indigenous and often wild oil palms grow near the coast, as do coconut palms and food crops, such as, root crops or tubers, cocoyam, cassava, maize, millet, sorghum rice, banana and plantains. The northern region of savannah woodland produces shea nuts, groundnuts and cotton. Because of the drier conditions, there are less tsetse flies in this region and cattle raising is more frequent. In 2007 Ghana discovered major offshore oil reserves but these are not expected to flow until 2011^{xxxiii} and the West African Gas Pipeline (WAGP) has, since 2005 still not become fully operational. The main cities in Ghana are its capital (and seat of the Government) Accra (with a population of 3 million in 2004) followed by Tema, Takoradi, Cape Coast, Koforidua, Ho, Kumasi, Obuasi, Sunyani, Tamale and Bolgatanga. According to the CIA fact file, 51% of Ghanaians lived in urban centres in 2010^{xxxiv}. Although difficult to assess, with high levels of migration especially from Nigeria, the population remains predominantly Akan speaking peoples (such as the Asante, Fante, Akyem, Akwamu, Nizimas) who make up 45.3% of the population^{xxxv}, followed by Mole-Dagbani speaking peoples (such as the Nanumba, Mamprusi, Mossi, Frafra,

Talensi and Dagomba), the second largest ethnic groupings with 16% and living mostly in the Northern parts of the country (Gocking 2005: 10). The Ewe speaking peoples to the east of Lake Volta are followed by the Ga (in cosmopolitan areas especially Accra) and the Dangme speaking peoples. Ghanaians are largely Christian (63%) with rising numbers of Pentecostal churches. 16% of the population is Muslim (Gocking 2005: 11).

Exhibition and gallery overview: *le musée national du Mali* (MNM)



Figure 3: interior of the temporary exhibition gallery, musée national du Mali (2010)

The MNM has around 6,000 pieces in its collections^{xxxvi} in a range of materials and contains three permanent exhibition galleries (focused on textiles, ritual arts and archaeology) and a temporary exhibition gallery housed in a separate building often used for contemporary art works (figure 3). At the time of my research, the textiles' exhibition was demarcated according to modes of cloth production and consumption in Mali. It began by presenting the theme of cotton '*basin*' (dyed, tie-dyed, with raw samples and real carding utensils), bogolan (mud cloth)^{xxxvii}, indigo, woven wool, ancient Tellem^{xxxviii} pieces and concluded with a display in honour of the celebrated Malian fashion designer Chris Seydou (d.1994). The exhibition space had a series of eye-catching colourful displays of

local damask cloth (dyed cotton cloth) hung on the walls and from the ceiling. French architect Jean-Loup Pivin and Madagascan contemporary artist Joël Andrianomearisoa were responsible for the mis-en-scène of the textiles gallery. Finished samples that had been dipped into a fixative starch hung rigid to create the physical shape of a 'butterfly' effect. Bogolan hunters' shirts with amulets were displayed behind glass adjacent to a row of similar works detailing Arabic and other inscriptions. Indigo cloth made from treated cotton is a popular textile particularly among the Dogon. Balls of the rolled up natural indigo plant had been placed at low eye level in the display. Rows of cylindrical plinths had been covered with samples of the different styles of indigo dyed cloth. Two visually stunning and labour-intensive embroidered indigo shirts (boubous) formed the centrepiece of this section. They hung in a glass case allowing the visitor to examine the silk woven patterns on the front and back attentively. Accompanying texts explained their origins, dates and brief backgrounds. The section on wool contained large wall hangings of Fulani blankets (arkilla). Text panels illustrated the different motifs and usages employed in making this type of cloth and located the styles typically among the Fulani and Tuareg in the northern parts of Mali (where desert night temperatures drop to 4 or 5 degrees Celsius). Examples of bridal dowries, blankets, tent coverings and items of clothing were also included. The ancient Tellem cloths display was contextualised by large blown up images of the Dogon escarpment (the first photographs of the gallery). Samples dated from the 11th century, discovered during excavations in the cliff caves carried out largely by Rogier Bedaux and his team in the 1960s and 1970s (see Bedaux 2003). The Malian fashion designer, Chris Seydou, has been credited in the museum for exporting and popularising bogolan motifs to the rest of the world. Some of his original

creations hung on life-sized mannequins and photographs of the designer with his models adorned the walls.

At the start of the second gallery (entitled 'arts rituels'/ 'ritual arts') was a lengthy introductory text panel at the entrance that provided an overall background to the works on display. Shorter text panels accompanied the collections that had been loosely divided by categories defined as ritual function or by ethnic origin. There were no maps, timelines or images. The galleries' orientation guided the visitor through important secret and power masks such as, for example, the ntomo, korè, poro, kono and boli(w) with more secular works such as Fulani jewellery or puppet masks ('sogow', Arnoldi 2002). The calao bird (senoufo origin) was the initial sculpture that the visitor encountered and preceded a collection of bamanan initiation masks, such as the ntomo (for 5-10 year old boys) followed by the korè (used to build up masculine identity). The more dangerous 'police' masks followed such as the kòmò mask (see Chapter 5), the poro, kono and boli^{xxxix}. Together they constituted the museum's collection of important, sensitive and sacred ritual arts. Further works included the ciwara Bamanan masks and kanaga Dogon masks. All except the boliw were sculpted from wood. They were spotlit, displayed on raised plinths and platforms, some in glass cases, others in small alcoves dedicated to them alone (for example, a Bwa hanbé sculpture or the Senoufo calao bird sculpture). In this artefact-led gallery the works mostly 'spoke for themselves'.

The archaeology gallery was introduced by the museum catalogue (Sidibé, et al. 2006) as 'the cultures of yesterday' ('les cultures d'hier'). It was detailed, heavily text-dependent and academic. Many of the works originated from the

museum's early collections during the colonial period (see Chapter 3). In-depth supportive documentation (maps, timelines, photographs) accompanied displays of 11th century shards from Gao, 10th century vases from Timbuktu and funerary steles for example. A large section of the gallery addressed looting in the Sub-Saharan region and the consequential loss of vital information from illicitly plundered antiquities. Mali has been particularly vulnerable to the illegal trade of artefacts from the 1970s (see Sidibe 1995; McIntosh 1996; Messenger 1999 and Panella 2002). To exemplify commitment to this cause, the centrepiece of this section was an anthropomorphic figure unearthed from Djenné-Djeno (3rd century BC –14th century AD). Allegedly, upon the discovery that it had been looted and illegally exported, the former French president (and African art aficionado) Jacques Chirac who had received it as a gift, proceeded to offer the figure to the MNM in turn, as a gift^{xl}. The rest of the exhibition focused upon clay anthropomorphic and animal figures from the Western region of Mali (Tenekou), most of which had been requisitioned following illegal excavations. Further artefacts included headrests (11th century from the Dogon region near Bandiagara), Tellem textiles (above), statues, anthropomorphic lids, harpoons and iron axes.

Exhibition and gallery overview: The National Museum of Ghana (NMG)



Figure 4: main gallery, the National Museum of Ghana (2007)

The NMG had adopted a more versatile approach to curatorial presentation than the musée national du Mali. In the main galleries the museum visitor could combine looking at photographs (of Ewe puberty rites), see reconstructions (of a horse rider from the north) and dioramas (of huts with cooking utensils), observe a real weaving loom (for Kente cloth) and look at artefacts in glass cases but there was minimal supporting documentation besides basic descriptions and a few dates. The varied approach of curatorial styles had elicited some criticisms that the museum lacked coherence and led to confusion over what it was trying to achieve (pers. comm. Kodzo Gavua 22.03.07). The museum combined accessible approaches with formalist styles of display but in most cases, a contextual and/or intellectual background was lacking. Frequently

the most basic information (dates and origins) were not included or updated accurately, as an Italian visitor reflected in the comments book: “Quite good but no dates?! Zaïre does not exist anymore!!” (Luca Silversocn, 08.08.06)”^{xli}

The museum is housed in a circular building with the main gallery on the ground floor and a mezzanine running round the outer wall at first level. The centrepiece of the main permanent gallery was a collection of fifteen Akan stools in a tiered system. Five sections divided the rest of the room, beginning with adinkra and kente cloths, hung on the partitions, followed by a display of ritual carved figures, weapons and leather furnishings from the North. Halfway through the space the exhibition shifted to a display of musical instruments, a reconstruction of a rural hut (with cooking utensils) and photographs of Ewe puberty rituals. The overall impression of this main gallery was that it was themed in a highly ethnographic manner. To the sides, there were further exhibition sections with one on the transatlantic slavery period (see Chapter 7), another on coins and medals and one on masks and statues from the surrounding regions. Building extensions had allowed for two extra galleries containing craft utensils, metalwork, a model of a fishing boat and woodcarvings. To the right was a selection of contemporary mannequins representing dances from around the country and examples of activities from the northern territories, including a full sized model of a horseman in *batakari* (northern smock). A contemporary art gallery hosting temporary exhibitions completed the first floor of the museum. The mezzanine level contained showcases of excavations from Nubian kingdoms, the Nok people from Nigeria and archaeological finds from Kintampo. Reproductions of material culture of societies outside West Africa were on display at this level (a soapstone carving

from Zimbabwe, a marble portrait from Libya and Roman terracotta lamps for example) but were relegated to dusty corners, in poor condition and badly labelled. There appeared to be a lack of direction and sequence on both floors, which I return to in chapters four and six.

Chapter 2 Shifting paradigms of cultural heritage in 17th – 19th century

Britain and France

This chapter focuses on the trajectories that enabled the development of the modern public museum in Britain and France. The case studies referenced here trace those developments. Their documentation is necessary for understanding present day and permanent cultural institutions such as the national museums in West Africa that were based upon the models of the museum in Britain and in France in the early 20th century. The themes that will be explored reappear consistently within the field of museum studies and are integral features of the display of public culture. In subsequent chapters these themes will be revisited within the contexts of museums and cultural heritage projects in West Africa. The models adopted across West Africa, and their historical positionings, shaped their appropriations to West African contexts. I begin by considering the expansion of the (leisure and) public culture in 17th – 19th century Britain and France and the emergent secularisation of the arts away from, for example, the obsessive collection of holy relics for medieval European churches by monks from the 8th century onwards (Sturtevant 1969: 620; Mack 2003: 124; Bagnoli 2011).

The time-span covers three centuries, which is considerable, and there are major divergences in the development of museums as public institutions in Britain and in France due, in part, to historical events and to different modes of government, which will be flagged up in this chapter. A lack of delineating boundaries provided the author with the difficult task of when to establish chronological ‘cut-off lines’ — for instance, the British industrial revolution

occurred almost sixty years before the French (1750s and 1810s respectively) or the French Revolution of 1789 and its absence of an equivalent in Britain; likewise, the opening of the British Museum in 1753 saw its French counterpart in terms of importance and fame (the musée du Louvre) open forty years later in 1793. As a result, the author provides historical backgrounds where she feels necessary and treats British and French museologies separately.

2.1 From curiosity cabinets to museums

Famous early examples of curiosity cabinets, or *Wunderkammer*^{xlii} included the Archduke of Austria and Ole Worm's famous cabinet in Denmark. Such work reflected the growing recognition of the potential educational roles of collections. By 1587 in Germany, Gabriel Kaltemarckt (translated by Gutfleisch and Menzhausen 1989: 8) had advised Christian of Saxony to create a curiosity cabinet in order to "encounter the events of history [...] as a strengthening of memory". Although they were not immediately effective, Kaltemarckt's advocacies bear remarkable resemblance to contemporary justifications for the preservation and display of material culture that will resurface in subsequent chapters.

Early developments of 'museums' in Europe however, began in Bologna, Italy in the late 16th century by two individuals Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522-1605)^{xliii} and Antonio Giganti (1535-98). Marking a shift away from the pre-eminent Medici families' private collections of art^{xliiv} they altered the direction of Italian museology from private and disorderly presentations to more publicly organised displays. They provided early examples spanning natural science to 'ethnography' that were, furthermore, intended to be shared with the public. Antonio Giganti was secretary to the humanist Lodovico Beccadelli and to the Archbishop of Bologna, Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (Laurencich-Minelli 1985: 17). Much of his 'ethnographic' collections were acquired and assembled as gifts to the church from overseas (the Americas, West Indies and the Middle East). He selected a visual display of works in his museum, alternating dissimilar artefacts and grouping them according to ordered subject headings

(ibid: 21). Ulisse Aldrovandi, a professor and naturalist, linked his own museum to the University of Bologna in 1603. Upon his death his collections and library were officially bequeathed to the Senate of the University of Bologna and made publicly accessible to scholars by 1617^{xiv}. It was considered by Schaer (1993: 22) to be possibly the first true example of a “*theatrum naturae*”, in other words, an open display space for public access.

The two cases from Italy illustrate a pioneering shift away from the paradigm of the curiosity cabinets. In her work, Laurencich-Minelli (1985) referred consistently to Aldrovandi and Giganti’s institutions as ‘museums’. She noted that after Aldrovandi and Giganti, the term *Wunderkammer* could no longer be applied to Italian museography. Neither Giganti nor Aldrovandi had begun to divide their collections according to present day taxonomies and despite allegedly being open to the public both remained, in practice, reserved for the distinct elite few.

In late 16th century Britain, curiosity cabinets tended to be formed by individuals with the social status of ‘gentlemen’, such as astronomers, geologists, naturalists, botanists and other learned men. The antiquarian and historian Sir William Camden published the first county-by-county survey of Britain in 1586 and objects acquired from his travels stimulated new interests outside of popular classical paintings and sculptures. Camden and his student (Sir Robert Cotton) undertook a trip to the northern counties to expand upon Cotton’s existing collection (mainly made up of manuscripts)^{xvi}. Sir Walter Cope (d.1614) who was an acquaintance of Cotton also created one of the earliest and most famous British cabinets (visited by the King of Denmark in 1606 [MacGregor

1989: 75]). As a keen traveller, Cope's collection included foreign works that were added to his samples of natural history and fantastic curios. Upon visiting Cope's cabinet in 1599 the Swiss collector Thomas Platter remarked that the room was filled with strange and exotic things such as "Virginian fire-flies and an 'Indian' canoe, an African amulet made of teeth, cloaks and coats from Arabia, an Egyptian mummy, clothing, porcelain and other items from China, and a Javanese costume" (MacGregor 1985: 148). Other records describe assemblages of holy relics, hairy caterpillars, manuscripts, cucumber plants, unicorns' tails and paintings. Although developments of British cabinets generally lagged behind those on the continent (Lidchi 1997: 155), by the turn of the 17th century, Cope's work demonstrated that ethnographic artefacts sourced by their owners had begun to enter their collections. This was incidentally an important factor in maintaining accurate records and compiling inventories and catalogues.

Collections also began as botanical garden displays, such as the botanical gardens at the University of Oxford (1633)^{xlvii} and became important and valuable assemblages of works (of over 80,000 in some cases), carefully selected according to different categories and for the furthering of knowledge. Following on from Cope, a mainly botanical collection by the Tradescants, a father and son team of botanists, significantly influenced 17th century British cabinets and museums. By the time the elder John Tradescant (d1638) had begun to work for the Duke of Buckingham in 1623, he was familiar with Cope's cabinet and his plant-collecting trips had taken him abroad. Under the Duke of Buckingham's patronage, a plea was addressed to the Secretary of the Navy to bring back curios from overseas to enhance Tradescant's increasingly

extensive collection. Guidelines for what to collect suggested: “All manner of Beasts & fowells and Birds Alyve or If Not With Heads Horns Beaks... or Seeds Plants or Shrubs [...]” (MacGregor 1985: 149)^{xlviii}. The younger John Tradescant (1608-62) also travelled extensively and continued to add his own findings to the expanding collection, which he inherited. He compiled and published an accompanying catalogue for his collection in 1656, which he called ‘Musaeum Tradescantianum: or A Collection of Rarities’ and in which, most significantly, the collections were separated into *Naturall* and *Artificialls* (Tradescant and Hollar 1656: preface)^{xlix}.

Perhaps the most remarkable legacy of the Tradescants’ collection stems from their consistent commitment to the public. In contrast to many of the previous cabinets, the collection was made more accessible to ordinary members of the public. The visitor von Uffenbach complained bitterly in 1710 on his Oxford trip for example, of having to share his experience with “peasants and women-folk who gaze at the library as a cow might gaze at a new gate” (Uffenbach, Quarrell and Quarrell 1928: 3). In line with criticisms over the elitism and vanity generally associated with cabinets and in advocating their educational value, Tradescant’s colleague, collaborator and astronomer, Elias Ashmole early on impressed upon the Tradescants the *utility* of their collections for public use and for the nation — two factors which subsequently became incorporated into notions of the modern public museum and public space. Commitment to public access and learning was renewed when Ashmole inherited (albeit under dubious circumstances) the ‘Tradescant Ark’ after 1662. Adding to the collection his own medals and manuscripts and no doubt influenced by the scientific societies at the time¹, Ashmole donated the entire collection to the University of

Oxford (Altick 1978: 12), a year after acquiring important collections of African works (Bassani and McLeod 1985: 248). The Ark was renamed the 'Ashmolean Museum' and rarities continued to be deposited there by merchants and other travellers. As a space to share and stimulate discussions on the collections, a lecture hall and laboratory were built according to the wishes of Ashmole. The collections of natural and artificial works were further divided, being allocated to the Anatomy school and to the Bodleian Library respectively.

However, many important curiosity cabinet collections did not make transition to museum status as ordered collections for public display. Amongst these notable examples is an eclectic collection by John Bargrave (1610-80) who instructed young men undertaking the Grand Tour in Europe. For practical reasons, most of his collections were therefore of a portable nature — a Frenchman's finger from Toulouse and a chameleon from Algiers provide some curious examples. In Scotland, a collection was assembled by Sir James Balfour (1600-57) and inherited by his younger brother Sir Andrew Balfour (1630-94). It was donated to the University of Edinburgh but did not survive and was dispersed within fifty years.

Robert Hubert (alias Forges) (d1666)^{li} and Dr John Woodward (1665-1728) assembled further important cabinets. Dr John Woodward's cabinet reflected a specialisation in minerals and fossils that illustrated to what extent collections were shaped by their owners' individual characters and reflected their interests. Woodward manifested an interest in the commonplace. It was not just fantastic, rare or precious pieces that found their way into his cabinet, but everyday things, as his *Brief Instructions for the making of Observations* (1696) indicated.

Concern for the 'everyday' reflected the growing desire to amass concerted knowledge in encyclopaedic paradigms of collections that had now become characteristic of the 18th century. Collections were also amalgamated. Sir William Charleton or Courten's (1642-1702) cabinet was built up over twenty-five years of continental travel. Then in 1702 his and the entomologist and zoologist James Petiver's (1663-1718) collection of natural specimens from East India and the New World were sold in 1718 to join Sir Hans Sloane's collection (Edwards 1870: 290; Altick 1978: 15). Sir Hans Sloane (1660-1753) was an Irish apothecary and the president of the Royal Society (Miller 1974: 38). A report of King George III's visit to Sir Hans Sloane shortly before his death remarked on the collection as "an ornament to the nation; [... for] the benefit of learning and how great an honour will redound to Britain, to have it established for publick use [...]" (in Burnett and Reeve 2001: 11). Sloane's famous collection of 79,575 pieces (Schaer 1993: 35) was bequeathed to the state with a system of trusteeship for £20,000 and became the first great national museum according to Stocking (1985: 7). It was to set the template for the archetypal British museum destined to impress and to inspire the public (Horne 1984: 17). The formation of the British Museum (BM) was to signal the definite break with cabinets of rarities, cabinets of curiosities, of fantastic curios, chaotic displays and marked the beginning of the future of the modern museum as a national and public institution in Britain.

Collectors and academics began to acknowledge their educational responsibilities towards the public and the need to generate and strive for more accurate information. According to Defert in France (1982: 17 appendix 1:1), within emergent scientific discipline, superstitious thoughts were increasingly

rejected in favour of a search for a rationale of scientific reasoning that lent support to emerging theoretical discourses^{lii}. In Britain, cabinets that were donated to and cared for by the state or other recognised institutions tended to have more *endurance* than those that were inherited and passed down through family members (Hunter 1985: 159, see also Reigl 1903 in Forty and Küchler 1999: 115). This was not always the case but in general, the late 17th century marked the change from short lived confusing arrays of fantastical objects to permanent museums located in universities^{liii} and linked to other public scientific institutions. By the early 18th century, collections in Britain had changed too, to include technological inventions (watches, thermometers, weapons) and were increasingly referred to as “museums”^{liv} rather than as “repositories”^{lv} (Miller 1974: 35). The term ‘cabinets’ was subsequently rejected (Bredekamp 1995: 9).

As trade^{lvi} and overseas travel continued to expand^{lvii}, an increasing amount of ethnographic material was added to collections across Britain. In writing about this period, the curator and Africanist William Fagg (in Braunholtz 1970: 8) described the work of Sloane and his contemporaries as literally providing a shop window of exotic artefacts for members of English society. He added that, in turn, society was shaped by the attitudes of these collectors towards the artefacts displayed and by the ways in which they were interpreted. The mid 18th century museum had begun to fulfil those aspirations of being able to encounter the whole world (as interpreted) in one space. Peter Mundy who visited the ‘Tradescants’ collection in 1634, for example, had exclaimed that he was “almost perswaded a Man might in one daye behold and collecte into one place more Curiosities than hee should see if hee spent all his life in Travell” (Mundy and Temple 1919: 1-3). These interpretations recall John Mack’s (2003:

16) discussions of and references to Camillo's *theatre of memory* in 16th century Italy. To be able to learn about the world from inside a British 'cabinet' epitomised 16th and 17th century thought about the Empire, learning, knowledge and power relations with the world.

2.2 Social changes and the diffusion of knowledge in Britain and France (1750-1850)

With the shifts to industrialisation and major changes in social and economic formations, collections and public projects of education and nation were reorganised by the social elites and upper classes as major tools of knowledge, and their discursive fields centred on emergent notions of citizenship within the state. Sometimes termed 'the Age of Enlightenment', this period^{lviii} referred more to new paradigms of knowledge dependent on new forms of discourse about the material world within intellectual circles rather than on a series of concrete discoveries (see Yolton, et al. 1991). Scientific progress however began to challenge previously accepted truths, particularly with regards to the church. Added to these new ways of thinking were the effects of profound transformations within society due to industrialisation and changing working lives, and as they inter-related, these social changes were of critical influence in shaping the birth of the modern museum.

Mid to late 18th century Europe was characterised by periods of political unrest and punctuated by a series of wars (such as the Seven Year War of 1756 – 1763) and revolutions (the French Revolution, 1789) that created long lasting tensions between France and Britain who were vying to be dominant powers in the expansionist world of mercantile trade^{lix}. In Britain, the Industrial Revolution in the 1750s led to a sharp rise in urbanisation. Trade unions were made legal in 1825, four years later Livingstone started to explore the hinterlands of Africa, and in 1837 Queen Victoria (1819-1901) took to the throne from William IV. In comparison, France lost its hold as a major colonial power in the Americas and

at home, civil unrest culminated in the French Revolution. After the Revolution, Napoléon Bonaparte led France in a series of intense overseas campaigns in the late 18th century to re-boost national pride. He was defeated in 1815 and France (and the rest of Europe) passed through industrialization phases subsequent to Britain. The Paris' industrial exhibition in 1844 inspired the British to hold the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1850 and launched the series of International Exhibitions that will be covered in part 2.3 of this chapter.

2.2.1 Stately homes and national heritage in Britain

Urbanisation and social life in late 18th century Britain had led to an emergent middle class, with rising literacy rates and an increased interest in the arts. Members of the middle class congregated in coffee houses to discuss the latest discoveries and to emulate each other's behaviour, airs and graces as key to progress (Habermas 1989; Anderson 1991; Brewer 1997: 35). For those who could afford it, social activities included a 'Grand Tour' to Europe (with the publication of travel books), especially to discover the classical arts in Italy^x. Increased access abroad as well as domestic travel popularised art collecting, and acquisitions were used to decorate British country houses of the landed gentry.

Country houses acquired from the profits of the expanding British Empire tended to be more spacious and lavishly decorated than town houses. Places such as Harewood House (Yorkshire), Kedleston Hall (Derbyshire) or Syon House (Middlesex) became important showcases for the display of private art collections. They were designed to impress upon their visitors values of the

elite, reflecting the refined taste and the extent to which its proprietors were 'travelled', 'civilised' and 'cultivated' individuals. Both British and European individuals filled their private galleries with acquisitions from the Tours. Owners allowed members of the public to visit their estates and parks through 'open days' and by the 1780's they issued admission tickets, sold tea, guidebooks and other souvenirs. Stately homes became another space for the public to mingle and to emulate good manners. Outcomes were on one level the shift and display of art collections for the first time from an urban to a rural milieu. On another level was the concept of a shared and national ownership: the collections were being *shared* with the nation, who also had a vested interest in them and laid the foundations for the development of the 'heritage industry' (Cameron 1971: 16). In a similar way to the curiosity cabinets of the 17th and 18th centuries, stately homes provided an innovative context for fine art to shift from the private into the public realm. Historically, the role of the privately-owned homes introduced the multiplicity of legitimising voices in heritage discourses before the monopoly of the state (Hall 2000: 4; Rowlands 2002: 108).

2.2.2 Class distinction and the civilising mission of the museum in Britain

The public dissemination of ideas was also encouraged in the late 18th and early 19th centuries through a relatively free press that had been developing since John Locke (1632-1704) advocated Western liberalism in Britain. After 1694 one could print without a government-granted license and literacy rates steadily increased throughout the 18th century (Brewer 1997: 93-97). Dr Samuel Johnson published the first concise English dictionary in 1755 and Denis

Diderot, a 35-volume encyclopaedia in France (1765). Popular topics spread a diversity of intellectual ideas and social issues (see Mack interview by Kingston 2003: 17) such as law and order, crime and punishment, equality for women and education for the masses. The masses were addressed — and utilised — as an anonymous bounded political entity or national community (Anderson 1991; Bennett 1995; Barber 2007: 142, for example). Public culture was reconfigured within public spaces (a key initial role of museums) and towns underwent massive transformations, with public imposing municipal architecture and gardens, facilities for theatres and music and bookshops with novels catering to an expanding literacy.

Alongside concerns about new ideas of citizenship, new modes of production, distribution and consumption dramatically transformed workers' lives from rural agricultural labour to factory work in new towns. The rise in employment opportunities generated more wealth and introduced the concept of 'leisure' for the first time among the working classes. Britons had time to travel, and had increased access to seaside resorts where mechanical fairgrounds gained huge popularity. Fairgrounds contributed another dimension to the modern public museum in the early 19th century, shaping the museums and the cities they were in, presenting innovative forms of 'spectacle' (see Bennett 1988: 78). Fairgrounds were part of a social process that triggered greater demands for public spaces as antitheses to work, as places for the public to be *entertained*, to enjoy whilst learning, and initially their establishment encouraged a positive reflection of progressive industrial civilisation (Bennett 1988: 86). Museums in turn have inherited from this period as well as through International Exhibitions (see 2.3) the, often complex, dichotomy between leisure and education

(Giebelhausen 2003: 4). These important factors have contributed to an increasingly diversified approach to displays of material cultural heritage.

Class distinction was becoming, ideologically, increasingly divisive at the turn of the 19th century in Britain. Whereas members of the elite classes advocated civility, politeness and intellect, the middle and working classes placed greater emphases on religion and morality, sobriety, work and respectability. Public moralists worried over behaviours such as prostitution, violent animal sports, drunkenness, disorderly behaviour and rising crime rates in London. Instilling moral values through the acquisition of knowledge and cultivation of etiquette by public 'mingling' became public issues (Borsay and Proudfoot 2002: 204). Paternalistic attitudes were combined with genuine notions of 'duty' and 'obligation' towards the lower classes that were perceived as needing to be 'saved'. These attitudes were later to be perpetuated within the rather less liberal context of overseas expansion and the civilising missions of the late 19th century (Chapter 3). Across Britain, local governments were made responsible for promoting local museums and libraries in the hope that the beneficial aspects of learning and appreciation of the arts would improve society (Walsh 1992: 25). The museum movement was already being promoted although it was not until the mid 19th century that public spaces, such as, for example, department stores, large-scale exhibitions and museums and galleries genuinely began to open up to allow for class mingling (Bennett 1995: 20). Matters of general welfare were partly generated by paternalistic concern but, of course, also by what Rowlands (2002: 108) referred to as the "desire to manage civic consciousness" and by the fear of public uprising and rifts that

would cause dangerous divides in the body politic, as mirrored below in the context of the legacies of the French revolutionaries.

In the pursuit and classification of knowledge, scholars and collectors rejected the paradigm of curios and rarities of the previous century and reorganised their collections according to a new sequential order and logic. By the late 1790's the rearrangement of objects followed a more linear trajectory (Stafford 1994: xxvii). Previously accepted truths were challenged. It was believed possible to learn about the world by ordering it correctly (Harvey 1996: 179). In 1807, the British Museum added its fourth department ('Antiquities') and recognised the scientific value of ethnographic artefacts linked to the expanding Empire^{lxi}. Artefacts themselves yielded more information as geologists and archaeologists replaced antiquaries, and knowledge of composition, conservation and restoration improved considerably (Alexander and Alexander 2008: 9). New academic societies (the Royal Society was founded in 1660 and the Society of Antiquaries in 1707) focussed on the emergent disciplines of science and flourished. The Royal Geographical Society was founded in 1830^{lxii}; the British Association for the Advancement of Science in 1831 and the Ethnological Society of London was created in 1842^{lxiii} (Stocking 1985: 7). Where these societies' events remained very much private and elitist affairs (and without any involvement or support from the state), they helped to launch what Sturtevant (1969: 622) termed the 'Museum period of anthropology'. Museums began to occupy the important (state-controlled) intermediary role of mediating and sharing knowledge with the public, thus linking the societies, the state and publics.

2.2.3 Between the monarchy and the state: public access to the arts in France

In mid 18th century France dissent led to the challenging of authoritarian institutions (the Royal Courts) and establishing greater rights for the common people. The philosopher Voltaire (1694-1778) gained public support in attacking the King and the Church. Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) questioned the relation of the individual to the state, recasting them with the notion of the 'social contract' (undermining justifications for a monarchy and ruling elite). The relatively novel concept that France (and her material cultural heritage) belonged to the nation and not just to the ruling classes (or to the royal family, as Louis XIV had advocated) began to spread (McClellan 1994: 190). The realisation that heritage could circulate and be shared in public spaces by ordinary members of the public outside of the elite classes for the first time recalled similar shifts that occurred at the stately homes in Britain and that opened up public access towards national heritage in the 1780s.

In the early 1770s the royal art collections were kept out of the public eye at Versailles but the philosophers Lafont, Voltaire and Diderot argued for the collections to be moved to the old Louvre Palace. Diderot hoped that the Louvre would rival the famed museum of Alexandria (Alexander and Alexander 2008: 28). They argued that the collections be made accessible to the wider public and subsequently be engaged in the *creation* of a 'public' (Duncan 1995: 22), stating that the move would represent not only the King's glory but also the glory of the *nation* (Duncan and Wallach 1980: 453). Their arguments asserted the importance of access to national treasures in society and the political role of

heritage in unifying the nation. In 2004, Neil MacGregor drew parallels between the BM and Diderot's Encyclopaedia. He contrasted that, whereas Diderot was imprisoned and his work banned, the BM was created by parliament "specifically to promote intellectual inquiry [...]".

By the time of Louis XVI (1754-1793) the importance of access to heritage and the precarious situation of the monarchy were recognised and a committee was formed in 1777 to initiate the transformation of the Museum Central des Arts (renamed the Louvre art gallery) to house the Royal art collection. The Museum eventually opened to the public with the Royal collections in 1793. Important legacies of the French Revolution emerged as a result of bringing down oppressive hierarchies. Where Kingly rule had been conceptualised as a supposedly divine order, now, 'triumphs' and other discoveries (in science or technology) challenged this order and gained more importance. Alexandre Lenoir, for instance, inaugurated historical approaches to display at his 'musée des monuments français' in 1795 (Bazin 1968: 85). A sense of new direction, not necessarily influenced by a sense of *superiority*, but more of *responsibility* towards supposedly less educated societies began to develop and grow. This sense of duty or obligation that underlay the concept of the French *mission civilisatrice* helps us to understand some of the psychologies of French attitudes that re-emerged in the ideological framings of colonial expansion in the late 19th century (see Conklin 1997 and Chapter 3).

The Louvre collections were considerably enriched during Napoléon Bonaparte's aggressive overseas campaigns, especially in Italy (1796) and Egypt (1799). They echoed the imperial practices of the Romans who displayed

the booty of their conquests in public spaces to instil pride among its own citizens. Bonaparte was absolutely devoted to the Louvre. He renamed it the 'musée Napoléon' in 1803 (just three years after his first visit) and filled it with masterpieces acquired as war booty from Italy, Germany, Austria, Spain, and later, Egypt^{lxiv}. 'Trophy exhibitionism' was a deliberate attempt to project and to restore the French Republic to its former image of power and glory. Works were paraded through the streets of Paris in an impressive public display of triumph (Alexander and Alexander 2008: 30). The courtier, artist, art historian, collector, traveller, diplomat and extraordinary individual Vivant Denon (1747-1825) was a key player in developing the musée Napoléon. He accompanied the Emperor with a group of artists, archaeologists, scientists and other scholars^{lxv} on most of his campaigns (including Egypt) and as director-general was later entrusted with organising the collections, purchases and war booty for the musée (for further discussions on Denon's contribution to the Louvre collections, see Trigger 1984: 358; McClellan 1994; Chatelain 1999 and Russell 2005). The potential of museums to transform, strengthen and unite notions of citizenship thus became further acknowledged in France. The exterior of the Louvre was designed to impress French publics and foreign visitors alike; its creation and museological status were responsive to the ideological motivations at the time.

2.3 “The exhibitionary complex” (Bennett 1988): International Exhibitions in London and Paris (1850-1900)

“International exhibitions had an enormous impact on institutional aspects of the fine art world. Because of them, museums and galleries were built, temporary art exhibitions became commonplace and arts administrative bodies grew into huge organisations.” (Greenhalgh 1988: 21)

Within the contexts of mass consumption, rising colonial expansion and international competition, the increasingly public dimension of museums and exhibitions in Paris and London contributed significantly to the shaping of the modern public museum (with the ‘Museum Period’ from the 1840’s to 1890’s — the *apogée* came after the 1870’s, Sturtevant 1969: 622; van Keuren 1984: 172). These spaces were recognised as a means of advancing new formulations of the citizen that underpinned the secular nation state. Museums became valuable tools for disseminating state ideologies. Categories of material culture and even of people were constructed and defined from the mid 19th century onwards through museums, exhibitions at the Worlds Fairs and through mass media. Proceeds from Exhibitions also helped to launch some important museums^{lxvi} (as well as increased attendance to existing institutions^{lxvii}). Exhibitions became imposing productions spread over several city blocks, impressing and informing the public on the grandeur of the French and British Empires, though these were dealt with in different ways. To describe in detail all the exhibitions from 1850-1900 (there were eight main ones in Paris and London alone) is beyond the scope of this thesis. Instead, this section captures the salient points in a chronological order in terms of relevance to the rest of this research project. A more detailed review of the exhibitions can be found in

appendix 4 that annotates the key characteristics corresponding to the historical events occurring at the time.

The International Exhibitions emerged from a series of industrial exhibitions in Britain (1798 – 1849) and France (1798 – 1849 [Plinval de Guillebon 2006: 13]). The 1844 French Industrial Exhibition inspired the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851 and signalled the shift from demonstrations of latest mechanical inventions for the benefit of industry experts towards *products* of production for mass audiences (Bennett 1988: 94). The Paris and London Exhibitions in the second half of the 19th century facilitated an increase in state involvement with the public sphere. They provided a vital space for communicating a new national order, corresponding to the geo-political climate at the time as they attracted increasingly larger audiences (in 1851 six million visitors attended, and in 1889 in Paris, attendance rose to above 32 million).

Works at the Crystal Palace Exhibition (1851) were purposefully ordered and displayed to impress that Britain was one of the leading nations in terms of industry, trade, economy, colonial expansion and military prowess, and to demonstrate its industrialised lead to other invited nations. The 1855 Paris Expo introduced the concept of thematic exhibitions^{lxviii} with a particular focus on French expansion in the colonies. From this point on, France and especially Britain began to use the Fairs to promote agricultural and mineral products imported from their colonies that were consumed by their publics. In Paris in 1867, categories were reorganised according to 'nature' and 'nation' in attempt to elevate French 'civility' above other nations (in 1862, a popular guided tour that was derived from Social Darwinism had been on offer). Five years' after the

Berlin Treaty in 1884 (following the Congress of Berlin that was set up to regulate European territories in Africa), in order to demonstrate French 'civility' in their West African colonies, the following topics, for example, "indigenous languages, slavery, barbaric customary law, and 'feudal' chieftaincies" were singled out and substituted by the republican merits of "common language, freedom, social equality, and liberal justice" (Conklin 1997: 6). The organisers of the 1889 Exhibition were also particularly keen to reassure and boost national pride as it coincided with the centennial of the French Revolution. Among the military parades, singing of *la Marseillaise* and calls for peace, they focused on the liberal heroes of 1789 and avoided references to the Terror of the First Republic. This befitted state control touching upon issues of "cultural amnesia" (Rowlands 2002: 111) so as to forget those traumatic events that risked affecting a sense of collective unity. The Exhibition organisers dealt with a past that was re-interpreted in order to correspond to the needs of the present. This is a feature that will re-emerge in further discussions on museums and their representations of the past in ensuing chapters.

The intentions of the Exhibition organisers acting on behalf of the state were on the whole, conscious, their efforts deliberate, dramatic, and the supposedly beneficial aspects of colonial expansion and exploitation (from 1850 to 1880) were disseminated in different ways to mass audiences in Paris and London. Public spaces were increasingly being transformed into colonial public spaces, of which exhibitions and museums were a significant part. In Britain, the popularity of stereoscopes at Crystal Palace provides a clear example of public 'manipulation'. Three-dimensional images of attractive overseas landscapes were used to promote service in the colonies and one million were sold within

the first three months of the Exhibition. In Britain and in France, modes of communication such as newspapers, illustrated magazines, photography (including postcards), as well as lectures, theatre and public music halls also diffused ideas about the Empires and relations overseas with the 'exoticised other' (Karp and Kratz 2000: 197; Schneider 1982; Benedict 1983; Edwards 1992; Bennett 1995). Popular press (*Le Petit Journal* in Paris was launched in 1863) recounted exciting and enticing tales of explorers and other so-called heroes^{lxix}. At the 1886 Exhibition in London, the Prince of Wales was desperate for public support for imperial expansion. He sought to encourage visitors' interests in overseas investment and in the making of new publics by familiarising them with overseas goods, commissioning a restaurant serving colonial cuisine and a market selling indigenous fruit and vegetables that had been shipped over frozen (Steffel 1990: 96).

At the 1878 World Fair in Paris, France had been in a sombre mood, its pride still suffered from the loss of Alsace-Lorraine in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 and the Exposition committee refused to accept paintings that depicted battle scenes. However, the organisers did decide that it was time to turn to the future and organise an international festival (see Chandler 1990). There were lectures, events at a concert hall, twenty-two statues representing the main world Powers, and celebrations of French engineering with a series of elaborate water features and a miniature underground railroad. In 1878 railway expansion was presented as "the means of communication that civilization extends and establishes itself most securely" (Freycinet 31/12/79 cited in Baumgart 1982: 28). French efforts to promote life in the colonies appealed to sentiments of *la mission civilisatrice* rather than trade. The three political messages conveyed at

the 1889 exposition in Paris were “reconciliation, rehabilitation at home and imperial supremacy abroad” (Silverman 1977: 71). With a greater emphasis on arts and culture than the British (in 1855 their weapons fell within the category of decorative arts rather than machinery), colonial Africa was presented again in 1900 in the hope of reigniting pride from overseas territorial expansion in Africa. Reconstructions of native life, local arts and crafts and shows sprawled across the colonial pavilions, the *Palais du Trocadéro* and the *Pont d’Iéna*.

Alongside the Exhibitions it became gradually apparent from the *Jardins d’Acclimatation* in Paris and the London Exhibition of 1862 onwards that the general public expected to be entertained and to see novel things. Conscious of having to entice visitors with attractive and exciting displays for financial survival, the *Jardins* also began to host a series of popular ethnographic exhibitions. Tensions gradually emerged out of these Exhibitions between the whims of the general public, representatives of the government and the scientific community (Broca’s Paris Anthropological Society was founded in 1876 [Jolly 2001: 150]). By the 1890’s more exhibitions were inaugurated across Paris by government and colonial officials than by anthropologists or ethnographers, signalling a shift towards state authority and towards entertainment (see appendix 4). One of the significant legacies that International Exhibitions left to cultural institutions such as national museums were the contradictions that began to emerge at the International Exhibitions between entertainment and educational pursuits.

The Exhibitions projected differentiating displays of civilisations and cultures from overseas. They offered contexts for the public to be moulded and

educated according to state philosophies, to encourage self-reflection, to cultivate a sense of collective identity and to learn about the present order of things in the world. In return, the public gained pleasure from the order and patterning at the Exhibitions (Sheets-Pysonson 1987: 352). Capitalising on this delight, artefacts in the metropolises demonstrated the axiomatic belief in empire and white supremacy. Alongside the tensions described above, a sense of duty was instilled through the exhibitions as part of the ideological grounds for justifying colonial governance abroad.

Towards the end of the 19th century, International Exhibitions shifted their modes of display. In order to meet their financial deficits they became increasingly compliant to public demands as they strove to attract higher visitor figures. In terms of popular entertainment, the Exhibitions commercialised colonial propaganda and eventually came to embody as 'spectacle' the veritable antithesis of what museums had become – educative spaces for the making of the responsible citizen. Ethnographers and museum curators of the mid to late 19th century distanced themselves from the Exhibitions when they occurred, as, increasingly, according to Kaspin (2002: 325) "sociological accuracy was sacrificed for mythological type". Exhibition attendance became generally more motivated by a 'leisurely pastime' of consumerism through spectacle, characteristic of the Parisian 'flâneur' (see Clark 1984)^{lxx}. Both "constructing" and "consuming" the city (Giebelhausen 2003: 9) the spectacle replaced educational pursuit. At the Paris 1889 Exposition, for example, the government financed, recruited and presented an exhibition of model villages, temples and markets from Senegal, Indochina, Gabon and Tahiti^{lxxi}. Visitors strolled from 'country' to 'country' discovering snapshots of lives in the colonies

*that were presented to them by the Exhibition organisers. The Exhibition rewrite had clearly corresponded to the rise in popularity of the department store in the 1850s and 60s and thereby contributed to those factors that enabled the modernization of the public sphere (see D'Souza and McDonough 2006: 5; Harbison 1977: 140; Bennett 1995; Bouquet 2000; Henning 2006). The dichotomy between education and entertainment in the public realm reappears consistently in the museum field (Karp and Kratz 2000: 201). In contrast to the 'spectacle' as typified by the International Exhibitions, a formalist approach to exhibiting works celebrates the sanctity of artefacts, which are revered and recognised for their aesthetic qualities. The voice of scientific or curatorial authority determines the mode of understanding, heavily dependent upon a 'book on the wall' approach (Karp and Kratz 2000: 205). An analyst perspective on the other hand, places greater emphasis on public participation and inclusive curatorship and, arguably, entertainment. Modelled upon a forum, visitors may express opinions, discuss works and provide feedback. The formalist approach is conceptualised as a 'temple' upon the Greek model of a 'museia', where the experience of the visitor is a one-way process (see also MacCannell's [1976: 78] analysis of distinctions between *collections* and *re-presentations*)^{lxxii}.*

By 1900 French and British public interest in overseas expansion had on the whole dwindled. It no longer thrilled the imagination. Uneasy with the frivolous and distasteful exhibits that carried blatant undertones of Western hegemony and as new discourses emerged at the turn of the century, large-scale Exhibitions began to sit uncomfortably with some of the visiting publics. Divisions occurred between entrepreneur and anthropologist members of *La Société Africaine de France* founded in 1891. There were mixed reactions to

the harshness of the British punitive expedition in Benin in 1897 and middle-class publics and scholars had begun institutionalising the amount of knowledge that was being generated from overseas. In 1902 Joseph Conrad published the controversial novel *Heart of Darkness*. The moral activist E D Morel circulated in the press distressing accounts of King Léopold II's actions in the Congo and organised a concerted campaign against its atrocities (see Hochschild 2006). In London, the first Pan-African and anti-slavery congresses were held in 1900 and within these climates, the vanity and spectacle aspect of World Fairs had begun to be contested.

2.4 Anthropology and ethnography museums at the turn of the 20th century

There was an increased curiosity in ethnographic material culture of other places in the early 20th century. Largely due to more established colonial rule and to public interest that had been generated by the International Exhibitions and developments in anthropology, ethnographic museums began to flourish and their collections expanded considerably during this period. International Exhibition organisers in 1900 (and 1908 and 1911) continued to reflect imperial attitudes regarding French and British colonial affairs. Nationalistic feelings and views based on racial hierarchies were rife for example at the 1908 Franco-British Exhibition in London following the Fashoda crisis in 1898^{lxxiii} and the 1904 Entente Cordiale (Coombes 1994: 188).

French cultural institutions were heavily dependent upon the state. Strong relationships with the ruling government had been forged since the French Revolution of 1789 and Broca's anthropological society was recognised by the state as a particularly useful tool for colonial affairs. According to a highly centralised system, the state sponsored public art galleries, funded International Expositions and generally lent more support to the arts and social sciences than in Britain. In Britain, museum curators and ethnographers mostly came into their positions from the autonomous Anthropological Institute (Coombes 1994: 4) with significant consequences. Although early 20th century museums in Europe clearly retained legacies of the modes of thinking that were characteristic of the International Exhibitions, they were heavily influenced by the paradigms developing within the fields of anthropology and ethnography. Such museums,

which are addressed throughout this work, sought in this way to act as a bridge between the public and the scientific developments of anthropology and other disciplines.

Events occurring outside of the museum and exhibitionary field, in the fine art sector for example (with the avant garde primitivist movement that included painters Matisse, de Vlaminck, Derain, Picasso and Braque in France and sculptors such as Epstein and Moore in Britain [Mack 1990: 79]) generated sympathetic attitudes among the public that contrasted with the propaganda of the International Exhibitions, mass press, advertising and illustrations. Many of these attitudes remained largely unchanged nonetheless (Goerg 2001: 95), nostalgia led to romantic interpretations of non-Western societies and the past, as was manifested at the 1900 International Exhibition and by Marcel Proust's published work *A la recherche du temps perdu* (1913-27). Conceptions of the African as 'a noble savage' influenced ethnographers' concerns over what they saw as the erosion of values in the cultures they studied. There was a shift from physiognomic studies to one that focused more on cultural habits and traits whilst, according to Bennett (1988: 90) an historical interpretation was allocated to Western nations. The paradigm became more pervasive and the supposedly rapid disappearance of local cultures instigated the collection of material culture in order to serve as testimonies to, or as 'specimen samples' of people's heritage. This 'salvage' ethnography on behalf of anthropologists and other collectors (Simpson 1996: 247) led to a sharp rise in artefacts pouring into both European ethnographic museums and private collections. Just as the great 18th and 19th century voyages of exploration had generated interest in natural history, the colonial expansion of the late 19th century led to a significant

increase in ethnographic material works appropriated by the metropolises. Collections for European museums were largely imported (as they had been for International Exhibitions) via colonial administrators, merchant traders and missionaries, whom Baumgart (1982: 11) described as “the ‘surplus energies’ of Europe, [who] permeated the primitive civilisations in the extra-European world like leaven”. The quantities of works that arrived on the Elder Dempster Shipping Line at the Liverpool Mayer Museum in 1902 alone indicated the huge interest generated in the traffic in ethnographica (Coombes 1994, see also Shelton 2000: 160 and 166 and Tythacott 2001: 158).

Public interests shifted closer towards ethnographic museums (Sheets-Pysonson 1987: 373). In 1901, C. H. Read at the BM remarked, for example, that the ethnographic collections continued to come just second to the interest generated by the Egyptian Mummies (Presidential address to the Anthropological Institute in 1901 in Braunholtz 1970: 38)^{lxxiv}. Many of the interpretations of these ethnographic works began to derive increasingly from specialists back home who claimed expert knowledge and authority (Ravenhill 1996: 271; Dias 2000: 19). Scientific learning was applied to build up reports that classified systems of societies and cultures. Collections were used as archives for constructing understandings of local knowledge (and photographs were described in part as “historical documents” by Sekula [1986: 157]). Photographs were exchanged extensively as ‘raw data’ within these emergent disciplines (see Tagg 1988; Edwards 1992; Young 1995; Geary and Pluskota 2002). Images were considered an important technology for documentation in Europe and elsewhere and here, they were implicated in the evolutionist framings used to present people outside the West. As artefacts arrived in

museums from the field, they lacked their localised contexts and with limited, if any, accompanying information, they were labelled and allocated by 'types', viewed as "convenient props" (Bennett 1995: 167). This oversimplified construction of 'types' remains an uncomfortable era for museum acquisitions where "the ethnographic object becomes evidence, a 'court exhibit' ... in other words a sample of a civilisation. It is at the same time a sign, a reflection, a specimen" (Jamin: 1982: 90 quoted in and translated by Ravenhill 1996: 271). The works still form the core of many museum collections today, at least in terms of the sheer quantities that were acquired. Their trajectories within the institutions were also significant in the shaping of ethnographic museums, particularly with regards to the issues of representation that continue to haunt many institutions today. The relationships between anthropology, the colonial project and museology were increasingly problematic (for example the revealing atrocities of acts carried out in the Belgian Congo) and signified by the early 20th century a move away from "the moral certitudes of 19th century European engagement with Africa" (Mack 1990: 9).

2.5 Colonial administrators and anthropologists at the turn of the 20th century

In Britain at the turn of the 20th century, anthropology was developing as a university discipline following in the steps of the first Readerships in Anthropology from the University of Oxford, 1884,^{lxxv} and it was also largely rooted in museums (Mack 1990: 7)^{lxxvi}. In France, the Chairs at the *Ecole d'Anthropologie* were inaugurated in 1875 and most of the jobs remained located within museums until the 1930s. Undertaking collecting missions for museums in Europe sometimes went hand in hand with carrying out anthropological fieldwork alongside research for universities. Museums in the cities were largely responsible for issuing work permits, allocating funding and even legalising the travel of antiquities into Europe. The work carried out by Marcel Griaule (Mission Dakar-Djibouti 1931, Clifford 1983), Emil Torday (Mack 1990), Henry Balfour or by Alfred Haddon for the Cambridge Museum (Herle and Rouse 1998; Shelton 2000) provide some examples. On the ground, research missions were often facilitated by colonial administrative presence abroad both in the French^{lxxvii} and British colonies (see for example, le musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro's scientific missions in 1877-78 and Chapter 3). Finally, the political (colonial) relationship with material culture can be evidenced by the way in which the Belgian King Léopold II attempted to placate American sceptics of his regime in the Congo by presenting more than three thousand Congo artefacts to the American Museum of Natural History (Hothschild: 1998: 244). Extensive research and writing on the early 20th century relationship between anthropologists and colonial administrators (such

as Clifford 1988; Asad 1991) indicate the tensions and contradictions between the two which were also played out within the field of museology.

Anthropologists may have aided the colonial administration in producing the knowledge about peoples in the colonised territories^{lxxviii} but it was an ambiguous relationship, and often one where the former remained highly critical of the colonial regime and its supposed superiority (Brown 1998: 200; Shelton 2000: 156; Jolly 2001: 151). Knowledge gathered by missionaries, administrators and merchants often yielded more relevant and accessible information for administrators than that produced by anthropologists (Asad 1991: 315). Indeed, some administrators became professional anthropologists, such as G. I. Jones who worked on the Igbo speaking peoples in the 1930s, thus challenging the dichotomy. Some colonial archaeologists and geologists also contributed valuable information, such as, for example, the French colonial archaeologist Laforgue (1925) or the geologist Hubert (1925) (see de Barros 1990: 160; Bourdieu 2003: 13). Cooper and Stoler (1997: 16) cautioned against accusing anthropology of having been of direct service to the colonial state. Economic and political motivations, and competition over what other countries were achieving in their own territories also remain obvious factors that influenced developments in anthropological research and museum projects.

Conclusion

Beginning with the early 17th century 'museums' that were set up by Aldrovandi and Giganti in Italy, this chapter traced the trajectories of art collections, displays and state-sponsored Exhibitions whilst reflecting upon the circulation of interpretations of material culture between the monarchy, the elites, artists, museum curators and members of the general public. The chronological time span is vast and covers periods of extreme transformations within European society, from the French Revolution in 1789 to increased travel overseas and industrialisation. The case of stately homes in Britain showed a hegemonic concept of cultural heritage that was previously located in private collections with restricted access with a transferral of national heritage into the public domain. The account of International Exhibitions exposed the colonial propaganda and civilising missions that was diffused to mass audiences at home. In her work on museums and architecture, Giebelhausen (2003: 9, and Bennett 1988: 78) drew attention to the introduction of metropolitan views as panoramas, as a means of surveillance or "deliberate control mechanisms" that was capitalised upon at the Crystal Palace Exhibition and the Eiffel Tower at the Paris Exposition in particular. The Exhibitions provided a useful backdrop to exploring French and British representations of their relations with overseas territories and for beginning to understand the ethics of representation (Clark 1969: 181). 'Differences' were further accentuated between Africa and a supposedly more progressive Europe (Fabian 1991: 193-6) and artefacts were displayed to demonstrate to audiences the 'how' of power (Foucault 1980: 92). They generated discourses according to the specific contexts in which they were placed to articulate specific power relations (Arnoldi, Geary and Hardin

1996: 3; Lidchi 1997: 185).

Chapter 3 Formations of National Museums in early 20th century

French Sudan and the Gold Coast

The development of the European ‘modern public museum’ (Bennett 1995: 1) and the rise of ethnographic museums that were more intimately linked with the colonial political regimes were addressed in Chapter 2. This chapter examines the emergence of the ethnographic colonial museum in the early 20th century in West Africa (Dias 2000: 17). It explores the organisations that shaped the national museums of the new nation states of Ghana (1957) and Mali (1960). The collections and exhibitionary practices pre-dated the museums’ inaugurations in the independence era by over thirty years, and therefore this chapter charts the institutions’ early historical trajectories and other significant contributions that enabled their formations.

An analysis of French and British approaches to colonial rule in West Africa in the early 20th century^{lxxix} focuses more specifically on the birth of national museums in the French Sudan^{lxxx} and the Gold Coast. The early developments of the ‘musée ethnologique et archéologique du Soudan’^{lxxxii} (renamed ‘le musée national du Mali’ in 1960) have been placed within the context of French colonial policies of direct governance and their adoption of rule by assimilation throughout l’Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF)^{lxxxii}. This furthers our understanding of how the collection, preservation and interpretation of indigenous material came to be re-interpreted and displayed as cultural heritage. In the Gold Coast, the British regime of governance by indirect rule (instigated by Sir Frederick Lugard in [1922]) encouraged the establishment of such sites as Achimota College in Accra, which launched the Achimota

Museum (renamed 'The National Museum of Ghana' in 1957). A network of institutions and individuals that set up museums across British West Africa was created at the time as part of wider programmes of colonial education. The chapter therefore addresses in particular the development of Achimota College (1927) and the Dakar-Djibouti collecting mission (1931) in order to understand some of the key precursor movements to both museums.

The initial move to create both West African national museums was heavily influenced by the European 'salvage' paradigm (Clifford 1986: 112)^{lxxxiii} of rescuing artefacts from external influences. European administrators and ethnographers expressed a strong sense of urgency to preserve ceremonial artefacts (including wood carvings such as, for example, doors, house posts, ancestral figures and religious masks) firstly by way of export to their home countries and then *in situ* during the inter-War period of the 20th century. Competition between European powers to protect indigenous material culture in their territories whilst also establishing their own educational systems (of which museums were a subsequent part) contributed to museum developments as well. Emergent discourses turned to what mode or nature of museum to adopt in the French Sudan and Gold Coast. They are addressed in the second part of the chapter.

By the first decade of the 20th century, the competition between European powers of the late 19th century to annex African territories had subsided (Boahen 1987: 58) to be replaced by the imposition of colonial modes of rule and taxation. The territorial annexation of Africa was for the main part completed. International slavery had long been abolished and it was instead

replaced by a stronger focus on commercial trade, generated to some extent by the rise of mass industrialisation and consumption in Europe. Colonial governments sought increasingly intensified means of making their colonial territories pay for the costs of territorial annexations and subsequent rule. There were major shifts in production to commodities, such that, for example, the Gold Coast had become one of the world's largest cocoa producers by 1914^{lxxxiv}. The growth of the West African colonial economies prevented the territories from economic collapse after the devaluation of the British Pound sterling and the French franc in 1914 with the inception of World War I (1914-18) and afterwards when impoverished and indebted European nations began to depend more heavily on their Colonies for raw materials.

British and French West African territories were characteristic of the model of 'open economies' (Hopkins 1973: 168) and seen as potential suppliers to provide commodities such as oil, timber, coffee, cocoa, cereals, metals and minerals, rice, rubber, tobacco, sugar, manioc, groundnuts, palm products and cotton (the Niger basin alone covered two million hectares of irrigable land suitable for producing cotton [Roberts 1929: 620]). The French realised that their exports were not being maximised and interpreted this problem as a matter of national survival^{lxxxv}. The Minister for Colonies (Albert Sarraut 1923: 316), for example, urged French citizens to perceive their overseas territories as "centres of production" rather than as "museums of specimens". To open up the hinterlands, stimulate production and increase its extraction to France, public work projects and road construction for lorries (Iliffe 1995: 212) were invested in. The Dakar port was renovated, factories were built, and in 1905 the railway line linked Dakar with Bamako (the capital of the French Sudan since 1908).

With the inception of the 'Office du Niger' (Diawara 2004), Niger irrigation plans were launched in 1932 and canals, telegraph poles, hygiene projects and medical assistance spread across French West Africa. In British West Africa projects were developed inland with improved road networks, the 'Sekondi-Takoradi' harbour and the completion of the 'Central Province' railway in 1911 (Szereszewski 1965: 110). Infrastructure and migrant labour forces from the northern territories and further afield increased production and facilitated the rise in exports.

Comparisons between the extraction of wealth in British and French West Africa during the early decades of the 20th century have been calculated according to the introduction of household tax (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1986: 338, see also Fuller 2009: 57). From 1900-1910 the poll tax was applied across all the French territories to raise much-needed funds and in 1917 it had to be paid in French currency. The unpopular act caused mass migration into the British West African territories where the poll tax in the Gold Coast, for example, was not introduced until 1943 and at a slower and lower rate (Gocking 2005: 78). The move, along with other measures, shifted people out of a subsistence economy and into a monetary economy, providing labour for the colonial regime of commodity production. Heads of families were now obliged to find employment to pay their taxes. In French West Africa, taxes as well as the conscription of soldiers (the *tirailleurs Sénégalais*) were deeply unpopular and are still remembered in Mali with revulsion. 15,000 of these soldiers, for example, arrived in France at the start of World War One, a figure which rose to 90,000 by 1917 (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1986: 352).

Hopkins (1973: 179) has drawn attention to the “considerable regional inequalities” that shaped French and British approaches to establishing control and which determined to a large extent the resources they were able to extract from their territories. The British had gained possession of smaller coastal tropical areas where the lands were fertile and abundant (the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia). In comparison, France had entered the colonial race relatively late^{lxxxvi} and controlled some isolated coastal portions and the vast Sahel inland areas of Sub Saharan Africa that were relatively less populated. Lord Salisbury mocked these discrepancies at the time (Brunschwig and Brown 1966: 102; see also Blet 1946: 31 and Blanchard 1948: 412), contrasting the lush and abundant British regions with the “very light” French territories where “[...] The Gallic cock, which likes to scratch the ground, will be able to use his spurs on it”. The dispersal of populations and arid conditions made it difficult to exert effective colonial rule and to extract resources in the AOF (such that it was ranked sixth in terms of import/export revenues out of the eight French global colonial territories [Sarraut 1923: 134]). In addition, by the late 19th century, political relations where Islam predominated (such as in Algeria and the AOF) were strained, and Islam gained the reputation of an “anti-colonial religion” (O'Brien 1971: 32). The concept of a theocracy conflicted with French visions of a secular state and as early as 1903 France attempted to enforce the separation of the two regimes of religion and state within her Colonies.

French colonial efforts tended to focus on ways of shaping African subjects according to their own model of ‘citizenship’ supposedly reinforcing a shared French spirit of solidarity and unity. They sought to transform local communities

by simplifying and/or eroding local structures so that they could project their own ideals through a shared politic of assimilation and then association in the early 1900s. In his review of the French colonial enterprise, Sarraut (1923: 87) encapsulated the ideological shifts from an imperial exploitation with scant regard for the future of indigenous peoples living in the territories, towards an allegedly more moral and sustainable intervention. He spoke at the time of 'human development', 'liberal idealism', 'justice', 'solidarity', 'a will for civilisation' and 'economic growth'.

The interventionist approach initially adopted by the French in West Africa was a high cost enterprise. The British focus in general was more on extracting resources and yielding agricultural returns, perhaps less motivated by expansionist glory, prestige and so-called 'civilizing missions' than by commercial gains (Botwe-Asamoah 2005: 7; Ferro 2005: 24). Kiernan (1969: 210) has suggested however that the two approaches were not all that different, that the British used trade as the French did to "bleach the darkness out of Africa [...]". The British, influenced by their success stories in India (Cohen 1971: 25; Iliffe 1995: 200) disapproved of French assimilation policies and devised a system that they hoped would enable locals to prepare for eventual self-government with a view to ultimate withdrawal as exports were secured. This may have been an ideal and, in practice, it took many years to achieve. British colonial interests also remained stronger in South Africa and in East Africa, which are less pandemic areas for malaria than West Africa.

3.1 French West Africa

3.1.1 Ideologies of '*assimilation*' and of '*association*'

In France the colonial question was conceived in terms of a 'spirit of conquest' and 'missions civilisatrices' that appealed to French sentiments of pride and glory. Yet clear, long-term strategies were not implemented with regard to the colonial areas and its people, and for a long time large portions of the French public at home remained unconvinced of the economic or moral benefits of colonial expansion (Taffin, Blind and Martin 2000: 52). The French government actively discouraged colonial migration, with its associated connotations of abandonment (France was relatively under-populated and had a small rural workforce). This was in contrast to Britain, where the promotion of colonial migration at the Crystal Palace Fair (1851) and the 1886 World Fair for example, was used to stimulate investment in the colonial economy (Chapter 2). Colonial thinking prior to WWI in France had been characterised by two distinctive categories that affected life in the colonies. The 'Africa of Exploitation' idyllically perceived the colonies as lands of plenty and full of economic potential. African colonies however, did not prove as easy to control as expected and the resulting conflicts and defeats created a need to represent Africans to Europeans at home as barbarians, hence the 'Africa of Conquest' (Schneider 1982: 164). How non-European and African societies in particular were understood in France and Britain were indicative of the heavy political involvement in these colonies and their modes of discourse and representation.

The French adopted a direct and 'universalist' approach after 1905. Through an ideology of assimilation, France sought to impose a republican model that derived from the Napoleonic concept of a single existing overarching 'Civilisation' as opposed to myriad civilisations such that the French territories were envisaged as extensions of France. The approach was interventionist and 'Franco-centric'. Its debates underpinned by its Napoleonic legacies perhaps resonate with contemporary discourses circulating over the concept of a *shared* and common universal heritage (in Chapters 6 and 7).

To pursue a system of direct governance in the territories, France initially sought the collaboration of local chiefs to create a class of Western-educated Francophile elites, or 'évolués'. Eight government schools were set up across the AOF (Kilson 1969: 354; Iliffe 1995: 223)^{lxxxvii}. It was hoped that these highly selective institutions would produce elite individuals who would contribute to the rule of their own country, and in 1914 Blaise Diagne became the first indigenous elected deputy of the four communes of Senegal^{lxxxviii}. In theory, the évolués were entitled to French citizenship with equal rights in the political arena in France, but there were strict criteria to be complied with first that included the completion of the French military service and the adoption of the practice of monogamy. Despite a few success stories (all restricted to Senegal), the majority of the population was excluded (Roberts 1990: 35, 260; Ferro 2005: 24). By the end of WWI, France abandoned her commitment to assimilation policies in favour of a 'politique d'association' whereby the majority of the indigenous populations remained subjects with no legal rights (Cohen 1971: 47-49; Crowder 1978: 13, 204; Conklin 1997: 6). Unpopular petty officials were recruited to act as efficient agents, tax-gatherers and conscripts of men for

the colonial system. Furthermore, grouping workers according to ethnic segregation such as, for example, for the Office du Niger project, the French continued to play off ethnicities and individuals against each other and undermine previous local authorities. The practices have been otherwise referred to as French re-inventions of the social order^{lxxxix} or as a form of “social engineering” (Diawara 2004: 286; for a review of French indirect policies adopted among nomadic communities in the French Sudan, see Yattara [2005]). The systems and practices were inflected in the ways that material culture was collected and classified from the field. Ultimately, it was the French colonial administrators and ethnographers from France who undertook selection processes to determine what would be displayed in France and subsequently in the French colonies.

3.1.2 Ambiguities of the *commandant de cercle cum collector*

The hierarchical system of direct rule from government offices in France continued to operate after WWI with the Ministry of Colonies (split from the Navy Ministry in 1894) located in Paris. A governor-general in Dakar was responsible for overseeing the smooth coordination between Paris and the subordinate governors distributed across the AOF territories. His position was highly strategic, prestigious and interestingly, many of its office holders came from humanistic backgrounds. They tended to share a concern for the economies of the Empire that also included cultural affairs, as well as for the rights of the colonial people (Cohen 1978; Coquery-Vidrovitch 1986: 337). Joseph Clozel (Governor of the French Sudan 1908-1915 and Governor-General of the AOF 1916-17), for example, founded a local research centre in

Dakar in 1915 called the 'Comité des études historiques et scientifiques de l'AOF' which Jules Brevié (Governor-General 1930-36) helped to re-launch as an important and centralised institute for research (Institut français d'Afrique Noire, IFAN see page 119).

In 1908 Ernest Roume (Governor-General 1902–08) had divided French West Africa into ninety-eight counties that were integrated to facilitate coordination and governance across the AOF as extended regions of France^{xc}. The French General Mangin serving in West Africa from 1907-11 and in 1925 declared, for instance, that "France is a country of a hundred million inhabitants" (cited in Smith 1926: 174). Roume set up a system of district officers (commandants de cercles) appointed to each county to report to the governor-general who would in turn report to the ministry in France. However, due in part to the realities of long distances and slow communications between France and the AOF (particularly in the early decades of the 20th century), the governor-general often assumed a position of relative autonomy and, according to Cohen (1971: 57, 61) and Dimier (2001: 248), had a capacity to disregard orders from the Ministry in Paris. Similarly, the commandants de cercles frequently ignored the decrees and circulars from the governor-generals, especially if they were just too numerous or impractical to apply. The French colonial system operated on the surface as a highly centralised and strategic regime of direct rule, yet, geographical and logistical constraints hindered these processes.

The unofficial but semi autonomous role of the commandants de cercles meant that rule through évolués was barely put into practice. The commandants continued in their multiple roles as president of the judicial tribunal,

superintendent of the prisons, director of customs, special agent and even meteorological observer (Delafosse 1922: 35, 46) but they were overworked, underpaid, mistrusted by their peers, and numerous^{xci} (Newbury 1966: 525). Below the role of governor-general, the French colonial service was not necessarily perceived as a lucrative employment, in contrast perhaps to the social prestige in Britain of the British colonial services in India^{xcii}. Fewer educated individuals entered the French system and many of the administrators originated from poorer areas of France such as Corsica or the neighbourhoods of Marseilles and Bordeaux (Gorer 1935: 112). The Ecole Coloniale^{xciii} was established in 1889 in Paris to train colonial administrators (after 1914, it witnessed a significant rise in attendance due to improvements of standards). Until about 1905, classes had tended to offer non-specialised theoretical rather than practical knowledge, addressing for example, France and its overseas relations, geography, and an oral exam on road and railway construction. The teachings neglected local customs and practices and the commandants de cercles only selected their geographical area in their final year. Once in the field, the commandants tended to have relatively little contact with 'native' populations upon whom they only became reliant due to their geographical isolation, lack of personnel and of local knowledge.

Until the 1930s the commandants de cercles remained the principal individuals in the field responsible for collating local information for the governor-generals and also for collecting local antiquities destined for the museums and International Expositions in France^{xciv}. Governor-General van Vollenhoven (1917-18) (1918: archives) endorsed such acquisition practices (appendix 1:4), claiming that "the administrators who have been in the colonies for some time

are very familiar with the principal artistic styles and, with sufficient warning, can acquire these works with minimum effort". His comments came in response to F. V. Equilbecq's renewed proposal as administrator to the Colonies to set up a museum in Bamako in 1916^{xcv}. The idea had previously been rejected by Governor-General Clozel (1908-15). On account of the war in Europe, money spent on the arts or on cultural projects overseas was not politically acceptable. Equilbecq had been carrying out extensive work transcribing indigenous folklore in the region, and he already claimed (1913: 12 appendix 1:5) that it was of utmost importance to record without delay those few "pure traditions" that had remained "intact" despite his presumption of Islamic invasions of Africa. He believed that a museum would help to safeguard "typical" examples of Sudanese art to inspire European industries and to facilitate the export of West African antiquities for International Expositions (appendix 1:6).

However van Vollenhoven (1918: archives) dismissed the implication that a museum would stimulate the French industries (following the success of the textiles market in England where models were copied from indigenous styles and reproduced in vast quantities to be re-sold to indigenous markets [Picton 1995: 12]), responding that "the advantages of these innovations do not jump out before our eyes" (appendix 1:7). The creation of a cultural institution located in the colonies to stimulate European industries, to safeguard indigenous art and to enable export for European colonial exhibitions was thus rejected for the time being. Given their lack of specialised training and the nature of their relations with the local communities, van Vollenhoven's decision that the commandants de cercles were sufficiently well placed for the acquisition, safeguarding and yielding of information on material culture was unrealistic.

Furthermore, the 'principle of the wheel' (*rouage*) introduced in 1924 by Governor-General Carde (1923-1935) required that administrators change region every two years. This provided the commandants de cercles with even less time to gain insight into the regions' cultures and societies. The colonial critic Gorer (1935: 113), for example, reported during his travels as late as 1934 that he had come across a young French administrator in *Kaffrine* (Senegal) who was "interested in the negroes" and had been subsequently transferred to a town where "he would only see Europeans".

As a consequence of lack of time and of specialised training in indigenous societies and cultures, in describing the commandants' impact on collecting missions, Philip Ravenhill (1996: 268) drew attention to their role in attributing over-simplified ethnocentric meanings and classifications to material culture. Shelton (1992: 13; 2000: 158, 174) and Diawara (2004: 281) have also asserted that the structural-functionalist approaches resulted in 're-ifying' concepts and created a constructed 'otherness' with scant regard for cultural and social changes over time^{xcvi}. On the whole, the commandants de cercles cannot be widely regarded as reliable mediators for the interpretation of material culture beyond their cursory methodological training. In the early 1920s, the on-site collecting of indigenous material culture was therefore carried out with a reduced context of local or European academic scientific knowledge, and was directed firmly by and towards the French nation state in promoting research into the colonial project. Specialised research and genuine concerns over the safeguarding of indigenous works *in situ* (and for localised future generations) had not yet achieved the sense of urgency it was later to generate.

3.1.3 Collecting material culture in the early 1930s

Throughout the early 1920s, relationships between the French colonial administration and ethnographic institutions had remained largely undefined. In 1925 the overdue government-funded 'Institut d'ethnologie de l'université de Paris' was launched to strengthen future administrators' specialised knowledge and to centralise ethnographic projects (Mission Dakar-Djibouti 1931: 6 appendix 1:8). A team of influential French ethnographers that included Maurice Delafosse (1870-1926) founded the Institute and it triggered an interest in African cultures on the Parisian intellectual scene. Delafosse's own career oscillated between ethnographic research and colonial projects. He worked extensively in the Ivory Coast and French Sudan (which included the Upper Volta from 1920 onwards) and his respect for and interest in ancient Arab texts were instrumental in providing detailed accounts of the ancient towns and capitals of the Ghana, Mali and Songhai Empires (in 1913 he translated the *Tarikh el-Fettâch* [Dimier 1998: 92]). In 1909 he introduced the teaching of African languages to the Ecole Coloniale (Parker and Rathbone 2007: 107) and was appointed director of political affairs in 1915 to his mentor and close colleague, the Governor-General Clozel in Dakar. Delafosse contributed regularly to the Bulletin du Comité and then to the Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Afrique noire (IFAN) and collaborated with Clozel on the research centre — the Comité des études historiques et scientifiques de l'AOF. In 1915, its founding committee claimed that such knowledge (of a region's history, ethnography, geography and natural history) should contribute towards effective

organisation and colonial administration. Despite scientific interest, they argued that it must also generate practical results (Sibeud 2002: 253^{xcvii}).

Other important founding ethnographers of the Institut d'ethnologie de l'université de Paris included the highly respected research scholar and devoted teacher Marcel Mauss, the anthropologist Lucien Levi-Bruhl, linguist Marcel Cohen and Paul Rivet who became director of the musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro in 1878 and founder of the musée de l'Homme in 1938. Paul Rivet considered that France could further her knowledge by employing specialised researchers from the Institute. However, seemingly, only a few colonial administrators participated in the Institute (Jolly 2001: 151) but as a general approach it was highly influential, for example, in the later formation of IFAN. By the mid 1920s, the universities witnessed an expansion in the social sciences, and ethnology was established at the Université de Paris as a university discipline in 1925 (Alexandre 1973: 2). In 1927 the Ecole Coloniale was reorganised again to place more emphasis on subject matter, and courses now included West African history, customary law and languages for training colonial officers.

By the end of the decade the requirements of ethnography had shifted from theorising materials gathered by administrators to the practice of personally carrying out fieldwork through 'adventure' and 'exploration' as advocated by the ethnographer Marcel Griaule. Ethnographers attempted to gain a deeper understanding of foreign cultures by spending longer periods in the field, such as, for example, the anthropologist Malinowski and the British administrator-turned anthropologist R. S. Rattray (who lived extensively in the Gold Coast

from 1920 onwards^{xcviii}). During the decade that followed WWI a new generation of French ethnographers were thus enabled and encouraged to venture abroad such as Griaule, Germaine Dieterlen, Robert Gessain, Germaine Tillion, Lévi-Strauss, and Denise Paulme (Jolly 2001: 152). Accompanied and aided by a sharp rise of collecting missions, the discipline of ethnography emerged in France in the late 1920s as a paradigm that sought to present a coherent though totalist mode of representation of distant peoples through the use of artefacts, as '*pièces à conviction*' (Mission Dakar-Djibouti 1931: 8). Vast amounts of works were re-interpreted according to ethnographic testimonies to 'native' ways of life. They were reproduced in journals (Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1931) and given labels to denote boundaries and to fit in with classifications that corresponded to neat colonial categories, or 'types' (Ravenhill 1996: 270). The emphasis on the importance of more extended fieldwork was to shape the development (and quantities) of ethnographic collecting. New shifts in French colonial museography were thus defined in the 1930s significantly in part by the realisation that in-depth knowledges of colonised societies were required to maintain "trouble-free colonialism" (Stocking 1991: 4). Ethnographic museum institutions in Paris helped to strengthen dealings with French West Africa. They provided a space that facilitated an interest in material culture exclusively from the territories and more specialised ethnographic training. In 1931 the musée des Colonies was created alongside the famous colonial international exhibition celebrating the French empire and promoting the business community and enterprises (seventy-two enterprises had a stand at the West African pavilion [Lagana 2008: 264]). In 1937, the musée d'Ethnographie du Trocadéro was re-organised and re-launched and officially opened in 1938 as the musée de l'Homme.

3.2 British West Africa

3.2.1 The implementation of indirect rule in the Gold Coast

After the First World War concerted efforts were made to implement a system of indirect rule in British West Africa so as to reduce the costs of administering the colonies. The British colonial officer Sir Frederick Lugard played a crucial role in diffusing and promoting the programme. Lugard became Governor of Nigeria in 1912, Governor-General in 1914-18 and was later head of the executive council of the International Institute for African Languages and Cultures (IIALC, founded in 1926). He published 'The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa' in 1922, which became the colonial officials' "Bible" (Kuklick 1992: 195). The work was a comprehensive justification for the programme based on his successful model for Northern Nigeria^{xcix} (see Sharpe 1986 on the conceptualisation and selection of hierarchical organised polities as suitable model for mediating British colonisation). Lugard argued against the concept of a small minority of educated Europeanised natives controlling vast native populations with whom they had very little in common. Instead, he advocated a system whereby presumed 'traditional' emirs operated within a very loose framework of British law and tax policy. It was not new. Chiefs in the Gold Coast, for example, had been recognised as representatives and been used as intermediaries since the mid 19th century, and Lugard drew attention to these advantages. He argued that the principles of the system were in effect already established, and that the responsibilities of the British government were now to develop these along the lines of protectionism against exploitation, loss of land and the "destruction of local culture" (Flint 1978: 308). The fundamental principle that underpinned

British indirect rule lay in filtering administration through indigenous middlemen and with minimum interference from the emergent elite for fear of the rise of national empowerment (which is discussed in Chapter 4). The system was implemented across British West Africa as a plan of action and as a moral and theoretical philosophy that lasted until independence in the late 1950s.

In comparing British and French systems in 1931 Julian Huxley expressed his full support for indirect rule. He was a biologist, humanist and educator, and became first Director General of UNESCO in 1964. Along with Governor Alan Burns and the anthropologist Max Gluckman, he also became instrumental in the development of the National Museum in the Gold Coast to preserve appropriate transitional value in the face of rapid change. Huxley (1931: 103-06) believed that indirect rule favoured freedom for local organisations enabling them to retain indigenous ideas and lines of development. According to him, the strategy encouraged a closer affinity between indigenous populations and their chiefs and provided the latter with important political and economic roles instead of being “mere puppets” of the Colonial Government. He suggested that under direct rule, chiefs were resented by local communities as tax gatherers, for example, and were distanced and removed from the daily lives of the people. Huxley advanced that such a society would breed secret and anti-Governmental organisations.

3.2.2 Contradictions, flaws and paternalism in the British Gold Coast

The British colonial system in the Gold Coast was full of contradictions, especially in the conflicts between the interests of traders, missionaries^c and

administrators (Crowder 1978; Dorward 1986; Landau and Kaspin 2002).

Trading companies clashed with colonial administrators over foreign competition in the commercial market. Missionaries encouraged mass education and instilled new values in Africans, which on occasion conflicted with colonial administrators who advocated fewer schools but to a higher level. Actively promoting education in the Gold Coast, the British colonial government also feared that they risked potential uprisings and the undermining of their rule by a strong nationalist elite^{ci} with their eventual replacement. During the departure of many British officials in WWI, decentralised societies had refused to pay taxes, to obey the British-imposed 'chiefs' and there had been rebellions in Nigeria and the Gold Coast Northern Territories. The small number of staff and military presence^{cii}, combined with concerns over rapid social changes led the British for the next thirty years to adopt what Dorward (1986: 414, 427) described as a "narrow preservationist 'zoo-keeper' mentality". Within this climate, paternalist and preservationist views were carried over in addressing indigenous cultural heritage after WWI. Concerns over the erosion of 'traditional' values eventually led a small and rather eclectic team of individuals (colonial administrators, teachers, curators and archaeologists) to push for the creation of a national museum for the Gold Coast in Accra in 1929. According to notions of the "seduction of heritage" (Rowlands 2002: 106) appeals were made for the creation of a museum in order to address and preserve the redeeming aspects of cultural heritage among what were perceived as rapidly changing societies and cultures.

By the early 1920s as the British sought to boost exports and imports with the Gold Coast, the market grew and relations improved slightly between the British

colonial government and the educated elites^{ciii}. This brief period allowed for several initiatives such as the Achimota College (formerly known as the Prince of Wales College and School) to open in Accra on 28 January 1927 but finally completed in 1931 (Bourret 1960: 34). It was a co-educational school and college and became the colony's first university, with a small museum attached to it in 1929. The project received heavy investment, logistically and economically. It was deemed a great success and was compared favourably to universities in Europe and America at that time (Gorer 1935: 272; Bourret 1960: 136).

The Achimota College was set up by the pioneering British governor and commander-in-chief, Sir Gordon Guggisberg (1919-1927) and his colleagues, A. G. Fraser and J. E. K. Aggrey, initially as an important "experiment" in Africa (Aggrey, 1925, radio announcement transcribed in Bourret 1960: 136). Kwame Nkrumah later attended and taught at the College for a short period before becoming Chancellor of Achimota University (Botwe-Asamoah 2005: 3). The Reverend Alexander Gordon Fraser accepted the position of the School's first Principal, on condition that the position of Vice Principal was taken up by Dr Emman Kwegyir Aggrey (an American-trained Ghanaian and member of the Phelps-Stokes African Education Commission). They were committed to dispelling racist myths regarding supposedly inferior levels of intellect in the African. Fraser in particular advocated that the College enable future graduates to fill administrative positions that would ultimately lead to indigenous governance through local elites, and he and Aggrey were praised for their contribution to bridge-building between races (WEF Ward (ed.) AGF 1873-1962: 52 in Agbodeka 1977: 27; Bourret 1960: 34). Courses at the College focused on

training an African elite that would come to govern these new nation states after independence. The initial curriculum addressed what Britain had achieved in the past, seeking to 'lead by example', and the early College collections had replicas of artworks from various cultures, used for pedagogical purposes. Students learnt about British contributions to liberty, invention, industry and to the moral welfare (Hadow: 1921 in Lugard 1922: 452; Crinson 2001: 234). This approach seemed to reflect a British style of governance that favoured rule through native chiefs but hoped to shape them first politically through character training, persuasion, advice and education (Bourret 1960: 33; Dimier 2001: 169).

Alongside efforts to create a future educated elite, there were steps taken to address the supposedly disintegrating indigenous cultural values and erasure of material culture that were a result of the drastic social changes of colonialism. In the 1930s the Institute of West African Arts Industries and Social Sciences (IWAAISS) was set up at Achimota College in an attempt to meet local expectations and conditions (Colonial Office 1930). According to reports, it aimed to produce the type of student who had a 'Western' intellect in terms of science and systematic thought, but who remained faithful to preserving and respecting African custom and 'tribal life' (Agbodeka 1977: 32; Coe 2005: 59). The complex issues in achieving a balance between the two became evident. Huxley (1931: 299), for example, argued that the arrival of new ideas prevented the continuation of former social and cultural conditions, and to illustrate this he drew from more general examples that ranged from images on cigarette packets to the arrival of the motor car in the Gold Coast^{civ}. Some attitudes remained paternalistic but they also demonstrated the development of

discussions regarding the retention of indigenous material culture *in situ*, with a concern for it to be preserved and made accessible to indigenous publics to record their own 'vanishing cultures'.

Contemporary reports, correspondences and proposals consistently made use of a vocabulary of "degenerating culture" and "imminent danger" (Huxley 1946b: 1); "bewilderment" and "loss" (Braunholtz in Crinson 2001: 239) and "decadent tribes" (Shenton Thomas Acting Governor 1929). They referred to "the urgent need to save" (Braunholtz 1948b: 3) both in Britain and in the Gold Coast, as if 'culture' was somehow going to be eradicated entirely. R. S. Rattray (1924) produced extensive recordings from the north of the country and appealed to the Akan peoples to never turn their back on their own past (Rattray 1927: ix). His work offered scant regard for internal cultural differences and this particular approach was evident in colonial policies, which Kuklick (1992: 227) has described as 'tribal homogenisation'. Discourses on the possibility of a bounded indigenous 'culture' *disappearing* as well as implicating questions of authenticity generated (and still does) complex anthropological and material culture debates (Handler 1988; Friedman 1992; Steiner 1993: 104-6; Strathern 1996). Lewis (1973: 11) strongly asserted in his inaugural lecture *The anthropologist's muse* at the London School of Economics (LSE) that preservationist and paternalistic attitudes (particularly on behalf of ethnographers and anthropologists) were condescending and disrespectful and assumed that the societies studied were "insipid lack-lustre cultures" with "no intrinsic dynamism [...]". Archival accounts from the 1930s and 40s indeed referred to 'native' societies as 'pure', homogeneous or ahistorical (or allocated to a pre-colonial past) and unchanging, as illustrated by Ballard's (1972: footnote 45) critique of CK Meek's

(1925) ethnographic work in Nigeria. Ballard criticised Meek's description of each 'tribe' in isolation as "in its own museum glass case".

Dr Hermann Braunholtz was Keeper in 1938 and then Keeper of Ethnography 1946-53^{cv} at the British Museum and he became involved in the formation of the NMG. He too advocated (1943a: 3) what he termed the "freedom from the European" approach in displays of indigenous works. Referring to an exhibition of Maori woodcarvings and textiles, he bemoaned what he saw as the "contamination" of changes since the advent of Europeans (such as the influence of metal tools or of red wool from sailors' caps which were not appreciated by 'purist' collectors or curators). Despite his support of this 'purist' approach, he did recognise that European visitors ought to be made aware that what they were actually seeing was a static representation of 'native' society that belonged to a prior historical period. To my knowledge, no records documented how those societies 'being collected' or on display responded to interpretations and representations of themselves. This strikes me as a particular loss in ethnographic exhibitions *in situ* where indigenous cultures and societies were presented to local publics by European 'others'. I return to this recurring theme of agency and representation throughout the body of this work and in particular within the context of the concept of universal access to heritage in Chapters 6 and 7. The display of 'distant societies' according to ahistorical and homogeneous interpretations provided more insight at the time into European societies than a genuine perspective on 'native' contemporary realities (Fagg 1969: 43). Braunholtz's records draw attention rather to British museologists' romantic visions of Africa as an escape from the dramatic post-

war reconstructions with its shifts in labour forces and industrialisation in Europe.

Ethnocentric modes of representation and cultural heritage management defined the ways in which colonial museums were established across British West Africa. This was precisely the climate in which Eurocentric definitions of museums were carried across to the National Museum of Ghana (NMG) in the 1940s. The West African museums were institutions that 'froze' indigenous heritage and displayed indigenous pre-colonial culture as "symbols of triumph" (Sheets-Pyenson 1988: 12). They were not spaces for learning or satisfying localised curiosities about the external, unknown world, in direct contrast to the encyclopaedic nature of European public museums for European audiences (Chapter 2). It is this awkward legacy that still defines both the NMG and the musée national du Mali today and is one factor which helps to understand both these national institutions in their current struggles to appeal to local audiences. As Arinze (1998: 31) has stated "[...] in essence that African museums were not established for the same reasons as Western museums [...]". The remainder of this chapter will consider further factors that were instrumental to the development of these national museums.

3.3 Collectors, IFAN and *le musée Archéologique et Ethnologique du Soudan Français*

3.3.1 The *Dakar-Djibouti* collecting mission in French Sudan (1931-33)

The situation between the French and the French West African territories in the 1930s considered the contextual background that eventually gave rise to the musée Archéologique et Ethnologique du Soudan Français. Arguably, the most significant event to shape French ethnography in relation to West African collections in the early 20th century was its first ever major fieldwork expedition, the Dakar-Djibouti mission carried out by Marcel Griaule and his team just after the opening of the colonial exhibition in Paris in 1931. On the Paris art scene the surrealist movement had been developing since the 1920s. Its members were more attracted to non-Western arts' "unconscious 'magic'" (Goldwater 1969: 38), challenging Western aesthetics, and, though keen to disassociate themselves with its popularisation, also stimulated a wider interest in non-European culture (the popularity was stronger than in Britain at the time [Jolly 2001: 150]). Such interests were exemplified, for example, in the popular *La Revue Nègre* at the Music-hall des Champs-Élysées starring Josephine Baker; in modern American jazz rhythms, and in vodou cults from Haiti, exoticised, for example, in W. B. Seabrook's work 'The Magic Island' (1929) (see Clifford 1983: 122; McLeod and Mack 1985: 11; Green 2005: 231). A rise in Negrophilia (Archer-Straw 2000: 145) and an interest in carved masks and other material culture from West Africa and Equatorial Africa that were deemed 'exotic' at the time informed new movements in cubist and subsequent modernisms. The emerging trends, in turn, helped to generate French public support for the

Dakar-Djibouti mission (Jamin 1982; Mahon 2005). The approach to ethnographic collecting exemplified the engagement of the French state with these expeditions, recalling the prior proliferation of similar national projects, such as, for example, Napoleon's expeditions in Egypt after the French Revolution of 1789. The Dakar-Djibouti mission received support from the state via the Ministry for Education, the Ministry for the Colonies, the Ministry for Agriculture, l'Institut Français as well as from l'Université de Paris, and le muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris (Sidibe 1996: 80). Such involvement of the French government in the public arts positioned the Dakar-Djibouti mission project firmly within a political and colonial context^{cvi}. The project received 700,000 francs from the public budget and other sources of funding came from private individuals and institutions such as banks, commercial and industrial businesses as well as subventions from the Rockefeller Foundation and private art donors such as Raymond Roussel (Clifford 1988: 136)^{cvi}.

The collecting mission traversed Africa from Dakar in the West to Djibouti in the East. A total of 3,500 ethnographic works were collected (Clifford 1983: 122). Notes on thirty languages and dialects were made during the mission with at least 6,000 photographs taken and 3,500 metres of film, as well as over 15,000 observation forms compiled (Griaule 1933; Leiris, et al. 1996: 26). The particular regional highlights of the trip were the Dogon region in French Sudan (which Griaule repeatedly revisited throughout the rest of his career, advocating long term, repeated studies on one particular society) and the Gondar region in Ethiopia^{cvi}. The trip helped to concretise professional ethnographic research in France because of the length of time that was spent in the field in conjunction with the depth of the research undertaken and the professional skills of those

involved. Despite efforts carried out at the Institute of Ethnology, prior to the Dakar-Djibouti mission, researchers tended not to venture abroad. Paul Rivet for example, had barely conducted field research in the territories that he studied throughout his later career. Jamin (in Leiris, et al. 1996: 14 appendix 1:10) has also cited Emile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss and Lucien Levy-Bruhl as further examples, stating the paradox of ‘armchair’ anthropologists, which also came to haunt Lévi-Strauss and his work later in the 1960s (Ellen 1984: 18). Opportunities for going abroad increased alongside changes within the discipline of ethnography in the 1920s and 1930s, thus as requiring a “modern ethnography” (Clifford 1981: 542). As with the complexities involved between anthropology, colonialism and museums discussed in Chapter 2, the Dakar-Djibouti project collected for museums in France. Those institutions were, in turn, committed to assisting the state in administering its colonial affairs, and members of the mission benefited from the power, protection and control of the French colonial authorities whilst in the field. Paul Rivet (in Leiris, et al. 1996: 26 appendix 1:11)^{cix} interpreted the role of the ethnography museum at the time as a national project *and* as “an instrument of cultural and colonial propaganda [and] for future and present colonial officials, a valuable and indispensable centre for documentation on the populations which they administer”.

The writer, art critic and ethnographer Michel Leiris accompanied Marcel Griaule and he kept an insightful record in his diary of the coercive relations of power that were frequently employed during the Dakar-Djibouti mission^{cx}. He recalled a particular incident where himself, Griaule and their two assistants acquired a kono mask (a police mask) from a village near Bla, 85km south of Ségou in the French Sudan. Following failure to persuade the village chief to

part with his pieces, Leiris (1996: 194 appendix 1:12) described how Griaule threatened the latter with a fine and with a (false) warning that the police were waiting in a nearby vehicle. He described this process of acquisition as “terrible blackmail!” Leiris’ account of the consequences of their actions upon members of the village makes distressing reading. It provides insight into the circumstances under which many antiquities were looted out of the French Sudan, destined for museums in France during these collecting expeditions (referred to as “raids” in Leiris’ diary). Leiris (1996: 204 appendix 1:13) expressed his sense of shame, writing that he was rarely entirely at ease with his work, and that “All this throws a dark shadow on my life and my conscience is only half clear”.

The amount of collecting in the first half of the 20th century was as extensive in Britain as it was in France at the time. An astonished Braunholtz (1943a), for example, later recalled the moment that Malinowski’s collection of twenty five to thirty large packing cases of artefacts arrived at the British Museum in 1922, wondering “if anything had been left in situ”^{cxix}. The sheer quantities that were amassed during the Dakar-Djibouti expedition were also influenced by the ways that ethnographic artefacts were classified according to French historiographies of museology. In the mission guidelines, Griaule^{cxii} (Mission Dakar-Djibouti 1931: 9 appendix 1:14) as well as Monod (Adedze 2002: 55) instructed that everything be collected, whether marked by European influences or perceived as throwaway items of rubbish. Now serving as testimonial tools, items were utilised to yield information in order to reconstitute the whole of a given society. French acquisition practices had shifted from an aesthetic focus that provided little background information towards the extensive collecting of artefacts within

a functionalist framing. On the former, Griaule (in Mission Dakar-Djibouti 1931) ridiculed the aestheticisation of indigenous material culture, allocating it to amateur interests. For him, ethnography was interested in all aspects of human life and he supported his arguments by drawing upon individual (and social) differences and prejudices in cultural perceptions of beauty.

3.3.2 Early formations of *le musée Archéologique et Ethnologique du Soudan Français* in Bamako

The interest in France in indigenous material culture from Francophone Africa during the 1920s and 1930s was spurred on by a number of rising trends and factors as described above. University courses became more specialised as research missions ventured further into the hinterlands of French West Africa. The musée des Colonies opened in Paris alongside the popular Exposition Coloniale Internationale in 1931 and received over 33 million^{cxiii} visitors (Allwood 1977 appendix 3). Across the French colonies, important institutions had begun to be established^{cxiv} such as the Institute, archives and library in Morocco (Institut des Hautes Etudes Marocaines 1924)^{cxv}, the 'Oriental school and art museum' in Indochina in 1925 and an important archaeological museum in Algeria (1930). In 1931, the Inspector General of Education, Albert Charton, with Governor-General Jules Brevié (1930-1936) lamented the lack of such places in West Africa (Brevié 1936: archives) and urged the creation of a research centre for ethnographic studies as a successor to the Comité des études historiques et scientifiques de l'AOF in Dakar, Senegal.

The spirit of national competitiveness between European states that had manifested itself at the International Exhibitions during the period 1850-1900 (Chapter 2) resurged in France after WWI and helped contribute to the formation of the research institute in Dakar. By the time of Griaule's return to Paris in 1933, Georges Henri Rivière had been instrumental in reinvigorating, as deputy director, the musée d'ethnographie du Trocadéro^{cxvi}. With Brévié (located in Dakar), the three cautioned against France's 'lagging behind'. A graduate of the Ecole Coloniale, Brévié had a keen interest in ethnography and was sympathetic to local voices^{cxvii} and in his position as Governor-General, he launched the Institut français d'Afrique Noire (IFAN) in Dakar in 1938 (officially created by decree no. 1945/E, 19th August, IFAN). Brévié appointed Théodore Monod, the celebrated naturalist and former employee of the Muséum d'histoire naturelle in Paris as the Institute's first director. The Benin-born Alexandre Adandé was employed in the museum section^{cxviii} and André Villard was the archivist (Adedze 2002: 51). The Institute was overwhelmingly ethnographic in nature and Dias (2000: 22) has remarked that, in this sense, French museums generally varied more than British ones. In Asia, French museums were multidisciplinary whereas in Africa they were ethnographic. IFAN served the primary function of a centralised research centre for social, human and natural sciences on subjects that ranged from the region's inhabitants, industry, history, culture and evolution. It was to facilitate the creation of the first satellite ethnographic 'museums' or research centres, which ultimately became the national and local museums in the differing Francophone nation states in West Africa.

The main functions of IFAN (see also appendix 5) outlined by the Education Inspector (Gouvernement_de_l'AOF 1936: archives, appendix 1:15) were fourfold — 1) to meet tourists' interests; 2) to link up with other scientific bodies; 3) to spread the general and political interests of the organisation and 4) to diffuse knowledge pertaining to questions about Africa, ensuring liaison and coordination. It was not until much later that the Institute began to resemble a public museum and to reject the legacies and framings of a research centre (pers. comm. Claude Ardouin, former MNM director 18.02.10). In 1941 an Archaeology-Prehistory section was created at the Institute, significantly allowing for artefacts to be preserved and studied *in situ* rather than to be shipped to France. The first museum in the region was created on the Island of Gorée in 1954 and in 1959 the Institute was joined to one of the eleven branches of the Dakar University where it still continues to the present day. More recently, in describing the inherited collections, Speranza (1991: 178) wrote in his report that IFAN possessed some 20,000 works. He suggested it destroy a few thousand and consider what to do with the many fakes or those made for Europeans.

Collecting for IFAN began in 1941 although only 40% of works that were registered between 1941-59 arrived directly from professionals in the field (Ravenhill 1996: 272). Despite efforts to professionalize the acquisition of material culture comparable to other international institutions' standards (in 1941, for example, H. Lhote led a mission to Niger and Mali, acquiring 248 objects, [Adedze 2002: 56]), the remaining 60% were acquired by amateurs such as, for example, colonial residents, teachers and friends of the institution. Donors' names and gifts were published in the journal *Notes Africaines*.

Besides Monod, other important associated researchers over the years included Georges Balandier and Bohumil Holas, and archaeologists Raymond Mauny in Dakar (1938-1962)^{cxix} and Georges Szumowski in Bamako (1951-6). In his published memoirs, Huxley (1970: 279) greatly admired Monod, describing him as a “real polymath, who had studied African geology, archaeology, biology, art and linguistics.”^{cxx} Monod supported the belief that the IFAN should replicate the purposes of his former institution (the Muséum d’histoire naturelle) as a centre for research and documentation and “high culture”^{cxxi} for all the territories in the AOF. This was consistent with French political ideologies of *association*. He conceived that satellite offices with small museums attached should be established across all of the AOF territories’ capital cities, such that the IFAN acted as the centralised institution for these outlets. Throughout the 1940s and 50s a series of IFAN offices and small museums were subsequently set up across West Africa: Saint Louis (Senegal), Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Cotonou (Dahomey), Ouagadougou (Upper Volta), Niamey (Niger), and in Bamako (Sudan), with associated centres in Douala (Cameroun) and Lomé (Togo) and bases in Atar (Mauritania), Diarafabé (Sudan) and Mont-Nimba (present day Guinea)^{cxxii}.

Monod’s first attempts to establish an offshoot of the IFAN headquarters with a small satellite museum in Bamako were delayed on account of WWII (1939-45). His timing recalls the administrator Equilbecq’s prior efforts to set up a cultural institution in 1916, which were rejected because of WWI (page 101). Thus it wasn’t until 1951 that a branch of IFAN was eventually set up in Bamako. Two years later a small embryo museum opened to the public at the ‘School of Public Works’ (*l’Ecole des Travaux Publics*)^{cxxiii} on 14th February 1953

inaugurated by the French High Commissioner Bernard Cornut-Gentille (1951-56) and named le musée Soudanais de Bamako (Sidibe 1991: 174). The first appointed director was the Polish archaeologist Szumowski and (like the Achimota Museum in the Gold Coast in the next section), early collections were heavily biased towards his own archaeological and ethnographic finds from the region (approximately 2,512 in total, with 2,350 archaeological pieces according to the website^{cxxiv}). Most of the items came from Koumbi-Saleh in Northern French Sudan (thought to be the ancient capital of the Ghana Empire) where Szumowski carried out his excavations. According to a report in the daily newspaper *l'Essor* (Lescot 2002: 4), geological and ornithological items were later added to the collections apparently in an attempt to attract a *Bamakois* public. Few records exist in newspaper archives on how the museum was received by local audiences in its early years, although reports indicated that veneration for ancient material culture did not exist as it did in Europe. In 1955 the directorship of the institution was taken over by Gerard Brasseur, a French geographer, who was able to enrich the museums' collections due to a stricter regime for exportation licenses at the time. He relocated the institution in 1958 to a small gallery space in the zoological gardens. After independence in 1960, the museum was again renamed musée national du Mali and associated with the 'Insitut des Sciences Humaines' (ISH). In 1977 the collections moved (with funding from French former President Valéry Giscard D'Estaing) to where the museum stands today in a prominent location to the north of the city near the government administrative offices (see Chapter 5).

3.4 The formation of the National Museum of Ghana (NMG), Accra

3.4.1 Key actors that were involved in the formation of the museum at Achimota College, Accra

The final section of this chapter charts the early developments of the NMG in the Gold Coast. After 1924 the colonial office advocated improved knowledge of and relations with its territories, and this can be reflected in the gradual progression towards the creation of the National Museum. Future cadets were required to have a university degree and to complete a one-year training course on law and indigenous languages at Oxford. However in comparison to the training programmes that were by now established at the Ecole Coloniale in Paris, the British lagged behind and it was only by the 1930s that more specialised courses developed and gained popularity^{CXXV}.

At Achimota College, concerns over the erosion of indigenous cultural values led to the setting up of the Achimota Museum in 1929 in order to restore a sense of pride as well as a way of safeguarding relics of the past. Also awareness of the need to protect antiquities had been growing and since the early 1930s concrete efforts to retain antiquities *in situ* began to be carried out. By 1932, Miers et al. (1932: 61) noted the existence of (“only”) two museums in British West Africa (at Achimota College and at Jos in Nigeria) although some mining companies in Nigeria and the Gold Coast had set up small mainly geological private museums. Archaeological specimens dug up during the construction of Achimota College were carefully preserved at the museum annexe. Five years after its opening, the Achimota Museum was split into two

sections: anthropology and science, and in the same year it received a generous grant from the Carnegie Trust of New York (Agbodeka 1977: 109-11). Until 1932 the museum had survived on £20 per year (Miers, et al. 1932: 61). The majority of donations were miscellaneous and arrived at the Museum from colonial administrators, their widows (Agbodeka 1977: 109), missionaries, a few British firms (such as Cadburys) and solicited local community leaders. Other donations came from amateur archaeologists, friends, old students and geologists with particular interests in the mines (for example, the directors of the Gold Coast Geological Survey, Sir Albert Kitson and N. R. Junner [Kense 1990: 138]). Although gifts and the names of their donors were documented, minimal information on the objects' provenance or background was recorded.

The British archaeologist and teacher at Achimota College, Charles Thurston Shaw was appointed part time curator of the museum in 1937 with his African assistant Richard Nunoo. Nunoo has been considered the first African archaeologist (though not officially trained, he worked closely with Shaw until Shaw's departure to Nigeria in 1946 and carried out important excavations at Nsuta in the same year). Nunoo later became temporary assistant at the British Museum in 1954, founding chief of the GMMB in 1957 and then director of the NMG (1960-71). Shaw and Nunoo actively promoted the use of archaeological finds to build up an historical background, according to their own approaches, and they set up programmes to stimulate local interest. Reflecting upon this period, Shaw (1990: 209) believed that the museum and its archaeological collections had quite an influence. They encouraged the reporting of sites, funding and excavations and disseminated their archaeological work through displays, talks, lectures, clubs and societies, media articles and radio

broadcasts. Entrance was free and members of the public as well as students were encouraged to visit. Shaw and his colleagues shared Huxley's view (above) that some elements of indigenous cultures had suddenly vanished upon contact with the 'outside world' in the 16th century and the exhibition displays reflected a demarcated time shift between the pre-colonial and colonial periods (Smith 1935: 7). Some five thousand pieces were used for teaching purposes (Nunoo 1965: introduction) and collections were stored in an overcrowded exhibition room with one storehouse and a small office, but plans to relocate had to be temporarily put on hold during the second World War. British investment in the Gold Coast fell during the war, by which time once again, colonial governments could not be perceived by the general public nor permit themselves to spend 'frivolous' money investing in costly museum projects abroad.

After the War, a new and rather eclectic team of individuals came on board to shape the Museum, described by Paul Basu (2009) in his University College London (UCL) seminar presentation as a small number of colonial officers with a personal amateur interest in indigenous art. They included for a brief period, Charles Thurstan Shaw and Herbert Meyerowitz, who was the art instructor at the College and conservator of local arts and crafts (he was also partly responsible for founding the Institute of West African Arts, Industries and Social Sciences, IWAAISS above page 110). Herbert's wife, Eva Meyerowitz was on a two-year secondment from the Horniman Museum in London (Colonial Office 1946-48). She became involved in the project and contributed anthropological research on Akan beliefs and customs. She assisted in the prevention of illegal exportation of artefacts and was also interested in the 'Ghana hypothesis'

whereby the Akan were thought to have migrated as direct descendents of the Ghana Empire (which became a popular nationalist belief of pre-colonial state formation at independence, and was championed by J. B. Danquah [see Danquah 1944 and Nkrumah 1957]). As a representative of IWAAISS, Huxley carried out a twelve-week tour of the region in 1944. Further external support also came from Max Gluckman as director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute from 1947-49, and Hermann Braunholtz from the British Museum. In the late 1950s A. W. Lawrence, a close colleague of Professor Kofi Busia left his chair as Professor of Classical Archaeology in Cambridge to take up the post of curator and then director of the National Museum (and Professor of Archaeology at the University of Legon [Kense 1990: 145; St. Clair 2007: 5]). Finally, from the Colonial Office Alan Burns (Governor of the Gold Coast 1942-47) and Arthur Creech Jones (Vice Chairman of the Commission on Higher Education for West Africa, 1946 and staunch supporter of 'native' rule) oversaw the project and lent it their encouragement and assistance.

During his twelve-week tour in 1944 Huxley looked to French achievements (most notably IFAN) to justify in turn the need for a worthy national museum in the Gold Coast. Mirroring Rivière's comments above (page 119) he argued (Huxley 1946a: 1) "[...] in our West African Colonies (in sharp contrast to the French possessions) there exist no museums for the conservation, study and exhibition of important elements of any local culture". After his own tour to the region (the Gold Coast 24th March – 5th April 1946, Nigeria and the Gambia) Braunholtz produced a long-awaited (one year) advisory report. Correspondences indicated that the 'museum team' sought Braunholtz's professional advice and eagerly awaited his counsel before developing their

projects in the Gold Coast. Further assistance came from archaeologists Kenneth Murray and Bernard Fagg (working as Assistant District Officer in Nigeria from 1939). Fagg advocated a model based upon provincial museums in each of the four British West African territories with five additional museums in Kumasi, Tamali, Ife, Benin and Kano. According to the British system of indirect rule, a highly centralised system modelled on the IFAN in Dakar was rejected in part on account of the uncertain future of the Colonies (Colonial Office 1946-48; Huxley 1946b: archives).

3.4.2 From Achimota College to the NMG

Holding the view that material culture was of scientific, historic, aesthetic and consequently educational value, in 1945 the Commissioner of Higher Education (1945) lent his support and declared that adequate museum facilities were essential for each university or territorial college. In 1951 the collections (there were 5,000 of Gold Coast origin by 1950 [Crimson 2001: 235]) were transferred to the University of Ghana, Legon, as 'The Department of Archaeology and Ghana Museum' (Antubam 1963: 206). Whilst there, interestingly, the collections were split again, with the non-Ghanaian and non-African works remaining for teaching purposes in the Department of Archaeology (1951) and I return to this topic in Chapter 8. Three years later the core collections were relocated to the current site of the NMG on Barnes Road in the central northern district of Accra (Adabraka). The museum's settings at Achimota College and then at the University of Ghana, Legon, inflected a pedagogical approach that in theory favoured the preservation of material culture for students and local audiences.

Pressing concerns over 'disappearing' heritage contributed to renewed debates throughout the 1940s over what type of museum would be best suited for the Gold Coast. Shaw (1943: 146) claimed his support for the use of history in nation building to engender self-confidence and a sense of self-consciousness for posterity in a paper on archaeology in the Gold Coast that he presented in 1943. Both Huxley (1946b: 2) and Braunholtz (1948b) advocated that the museum would enable social cohesion and a sense of a collective national and regional identity by drawing on the countries' pre-colonial histories. Their approach recalls the roles of museums in 19th century Europe (in Chapter 2). In response to rapid social changes, institutions were perceived as political, unifying tools (see Hooper-Greenhill 1992; Bennett 1995; Duncan 1995). However in the Gold Coast, the borders of the state had become incompatible with the positioning of various diverse communities (Ewe territories for example, had been shared with German Togoland, see Chapter 4) and Huxley found the geographical boundaries for the collections and their display problematic. It made promoting the project of the colonial (and subsequent nation) state particularly awkward (Barthel 1996: 154). In an insightful sketch, Huxley devised a plan for the museum that first of all gave prominence to prized collections from all over British West Africa. The artefacts from other colonial territories were relegated to the less prominent annexe or wings of the building. In many ways, his design, although it was not integrated at the time, can still be noted in the museum's current displays (see Chapter 1).

Shaw, Huxley and Braunholtz took on the roles of self-appointed pioneers in the field of colonial museography, perceiving themselves as responsible for the

protection and diffusion of indigenous material cultural heritage. Appealing to disciplinary and ‘universalist’ discourses of museology, they argued that it was the duty of every country to preserve cultural history *for the benefit of all mankind*. Despite the museums’ marginalisation by local communities, Brauholtz (1948b: 3) believed, or perhaps hoped, that a rise in education standards in the Gold Coast would stimulate people’s interest in their own antiquities and ‘traditional’ culture. Sometime in March 1946, two years’ before Brauholtz’s assertions, interesting contributions over what *style* of museum to adopt had arrived from the young Nigerian artist and art historian, Ben Enwonwu. Enwonwu was a student at the Slade School of Fine Art in London^{cxxvi}. In a rare example of ‘local’ input he rejected the horizontal, linear, ethnographic or aesthetic approaches to displays of indigenous material culture and argued that a museum located in West Africa should present its collections in a manner sensitive to local views. He wanted local understanding and an architecture which respected their purposes. He explained that the artefacts, particularly those of religious significance, should generate pious reverence and not be removed from their context to be used as tools for education. Enwonwu’s memorandum is invaluable as the only example of feedback that advocated a ‘local’ interpretation of material culture at the time that I am aware of. It is also worth noting that by criticising the European model of museums in the Gold Coast, Enwonwu undermined the concept and possibility of a ‘universalist’ museum model (Chapter 7). I quote below extensively from Enwonwu’s memorandum as his views provide insight into these arguments:

“... the sort of museums for West Africa should be very big houses, which take after the style and shape of the old shrines [...]. I thought that some structure like Rudolf Steiner’s Goetheanum

would lend more to the spiritual quality of the old art objects which the Nigerian Government wishes to preserve. I think they look dead in foreign museums not because they are miles away from their native land – because now even in their native land their houses have almost completely decayed – but because they are placed in the wrong atmosphere, in which they are exposed to the ordinary eyes of men and women. Their powers of mystery and ritual things have been cut off. It is like stripping off the mask-wearer and exposing him to the spectators – men and women. I think the old works are ashamed in foreign museums. Some of them are weeping; the others shed tears and look shy against mauve background and glass cases. They were not made for glass cases. They feel that they are buried in such places.” (Enwonwu n.d.: archives, see appendix 6 for full memorandum)

The reaction to Ben Enwonwu’s memorandum was varied. Huxley’s correspondence on 10th April (1946a: archives) to the Colonial Office demonstrated compassion and an appreciation of this indigenous perspective (perhaps as future Director of UNESCO). He commended the representation of views by an “indigenous African who is a good artist and who knows about the art of his country”. On the other hand, Braunholtz (1946: archives) disagreed with its content in his memo to Sgt Carstairs. He asserted that Enwonwu’s conception of a museum differed (as likened to a church) from a European one (as likened to a school) and remained convinced of the moral benefits of the latter^{cxxvii}. Although Braunholtz claimed to remain sympathetic to expressions of intangible heritage, such as, for example, at festivals, he hoped that his own vision of the museum in the Gold Coast, with emphases on aesthetic and educational approaches, would replace a religious one. It is worth noting briefly his apparently contradictory interpretations of material culture in local museum contexts however. In 1943 on the occasion of Malinowski’s memorial lectures,

Braunholtz (1943b:15) recalled the anthropologist's relationship with his collections in remarkably similar words to Enwonwu's by stating that "The intractability of hard dead things, divorced from their true setting, seemed at times to daunt and even repel him. I think that he felt that they clogged the freedom of his spirit". However, a steadfast advocator of what he perceived as the pioneering duty of museums, Braunholtz praised Malinowski's turnaround, speaking of his "achievement" and of his "new status" as a collector. I would suggest that Braunholtz hoped that in time, Enwonwu too would also recognise the 'correct' (i.e. *his*) interpretation of material culture display. As a direct result of Braunholtz's intervention, Enwonwu's suggestions as representing local voices over the display of material culture were rejected.

The NMG opened to the public on the eve of the celebrations of independence (6th March 1957) and was inaugurated by HRH the Duchess of Kent. The museum was modelled on the European ethnographic museum (Braunholtz 1948a appendix 7). Collections assembled for the inaugural exhibition *Man in Africa* attempted to trace the origins of the Gold Coast people beyond national borders and were displayed according to European-style classifications by regions and a linear time span that was devoid of religious references (Anderson 1991: 184-5). Works were exhibited inside glass cases donated by Achimota College. The British architect Denys Lasdun designed the museum building. He was part of the successful and internationalist (Crinson 2001: 232) architectural firm *Fry, Drew, Drake & Lasdun* that worked across the Gold Coast, the Punjab, Togo and Nigeria^{cxviii}. Throughout the 1950s they received commissions for public buildings such as banks, schools, department stores, new houses and even villages. The most characteristic feature of the NMG was

its dome, which the entire building was centred upon. The feature recalled the famous dome in London for the Festival of Britain in 1951 and was so uncharacteristic of other local architectural buildings at the time in Accra that it introduced a new, alien and Eurocentric construction (Crinson 2001: 233). Displays were set out in sequential order inside the circular exhibition gallery, which Merriman (the first exhibition curator) from the Guildhall Museum in London lamented for its inflexibility. Several years later as NMG director, Richard Nunoo (1970: 6) also bemoaned the cumbersome structure stating that “In a round building such as this Museum it is not easy to display specimens in any effective systematic order nor is it easy for the visitor to know where to start [...]”.

The development of the National Museum took over thirty years of efforts, discussions and debates from a myriad of British teachers, educators, anthropologists, archaeologists, colonial officers and curators drawing on a range of disciplinary and institutional perspectives. Indigenous voices were not seriously taken into consideration except for that of the Nigerian artist, Enwonwu, which was rejected. At their own insistence, the group remained convinced of their duty to conserve local heritages for fear of acculturation and to instil recognition of their *own* interpretation of historical values for future generations in the Gold Coast. Their approaches mirror the political exigencies of the British system (above) with the intention of shaping local elites through education, as at Achimota College. The effects of the two Wars in Europe and of economic depression and rapid social changes in Britain directly influenced this idealist protectionism of indigenous cultural heritage in the Gold Coast. The convictions of the rather small and ‘eclectic’ team of British individuals

neglected to innovate or adapt to alternative forms of museography in West Africa at the time, which led to a 'Euro-centric' legacy of museological interpretation based on preservationist views of ethnicised identities.

Conclusion

By the mid 20th century competition had subsided between France and Britain since the divisive period of rivalries between European nations following the Entente Cordiale in 1904 and the League of Nations in 1919-20. Those working in the cultural sector had begun to cooperate and exchange information with each other. In 1953 Adande curated a show on the arts and crafts of French West Africa at the British Council in Accra, and in 1954 IFAN exchanged thirty artefacts from the NMG for unspecified items (Adedze 2002: 56-58). The guidelines published by IFAN advocated international collaborations through conferences and institutions. In the Gold Coast, Huxley (1946b: 5) actively supported working with the French governments of the AOF and AEF (Afrique Equatoriale Française) including with IFAN through the exchange of “specimens and data” between researchers and museum staff. He also contributed some of his findings in the IFAN bulletin (Huxley 1968).

This chapter contextualised the period leading up to independence in colonial West Africa, illustrating how French and British colonial rules differed in principle and on the ground. In hindsight the British wanted to ‘create better Africans’ though this was of their own imagining, and the French oscillated in their approaches between assimilation and association. Despite the core ideological oppositions between direct and indirect rule, the differing principles were of “kind rather than degree” (Crowder 1978: 199) and actually produced very similar results (Dimier 2001). With regards to the museums in this chapter, they remained at the times of their opening, remarkably similar both in terms of

archaeological and ethnographic content and also in terms of linear and aesthetic form.

The communities and societies were and are not as static as represented in individual and institutional discourses on the projects that led to the development of national museums. The colonial legacies inherited by the national museums of Ghana and Mali are a representation of societies and ethnic groups as ahistorical, relatively untouched by social change, isolated from the European presence, and as largely homogenous entities. The crises over static and ethnographic interpretations addressed by Braunholtz, Griaule and their contemporaries allowed for reconsiderations of representation at the Institutes and museums of Paris and London, but they were not applied to museums in West Africa. These particular legacies continue to haunt these museums to the present day.

The assertion that the national museums across West Africa have not succeeded in rejecting their colonial legacies is not in any way new and will be revisited in Chapter 5 (see Konare 1983; Coombes 1994; Ardouin 1996; Arinze 1998). Rather, it has been the aim of this chapter to demonstrate how museums were set up on the ground (and helped retain indigenous material culture *in situ*) and how preservationist and paternalistic attitudes generated and underpinned static museological interpretations. The result was the creation of 'museums of identity' (MacKenzie 2009) that were focused on the ethnicised identities that coalesced in response to colonial exigencies. By excluding aspects of social change, in turn, these institutions adopted conservative positionings and were largely marginalised by local audiences. Their absences

did not deter, for example, Braunholtz (1948b: 3) who instead blamed ignorance and claimed that it was important to gather the past as “contribution to the general pool of the science of man”. Contemporary issues of development or of ‘encyclopaedic’ knowledge about new cultures and societies outside of West Africa (including the colonisers’ own indigenous cultural heritage) remained crucially absent in these institutions. As early as 1935 Edwin Smith cautioned against these dangers of ‘freezing’ cultures and societies in timeless pasts in a speech for the Presidential address on Africa (Inter-University Committee of South Africa):

“The first task of the ethnographer is to give a detailed and faithful description of a culture as he actually finds it, and any attempt to ignore the presence of the European factor will result in a completely distorted and erroneous picture of the native as he now is. [...]. The anthropologist more than anyone else should be in a position to speak with authority upon the present-day life of the Natives, and he is failing in his duty both to his science and to his country if he neglects this side of Native life in favour of the possibly more glamorous but nevertheless obsolescent institutions of old.”
(Smith 1935: 78-9)

Chapter 4 Museums juxtaposed between colonial origins and nation formations

The transitions from colonial to self-rule in West Africa generated new interpretations of material culture in the public domain, shaped according to the new and different styles of government. Museums were at times viewed as vehicles of the state through their potential ability to serve the state and to reach and shape the citizens of the state, but their role was ambiguously received (unlike, on the whole, the 19th century museums in Europe). This chapter positions culture in nation building and bridges the two sections of the thesis, from an historical account of cultural heritage projects that moved gradually into the public domain towards a more critical approach of museology in West Africa. Keeping the particular focus on the National Museums of Mali and Ghana, the trajectories of these institutions are contextualised here within the relatively short but crucially important decade before and after independence. An historical and political background to the Gold Coast and to the French Sudan enables the rest of the chapter to focus upon the *social context* within which museologists operated at the time of independence^{cxxix}.

Under colonial rule the implementation of colonial museums in the French Sudan and Gold Coast drew direction respectively from the model of a research institution (IFAN in Dakar) and from Achimota College and the University College of Legon (see Chapter 3). As such, they tended to valorise the preservation of distant cultural pasts (see Fabian 1983). Influenced by the salvage paradigm, the museums promoted indigenous material culture and customs that belonged to 'untainted' eras supposedly pre-dating 'Western'

explorers and colonial influences (and elided prior histories of contacts, such as documented, among others, by Olfert Dapper in 1668 or by Barbot circa 1678). On the eve of independence in the French Sudan and the Gold Coast, the conceptualisation of museums was as a space to restore pride and dignity by looking 'back', towards the achievements of the pre-colonial past. How these processes were integrated into the contemporary political ideologies of new governments and thus, by implication, how the cultural past was managed in museums alongside emerging nation states' modernisation projects will be key considerations throughout this section. Whereas British intentions in creating the National Museum in the Gold Coast were directed to celebrating a 'return' to pre-colonial ethnic identities, in 1958 Joe Appiah (in Arhin 1993: 25) argued for expanding the knowledge of Ghanaian culture "*in toto*", not simply of individual, regional or ethnicised constructions of heritage. Later, within the context of promoting Pan-Africanism and of exchange with other African nations, Kwame Nkrumah interpreted nationhood not as a set of static, bounded entities, but as interchangeable, fluid sets of affiliations (Austin 1970: 395; Hess 2001: 66). In considering the arguments put forward by British curators in the 1940s (Chapter 3), the museums' legacies remained clearly colonial-orientated. The arguments for these institutions were for restoring cultural stability by building on identities from the past rather than appealing to Nkrumah's visions as 'stepping stones' towards Pan-African unity and new postcolonial orders. Some of the difficulties that Nkrumah encountered arose from the fact that the latter approaches were less easily applicable to the museum's existing collections (see also Crinson 2001: 242).

Museology during the period of independence in the Sudan and the Gold Coast entered a particularly challenging phase. Institutions were confronted by a sudden lack of trained personnel. They were unable to provide adequate public services, which ranged from acquiring artefacts, developing exhibitions and carrying out valuable research. Despite the ideology of decolonisation (see Fanon 1963) there was a lack of clear strategy for the museums from the new governments. This phase allows us to begin to understand the marginalisation of museums in West Africa, which continues — it can be argued — to the present day. In addition, the origins of peoples, as represented and preserved through a national museum in the independence era, as well as since, is a highly sensitive, complex and political topic, where pasts (regional, national and/or pan-African) can be manipulated to configure memories for the purposes of shaping collective identities in the present. It is here that the NMG in particular had to fulfil its difficult task of mediating nation state policy and appealing to multiple identities on different levels. The historical trajectory of the museum reveals itself as an important tool for this study.

4.1 Historical trajectories of independence in West Africa

4.1.1 The rise of Kwame Nkrumah and the independent nation state of Ghana

Despite Europeans' extraction of resources for metropolitan reconstruction^{cxix}, the period 1945-60 was discernable for its more conciliatory policies. In the Gold Coast there developed a number of public projects, aided significantly by the passing of the Colonial Welfare and a revival of the Development Act in 1940 (Hopkins 1973: 277). £5 million per year was allocated for development projects and £500,000 for research across all British colonies (Gocking 2005: 79). During WWII, the country had played a strategic role (Ilfie 1995: 221). Airfields became increasingly valuable, for example, and Takoradi port expanded considerably, providing alternative access to the Far East when the Mediterranean routes became blocked as Italy allied with the Third Reich (Gocking 2005: 76). This had a lasting effect on the infrastructure of the country. Investment in infrastructure led to improved paved roads, extended railways, more housing projects and greater access to potable water in rural areas. After the War there was a surplus of goods on the market as the Gold Coast had provided much needed raw materials (vegetable oils, timber, rubber, and bauxite for aircraft) to impoverished Europe. Production rose, training schools multiplied, and primary school education was made free and compulsory for those aged 6-12 years. Increased opportunities developed for the intellectual elite to reassert themselves and to promote their visions for an independent future, though the role of the museum did not play a part in these movements. Funds were made available to build a hospital and a College of

Arts, Science and Technology in Kumasi and also to move the museum collections from Achimota College to the Archaeology Department at the University College in Legon, which opened in 1951 (Crinson 2001: 235).

The relatively prosperous post-War period was short lived however. In 1947 a campaign was launched against the large Lebanese-owned firms that led to an embargo during the whole month of January 1948 and serious riots took place across the Gold Coast in Accra, Koforidua, Nsawam, Akuse and Kumasi (Gocking 2005: 83-84). According to Iliffe (1995: 216) agricultural entrepreneurship had led to social instability and an economic slump set off more strikes and protests when crop prices soared. Regular boycotts were staged against expatriate trading companies or merchant firms such as the UAC (United Africa Company) and against imported goods, such as spirits, cotton textiles, canned meat and flour. Also the cocoa swollen-shoot virus (CSSV) in the late 1940s triggered a slump in production resulting in mass inflation. Discontented farmers began to side with the expanding local intelligentsia who in turn, highlighted the farmers' predicaments. Earlier investments in primary education meant that there were many young elementary school leavers who were no longer able to secure jobs. The cost of living rose and urban migration increased. With farmers out of work and groups of angry youths, petty traders, and drivers and soldiers returning from the War in Burma and the Middle East, the situation provided a fertile ground for nationalist agitation (Nkrumah 1957: 74). Students returning from overseas in the years after the War were very much influenced by the radical activities and ideas that were circulating abroad. Kwame Nkrumah (Prime Minister 1952-60) himself had returned from the UK (1945-47) during which time he had been

involved in the militant West African Students Union (WASU) in London (Arhin 1993: ix; Botwe-Asamoah 2005: 8). Supported by the frustration of the masses and by an emergent class of individuals seeking emancipation and change, the students highlighted the cause for nationalism and promoted independence. The increasingly strategic role of the youth during this period and following independence was influential, and significantly in 1951 the official election age was reduced from twenty five to twenty one years (Gocking 2005: 95). In 1960 Nkrumah set up the national youth organisation, the Ghana's Young Pioneers movement (YP) that was instrumental to the development of his political party (Coe 2005: 65)^{cxviii} and in 1962 the 'Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute' opened in Winneba, with taught seminars on 'Nkrumaism' (Austin 1970: 408).

A rise in national political consciousness took shape across all of West Africa throughout the 1950s. African intellectuals Léopold Senghor (co-founder of the *négritude* movement with Aimé Césaire [Clifford 1988: 59]), Houphouët-Boigny (in the Ivory Coast), Sekou Touré (in Guinea) and Kwame Nkrumah sought, albeit in different ways, to gain autonomy in West African relations with their colonial governments. In the Gold Coast, national education and the printed press (Nkrumah launched the *Accra Evening News* in 1948) were important for spreading political consensus against colonialism. The intellectuals strengthened unity and articulated a hope for change, whilst from the late 1940s in the Gold Coast, trade unions also played an informal though significant role (Peel 1989: 169). The period saw colonial powers begin to shift in their positionings towards the colonies in West Africa. The British began seriously to investigate ways of opting out of their colonial set up in the Gold Coast, partly due to mounting public pressure, to the recognition that they were no longer

making profits or were as reliant upon their colonies, as well as the realisation by the late 1950s that resisting nationalism was becoming increasingly futile (Iliffe 1995: 246).

Kwame Nkrumah and his party the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) (founded by J. B. Danquah in 1947), from which he split to form the Convention People's Party (CPP) in 1949 were instrumental in providing the British with a means of transferring power in the Gold Coast. They were also fully aware of the need to address national identities and regional loyalties in the process of realising independence and self-government, which had at last started to become a reality. Following Nkrumah's release from prison in 1951, the Gold Coast gained the right to self-government in what was referred to as a "sweeping victory" (Iliffe 1995: 247, 249). In 1954 the rising price of cocoa contributed to poor results during the elections and caused conflicts particularly in the cocoa-rich Asante region. This was where, in Kumasi on the 19th September, the National Liberation Movement (NLM) was inaugurated (Allman 1993: 16), with Professor Kofi Busia as leader. At the next elections in 1956 however, the CPP gained victory, which allowed Nkrumah to call for independence from Britain on 3rd August that same year. The call was received and the British parliament set the date for the independent state of Ghana on 6th March 1957 (renamed after the first great West African Empire circa 8th–12th century).

4.1.2 Historical trajectories of independence in the French Sudan (of the nation state of Mali)

The French Sudan (or 'the Sudan') did not gain independence until almost three years after Ghana, yet it followed certain similar trajectories with regards to an emergent elite, discontent from large sections of the population and disillusionment after the *tirailleurs sénégalais* (WWII soldiers) returned from the War. Opposition to continued French governance came from a few directions. In addition to elite resistance, the bureaucratic classes and the traders organised themselves into syndicates (Niane and Suret-Canale 1960: 134-36).

Mobilisation also came from a range of groupings, ethnicised in part by French colonial occupation that included Bamana speakers in the region north of Bamako, Tuareg speakers in the east and the Muslim sect known as the Hamallists in the west (Lipschutz and Rasmussen 1989: 82). From the 1930s, elite constituencies in urban centres began to form voluntary organisations that were promoted under the guise of sporting or cultural organisations^{cxxxii}. These were not based on ideologies or ethnic affiliations, nor did they appear to be political, which meant that they were recognised and accepted by the French. The organisations strategically provided a space or forum for discussing political affairs and formed the basis for political parties that negotiated the eventual break from French rule.

In 1937 Mamadou Konate established the first trade union (the teachers' trade union) in the Sudan. His popularity led him to become head of the *Union Soudanaise* (US) political party in 1945. In the same year, and later recognised as one of the heroes of independence^{cxxxiii}, Fily Dabo Sissoko founded the PPS (*Parti Progressiste Soudanais*). The US stood firmly against French colonial rule and consequently affiliated itself to the Pan-African *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain* (RDA) set up by Modibo Keita (who was appointed

mayor of Bamako in 1956 [Blanchet 1958: 202]). In contrast to the *Union Soudanaise* and to the *Rassemblement Démocratique Africain*, Sissoko's party received support from the French for its pro-colonial stance. At the Brazzaville Conference of 1944, the French instatement of the West Indian Felix Eboué as Governor-General signalled a turning point, and in 1946, the term 'French Union' replaced that of 'colony', which carried negative connotations. The French Union defined permanent national borders across French West Africa (and was renamed again, the 'French Community' in 1958). In 1946 an important shift also occurred where part of the policy of the Fourth Republic was to involve the local government in its own colonies, and Africans were invited by the French to participate in political affairs no longer as French subjects, but as French citizens (Delavignette 1969: 258). However, as Niane (1960: 142) argued in his work on the history of the AOF; in effect, the French government remained reluctant to release their colonial grip until 1958. In a more gradual move towards relative administrative autonomy, general elections were held across the Sudan in 1956, which the RDA and US won with a vast majority. Sissoko ended up joining his party (the PPS) with the US and the RDA in 1959. Mamadou Konate (head of the US) died in that same year and Modibo Keïta took up the leadership and guided the nation towards independence. The French Community of 1958 provided all French West African colonies with a referendum for independence and to sever their ties with the '*patrie*' — an option that only Sékou Toure in Guinea claimed.

Between 1958 and 1960 the Sudan became semi-autonomous. The Federation of French West Africa dissolved along with *la communauté française* in October 1958, and in 1959 the Sudan adopted the new name of the 'Sudanese

Republic' (*la République Soudanaise*). On 17th June 1960 Senegal and the Sudanese Republic gained independence from the President of the fifth French Republic (1959-69) Charles de Gaulle, and joined to become *la Fédération du Mali* (named chronologically after the second great West African Empire circa 13th–15th century). Léopold Senghor served as President of the Federal Assembly and Modibo Keïta as President of the government. For a while the two nations seemed mutually compatible. The Sudanese Republic, as the largest nation (geographically) of the AOF, provided a sizable population or workforce and the Dakar–Bamako railway linked up the two countries for industry and trade. Yet the union only lasted three months, dissolving on 20th August 1960^{cxxxiv} due to ongoing tensions on both sides. There were accusations of corruption and lethargy directed at the Senegalese government and discontent over the dispersal of wealth to the large rural hinterlands of present day Mali. Furthermore, Senghor and his deputies opted to retain a closer relationship with the French Republic than was desired by Keïta. It was thus that following Modibo Keïta's three successive trips to meet Mohammed V in Rabat, Kwame Nkrumah in Accra and Félix Houphouët-Boigny in Abidjan, on the 22nd September 1960 the Sudan, renamed 'Mali' gained its complete independence from France and separated as an autonomous entity from Senegal, with Modibo Keïta as President ruling by a single party system. The move towards independence was overwhelmingly greeted with great optimism by the wider public (Brenner 2000: 169).

4.2 Framing social identities in independent Ghana and Mali

After independence Kwame Nkrumah in Ghana and Modibo Keita in Mali sought to consolidate their countries as autonomous nation states through the further development of vital infrastructure, economic regeneration (through cash crops and mining) and improving access to education for all. Between 1965 and 1980 the Sub-Saharan GDP grew at 1.5% per year (Killick 1978: 44 in Iliffe 1995: 252). The Ghanaian nation's energy resources were addressed through the Volta river basin project in 1963 and Mali implemented widespread nationalisation of its industries. There was a huge rise in population and extensive migration in Ghana from the north to the wealthier southern and coastal areas and also from rural to urban settings, such that, for example, Accra expanded from having 133,200 inhabitants in 1948 to 337,800 by 1960 (Gocking 2005: 116). However, living standards rose for the elite groupings whilst unskilled labourers continued to live in poor conditions. There were severe economic disparities as the divide between the wealthy and the poor widened and discontent rose from both urban and rural masses. Mali on the other hand, remained an overwhelmingly rural economy. According to Maharaux's doctoral research (1986: 13), at the time of independence, 95% of the population was involved in farming (mostly rice, cotton or groundnuts) and the nation had only 3% wage earners with 5% of children receiving a formal education. After its split with Senegal, Mali became a landlocked nation with seven borders (losing its direct access to a port), with all the economic consequences for export entailed by that. The French industrial legacy had been seriously neglectful, leaving the country with a very low industrial base. Several rice processing plants, one cotton factory, only seven electrical

generating stations (Maharoux 1986: 15) indicate Mali's exploitation for its raw materials with very little return investment in terms of infrastructure.

In Ghana, divisive fractions between the wealthy and the poor or the urban and the rural were exposed across cultural, political and social arenas and became predicaments for Nkrumah who initially placed unity and unifying the nation state as one of his main priorities. The complex geographical areas of what had been the colonially administered Gold Coast added to these predicaments, such as the Asante region, Northern Territories and the lands of the Ewe people that had been split with the Togo border. In Mali, on the other hand, the task of unifying the nation appeared to be carried out with more ease. Modibo Keita (January 20 1961: 34) believed that the 'ethnically unifying' policies and strong national identity were more attainable due, in part, to Mali's long standing reputation as a "melting pot" of African, Berber and Arab cultures. Another significant factor appealed to the common historically distant as well as recent, regional and ethnic heritage of the nation: from Soundiata Keita (Bamana), el Hadj Oumar (Tukulor from Senegal), Amadou Tall (Peuhl), to Samoury Toure (from Guinea) to cite just a few shared heroes. At independence, the Malian president focused heavily on the liberated African positioned in relation to its 'colonial masters'. Keita's (January 20 1961: 21) political theory of "the decolonisation of our mentality" drawn from the ideologies of Negritude carried important legacies that focussed on inclusive and heterogeneous roots for the Malian state (de Jorio 2006: 83). The next section investigates some of those shifting interpretations in the construction of the state, with particular reference to the concepts of divisive 'ethnicities' in the museum and the unified modern nation. National institutions, such as the museums, universities, the army or

state schools (and national languages and uniforms) are relevant here in their specific roles within the context of social, political and cultural constructions. This section positions the national museums within independent state policies, with particular attention to discourses on the politics of identity.

4.3 A “state-sponsored buffet of culture” (Coe 2005: 60)^{CXXXV}

The shaping of identities was considered an integral feature of colonial and post independence Africa, and the concept of ‘ethnicities’ was inextricably linked to notions of identities and belonging in the postcolonial nation state. With reference to Carola Lentz (2000) and Richard Fardon’s (1996) work, I make use of the term *ethnicities* when discussing the politics of identity, as opposed to ‘ethnicity’, ‘ethnic groups’ or ‘tribes’, which tend to negate their multiple, complex, overlapping positionings and fluid structures in the articulation of politics of identity. Ethnicities — though not a straightforward notion in itself — is used in the sense of suggesting a common but not exclusive sense of locality, of values, of interests and trajectories of shared community, which affiliates particular groups of peoples across temporal spaces (Chabal and Daloz 2006: 108). By way of contrast, ethnographic museums’ rigid interpretations of fixed and singular social identities conflict with this more fluid concept of ‘ethnicities’. The former is addressed below and has been critiqued by Arnoldi (1999: 34) who reflected that “the museum exhibit presented as bounded entities masks the complexity of people’s lived experience in both historical and contemporary Mali”.

British and French governments defined boundaries between units that people belonged to and which were now positioned in relation to each other. The system of ‘separating things’ (Goldwater 1969: 37), classifying; of constructing social boundaries and playing social units off against each other was pervasive in early 20th century European thought and colonial rule (Coe 2005: 58). It was consequently incorporated as an ideological element into the national museums

in Mali and Ghana. For example, in his analysis of the acquisitions inherited by the MNM, the current director, Samuel Sidibe (1991: 175) noted that they favoured essentially the three ethnicities *Bamana*, *Dogon* and *Senoufo* (in contrast to, for example, the *Bwa*) that were considered to produce more highly valued masks and statues according to framings of Western aesthetics. The trend was promulgated across the museums and exhibitions in Paris and London and became part of delineating and imagining “an Africa” according to conceptualisations of unitary “tribes” and “traditions”, producing static and essentialised categories (Fagg 1969: 45; Ravenhill 1996: 267; Cooper 2002: 18). Unaware of the need to readdress exhibitionary practices at independence, both national museums in Mali and Ghana perpetuated colonial museological approaches and continued to display peoples and their artefacts according to their origin and ‘type’ (with captions reproduced in museum labels, for example, ‘Ga market girl’). Constructions of functionalist modes of social ordering of African societies, utilising notions of an ethnographic present, were therefore at the very core of museological practice and interpretation. They were communicated with visitors through exhibitionary display styles, such as demarcated display areas and cases allocated to these groupings for example. Furthermore, the new nation state as a primary assignor and distributor of cultural resources post independence, in certain terms, itself accentuated the re-ification of ethnicised identities (through for example, the “objectification” of specific cultures, see Hess, [2001: 61] for further discussions).

National Museums have thus far combined processes of colonial museology with nation building in order to promote the notion of postcolonial citizenship, emerging from a shared sense of the (social, cultural, political) past that is

dependent on the 'ethnographic present' (Fabian 1983: 82-86). Individuals and groupings do have affiliations as well as multiple positionings and identities, with boundaries fluctuating despite the seeming reifications of fixed identity, as perpetuated by nation state museums. Within these contexts, museums can be utilised to offer the 'universality of ethnicity'. The 'universality of ethnicity' establishes a *democratization* of differences, which Fardon (1996: 117) has described as a "single register of differences". In approaching 'ethnicities' in this way, Frederick Cooper (in Fardon 1996; 2002: 13) argued for the universality of ethnicity to be furthermore considered as "a matter of historical circumstances, not something determined by a supposed African nature of racial unity or cultural distinctiveness". The approach is useful in our understanding of the complexities involved in establishing a national museum that can potentially serve as a public consolidating vehicle to aid nation building. Sylla (pers. comm. former deputy director, MNM 11.01.07 appendix 1:16) has claimed that integration is, in fact, "unity in diversity". The next difficulty lies in the institutions' complex roles in negotiating the historical trajectories of ethnicities and/ or the construction of inherent naturalised essentialised ethnicities through display. Crinson (2001: 240) has referred to the complexities Nkrumahist political ideologies faced with regards to celebrating the wealth and the diversity of indigenous cultures. Crinson argued that at the time, interpretations of the relative value of cultural material were useful — to be called upon when politically convenient — but otherwise, viewed as best "consigned to museum shelves".

On the Ghanaian state's involvement in 'tradition', Nkrumahist interpretations turned cultural practices into abridged *symbols* of the nation (Coe 2005: 54),

which meant that they were vastly reduced to simplified and easily graspable ideas (Coe 2005 citing Guss 2000: 13). In museological practices, a stylistic interpretation tends to aestheticise culture (see for example, Braunholtz in Chapter 3 page 129), which does not account for reconstructions of pasts experienced in different ways, according to different groups or individuals, and with highly selective politicised memories (see Saïd 1978; Nora, Buob and Frachon 2006 (hors série): 8). In Marcus's (2000: 231) review of the displays of Sydney's culture and history at the Museum of Sydney, he contended that they constituted a lie, "a lie that because truth is ever fragmentary, evaluation and narrative are impossible [...]". Focussing on an 'inherent' past does not allow for the uneven and unpredictable development of societies. The museums' inherited collections in Mali and Ghana revealed societies' (diverse) cultures and customs and addressed these in one space, according to the 'universality of ethnicities', but in ways that inevitably delineated ethnic boundaries according also to that 'timeless, African tradition'. This was something that emerging nations — and Nkrumah in particular — struggled with at independence, in attempting to revive national heritage (before embracing pan-Africanism) whilst 'modernising' the nation through change and development.

4.4 A 'philosophy' of culture, but a lack of 'policy' — museum challenges in postcolonial Ghana

The changes that occurred in Ghana at the time of independence were critical, though they were gradual processes that had begun well before 1957 and continued thereafter. Where it has been suggested that colonial rule had played a role in defining groupings within Ghana in terms of 'ethnicities', it was now all the more necessary for Africa's postcolonial leaders to consolidate the diversity of emergent ethnic identities within a wider sense of national identity both collectively and individually that could be governable and economically sustainable. Based on the need for centralization there was a focus on constructing a collective sense of belonging, across linguistic and cultural differences. The regional collections at the National Museum were not valued as unique, but as part of a national incorporation (Hess 2001: 67). There was also the issue of borders. African nations drawn up under colonial rule had frequently irrational geographical boundaries (which posed complex issues for the display of museum collections). In attempt to control national citizenship, Nkrumah introduced the *Deportation Act* for non-nationals in Ghana, July 1957. Fearful of divisive uprisings, one of his first acts as head of state in 1957 was to implement the highly controversial *Avoidance of Discrimination Act*^{cxxxvi}. The move sought to ban not only regional flags^{cxxxvii} and emblems for example (Hess 2001: 63) but also all political parties based on religious, regional or ethnic bases. The *Preventative Detention Act* followed in 1958 that permitted detention without due legal process for up to five years. Nkrumah also encountered difficulties in consolidating his later socialist oriented visions for the nation's future against more reactionary groupings among which he identified

'traditional' chiefs. He was famously quoted in the *Accra Evening News* (cited in Gocking 2005: 94) as early as 1950 (5th January), stating that "for all those chiefs who join[ed] forces with the imperialists... there shall come a time when they will run away fast and leave their sandals behind them". In public, chiefs in Ghana do not touch the ground with their bare feet, thus in his speech, Nkrumah was particularly controversial in evoking the foreseeable erosion of the positions of the chiefs, whose political interference he saw as a remnant of colonial indirect rule as well as impeding progress for the nation. How could the museum conceptually position itself in this respect at this stage? Nkrumah's statement was thought to generate a legacy of bitterness between his party and the chiefs (Rathbone 2000: 61). Another source of divisive tension frequently emerged from the cocoa-rich Ashanti region and was dealt with largely through Nkrumah's political astuteness and appeals for unity. Not only did these factions challenge Nkrumah's political authority but they also hindered attempts to draw upon the cultural past in order to project a united future collective. Hagan (1993: 13) effectively highlighted Nkrumah's dilemma in this context, stating "Nkrumah would have liked to abolish tribalism; but how does one root out tribal identity without effacing the culture that gives the African his cultural identity and awareness?" This discourse evidently posed particular constraints upon the museum in addressing cultural identity and the past alongside the construction of the 'modern' nation.

During his presidency (1957-1966), Nkrumah set up several important cultural institutions that celebrated the arts and cultures of Ghana and disseminated ideas for the promotion of national pride followed by a pan-Africanist focus^{cxviii}. The exclusion of arts specialists within the government administration indicated

however, the political interpretation of the role of culture at the time (Hess 2001: 63). The Arts Council of Ghana (1957) was one of the first attempts to nationalise culture and had regional affiliates (such as the Kumasi Cultural Centre). The Research Library on African Affairs opened in 1961, the Institute of African Studies (IAS) was established at the University of Ghana in 1961 (and inaugurated in 1963), the Institute of Arts and Culture was formed in 1962 and the Ministry of Arts and Culture in 1965. According to Nunoo (1965: 156) and Nyameh (1989: 56), Nkrumah believed in the potential role of national museums (whereas little money was being invested in regional museums [Hess 2001: 66]). In 1963 the Museum of Science and Technology (MST)^{cxix} opened in Accra, and in his review of the renovations at the NMG, former director Richard Nunoo (1965: 156) claimed that Nkrumah was “personally interested” in designing and building extensions for the institution. There is little doubt of Nkrumah’s visions and support for cultural institutions and his desire to promote national unity through culture (indirectly for example, through his wearing of *kente* cloth and of the northern smock, the *batakari*) and that this helped to serve the museums in Ghana (particularly during the formation of the Volta Regional Museum in 1973, see Chapter 6). Yet conflicts about the past and the political tensions of divisive ethnicities discouraged him and his party from becoming directly involved or establishing firm policies in this field^{cxl}. I question therefore the extent of his involvement in fully committing to the concept of the national museum, contradicting the implications made by the journalist Nyameh (1989: 56) in the newspaper, the *People’s Daily Graphic*. Nyameh wrote of the NMG that “Before the formal declaration of independence in 1957, when Dr Nkrumah was contemplating the establishments that would help consolidate our freedom, he thought of setting up a museum which he considered could also

enhance the manifestation of the Ghanaian and African personality” (we have also seen in the previous chapter that the museum’s development had begun in Ghana many years before independence). Hagan (1993: 8, see also Coe 2005: 61) has suggested rather, that, despite concerted efforts to cultivate a renewed sense of cultural identity across Ghana, through education, public display and the establishment of cultural institutions, Nkrumah generated a *philosophy* of an African personality (and indoctrinated particular world views [Hess 2001: 74]), but no official policies. For example, the first government document outlining cultural policies in Ghana was not produced until 1975 when UNESCO published *Cultural Policy in Ghana* three years after Nkrumah’s death on April 27th 1972. This lack of clear direction seriously affected the development and ensuing marginalisation of the National Museum.

4.5 Modibo Keïta's post independent Mali

In post independent Mali, as the country's first president, Modibo Keïta's moves were to invest heavily in infrastructure and factories, to intensify agriculture, stimulate mining research and to build up a state controlled economy. In appealing to a sense of unity of the nation, the colonial regime and the commercial model of capitalism were actively rejected (in Mali as well as in Ghana) in favour of a socialist approach. Many of Keïta's projects fell through however, as the economy declined at the time that Keïta adopted a new national currency (the Malian franc in July 1961) in an attempt to sever all ties with the former colonial regime. The results were disastrous and particularly unpopular with the regional traders who found themselves with an unconvertible currency (Brenner 2000: 171). The state nationalised corporations, took control of the economy and attempted to control the population following riots in 1962. In addition to these problems there surfaced resistance by the Tuareg in the north of the country to the over-centralised system of power in the capital (these are ongoing problems that still affect the country today, as recently documented by Keenan 2002; 2004). The movement towards one party state control may have had dire consequences for the economy and led to a military bloodless coup six years later (in 1968), yet this period had great influence on state-sponsored social and cultural movements, leading to a plethora of youth organisations and activities in a process of cultural revolution.

The new regime in Mali actively sought to reintegrate its pre-colonial heroes and to reorganise its rich past by looking towards the future (Jewsiewicki and Mudimbe 1993: 2). Modibo Keïta himself was defined historically as a direct

descendent of Soundiata Keïta (founder of the Malian Empire, 13th century). In terms of the management of the colonial past, there was a remaking of history by Modibo Keïta (what Werbner [1998: 74] has referred to as “anti-memory”, or a politics of forgetting). Keïta’s speech delivered in the Ivory Coast in 1960 (27 August) encapsulated his concerns for the future and his quest to sever ties with the former regime (Modibo Keïta in Bouake, cited in Snyder 1967: 81). Some streets and squares were renamed and statues were removed or rebuilt according to the resurrected memories of past figures. The 1933 statue of the former French *commandant-superieur* of the French military of French Sudan, Borgnis-Desbordes (1880-83) for example was pulled down and relocated to the grounds of the musée national in 1960 (see de Jorio 2006: 91 and Phillippe 2009: 225). The red, gold and green flag for the Sudan remained the same but re-appropriated now by the state of Mali with the political slogan ‘*un peuple, un but, une foi*’ (‘one people, one goal, one faith’). The celebrated native author Seydou Badian Kouyate composed a new national anthem and, as we have seen above, the currency changed to the Malian franc (see Fuller 2008 for discussions on the cultural value of currency)^{cxii}. Finally, Modibo Keïta invested extensively in the promotion of youth, education and sport (figure 5), encouraging Malians (pers. comm. Samake 10.02.10, appendix 1:17) to “take what we have... tools etcetera, and construct the nation!”

During discussions with informants in Bamako (pers. comms 02.10) Keïta was remembered with mixed feelings. Under A. O. Konare’s presidency (1992-2002), Modibo Keïta had been re-integrated as one of the nation’s heroes (de Jorio 2003: 843) and in 2010, informants and colleagues had been largely sympathetic and proud of this charismatic, nation-building leader, but

nonetheless pitied him for having lost power so rapidly. In addition, they were conscious of his over-centralised policies and the increasingly authoritarian methods that were used to suppress opposition. Keïta's presidency mirrored in many ways Nkrumah's politics and practices in Ghana, but some of Nkrumah's less democratic aspects of governance had become less prominent over the valorising of his tireless work for promoting Pan-Africanism and championing Ghana as the first nation to gain independence. Modibo Keïta was largely recalled for having introduced socialism to the nation, as the more 'African-friendly' system of governance of sharing economic resources, thereby promoting unity and equality. He invested in the construction of important state-sponsored projects (a hospital, sports stadium and the first bridge over the Niger in Bamako) and encouraged patriotism^{cxlii}.



Figure 5: Modibo Keïta greets the Malian national football teams (source: Modibo Keïta memorial n.d^{cxliii})

Within ten years (1962 – 72) Keïta had doubled the education budget from 15% to 30% and the national language of Bamanan was introduced as a written language for the first time in 1968 (with hopes to make it the official primary school language [Decraene 1980: 113]). In an attempt to instil their own ideals among local school children, the French had depicted indigenous pre-colonial figures as “isolated and bloodthirsty individuals” (de Jorio 2006: 79 and 83). Now, post independence, schoolbooks were adapted to cultivate nationalist pride to help counteract previous interpretations^{cxliv}. History and geography curriculums were amended to eliminate what was not of direct use for a young Malian (such as anything that was exclusively relevant to the colonial regime) and to teach African and Malian focussed topics (see Druel 1965: 6-7). According to a recent IES (Institut d'Education Sociale 2007: 1-4) school curriculum for years 10 and 11, teachers were encouraged to shape an elevated moral, civic and African sense of the ‘citizen’ and, for example, the theme ‘conquests and resistance up to 1910’ featured heavily, which included Samory; Babemba; Ahmadou de Ségou and Firhoun. Of utmost importance in the post independent period was the role of the state in orchestrating this celebration of nationalist excitement, and, again, museums continued to remain marginal to this (as I return to below). The ‘stade omnisport Modibo Keïta’ (near the present location of the musée national) was completed in 1965 with a capacity for 25,000 people. In 1966 the Institut National des Arts (art college in Bamako) was created behind the maison des artisans (artisans’ market constructed in 1932)^{cxlv}. In 1959 the national theatre troupe of Mali was set up and the national theatre was completed in 1969. The media were developed and the daily newspaper *l’Essor* grew to distribution of 2,000 copies daily, with the monthly *Karibu* in Bamanan, rising to 8,000 prints in its first year in 1972

(Decraene 1980: 162). Regional orchestras were sponsored by the state to instil a sense of belonging and identity with the new Malian state (Austen 1999: 323). The musical genres gave rise to 'Manding Swing', a fusion of Malian musical instruments the *kora*, *ngoni* and *balafon* (xylophone) upon Cuban and/or jazz beats or influences, with well-known bands such as *Super Rail Band de Bamako* and musicians *Ali Farka Toure* and *Salif Keïta* emerging (see Duran 1999). It was an exciting period, and capturing the spirit of the nation in a personal communication (Abdoullaye Sylla 12.02.10) the retired deputy director of the musée national stated that "we were proud of being independent and we wanted to follow in the footsteps of the great figures".

According to the highly centralised political system, the state was the major organiser of cultural initiatives (de Jorio 2006: 88). A former prominent member of the US – RDA (see page 145), Idrissa Diarra was a staunch supporter of socialism. He was appointed political secretary to the nation and was the second most prominent politician (Martin 1976: 31; Géronimi, Diallo and Sidibé 2005: 443). Diarra oversaw and controlled all the nation's cultural activities, from sports organisations to youth associations. Sylla (pers. comm. 12.02.10) recalled that the Minister of Information's slogan was regularly diffused on the national radio, impressing upon the youth the importance of being alert and on time ("*venir avant l'heure n'est pas à l'heure, venir après l'heure n'est pas à l'heure*", "to come before time is not on time, to come after time is not on time"). Created in 1959, the pioneer youth movement played a particularly significant role during these years. The organisation was launched at the 'Congress for the Youth in Unity' ("*le congrès de l'ensemble des jeunesses dans l'unité*") by students from across the country. The pioneers rivalled the much less popular

French-introduced 'scouts' organisation. The scouts organisation had been expressly forbidden for Muslims as it was perceived as a foreign, imported institution and was rejected according to the spirit of the new nation. In 1960 the pioneers assembled in Bamako to launch the first annual week long celebration of arts and cultures, *les semaines de la jeunesse*, at the end of the school year, uniting students from across the nations' six regions^{cxlvi}. The events brought together a large number of ethnic and regional groups to celebrate and to promote a unified and national sense of identity and belonging to the Malian state (Arnoldi 2006: 58 cited in Joy 2008: 198). Over a thousand students participated in the first 'semaine' in 1962. Wearing a uniform (red berets), singing the national anthem and meeting the President, they came from rural villages, towns and cities to display for the nation their own regional songs, dances, music and plays. The state sponsored the orchestras, but otherwise the events were organised and financed by the students themselves. Samake (pers. comm. 10.02.10), now a recently retired youth inspector, recalled the festivals with delight^{cxlvii}. He explained the importance of the event for building the nation, for exchanges between the regions, and moreover to instil a positive view of the 'traditional' arts of the country at the time, as a way of negotiating modernity whilst celebrating the past. The semaines allowed the youth to become mediators between the urban and the rural areas. According to Samake, the displays of, for example *boubous* (Malian dress) and plaits contributed towards providing a positive national outlook. They instilled pride in Malian cultural heritage among urban youths and celebrated a return to cultural values that were vibrant in the more rural zones. The semaines also enabled the students to become mediators between the state and the public, particularly as an integral aspect of the festivals was the 'tableaux phoniques', staged

performances by the youths to promote state enterprises. Via these shows, students publicised state products and factories and their merchandise such as, for example, tobacco, matchboxes or *boîtes de Baguinda*^{cxlviii}. By 1966 over 11,000 youths participated in the semaine and 3,000 took part in the staged performances^{cxlix}. The event was relocated to the newly built Modibo Keïta stadium and among the countries invited were Tanzania and Dahomey (the previous year had included — as well as France — the Czech republic and Hungary) thus reflecting the socialist direction of the government. The last semaine de la jeunesse was in 1968. Following the overthrow of Modibo Keïta in 1970 the semaines were renamed and re-scheduled as 'biennales artistiques et culturelles'. Today the annual 'rentrées culturelles'^{cl} organised by the state have replaced the biennales (see de Jorio 2003 and 2006 for further discussions on the biennales artistiques et culturelles).

With permission from elders of particular communities, the young pioneers brought artefacts to the capital for the semaines such as chiefs' staffs from their regions and some of these were exhibited at the musée national, the 'institut national des arts' or the 'maison des combattants'. Staff at the museum prepared accompanying labels for display and at the opening events, museum guides explained the works to the visiting heads of state and other members of the government. On the whole however, these exhibitions did not generate much local interest. According to Sylla who was already employed by the musée national at the time (and confirmed by other sources) the pioneers' artefacts were regularly offered to the museum for sale, but rarely attracted much enthusiasm. The museum had the opportunity to collect these works, but it wasn't taken up. Overall, during Modibo Keïta's presidency, the preservation

of material culture in Mali as well as at the museum was severely neglected and there just wasn't much local interest in the collection or display of material culture at the time in general (pers. comms. 02.10). This continued well into the mid 1970s with artefacts badly preserved, or which frequently went missing. There were extraordinary accounts of widespread and blatant looting despite the UNESCO world heritage convention of 1972 (see also the journal *African Arts* special issue on Mali 1995). Between 1964 and 1975 it has been estimated that the collections had dwindled from 15,000 pieces to 1,500^{cli}. By 1975 the museum's collections were distributed in Bamako across over four venues, including the local engineering school, the Institut National des Arts and even a private home in Korofina. The authorities remained indifferent to what happened to the institution. Sylla (pers. comm. 12.02.10) decried "*ils s'en foutaient, c'était devenu un endroit de cadeaux!*" ("they didn't give a damn, it had become a place for presents!") Not for the first time, it was explained to me that the national museum served as a place to select an appropriate gift for visiting VIPs to the country.

Unlike the NMG, the MNM did not even appear to generate, or to receive much interest at all. Nkrumah seemed, at least, to be concerned over how to 'manage' or 'market' material culture in the museum context, or how to utilise it in order to benefit or construct the nation. In Mali, there existed very little indication of interest in the National Museum. But the *semaines* remained hugely popular. They encapsulated the excitement of the future of the nation, full of optimism and hope. During this period people wanted to be able to move forward, whilst still incorporating *selective* pasts (Renan 1882: 55, appendix 1:18 cited in van Liempd 2002: 58; see also Lowenthal 1985; Connerton 1989;

Werbner 1998). At this time the semaines enabled individuals to actively participate in the intangible elements of culture to construct the nation. Consequently, the passive interpretations of static material culture as displayed in an exhibitionary context were rejected. Modibo Keita himself referred to two types of elements that underlie any culture in the section of his speech entitled 'Cultural Problems of the New Mali' (Keita January 20 1961: 33). In the first instance, positive elements "impel it [culture] forward and contribute to its enrichment, and negative elements [that] hold back its evolution, that block and constrict it and therefore threaten to destroy it". I suggest that museums' interpretation of culture fell into the second category. The concept will resurface towards the end of the research project within the current museological climate and is crucial for our understanding of present day museums in the public sphere in West Africa.

Conclusion

In Ghana, the NMG occupied a more complex conceptual space between the ethnicised and national identities at the time of independence than the MNM in Mali. By attempting to display material culture from all the 'ethnic groups' across the nation, the museum participated in its ongoing formation but at the same time asserted its position to instil a sense of a shared collective past. But the institution also had a duty to avoid presenting the diversity of cultures in a divisive way, in line with Nkrumahist efforts to promote national unity. The museum collections were mostly archaeological finds with some ethnographic artefacts. 40% of its collections originated from the Achimota College Museum and over thirty years' later, by the time of independence, over 13,000 artefacts had been acquired, recorded and conserved mostly by British staff. The exhibitions replicated models from Europe, displayed in twenty-five imported glass cabinets and adopted European interpretations of the past that recalled the Enlightenment era and the period of industrialisation by indulging in nostalgic and romantic views of an African past that contrasted with a colonial 'modernity'. Frantz Fanon who was acquainted with the institution in 1961 remarked that it was the colonialists "who become the defenders of the native style" (Fanon: 1968: 242 cited in Crinson 2001: 241). The British shaped the NMG and were intent on constructing identities that were built upon imagined indigenous 'ethnic' pasts but furthermore, these ideologies came into conflict with Nkrumah's vision of national unity and modernity in precisely these years. In his paper abstract for the VAD conference (07-11.04.10)^{clii}, Ciraj Rassool (2010) referred to cultural institutions in post-apartheid South Africa and to their colonial legacies in terms of constructing knowledge forms of delineated

ethnicities, and he revisited these parallel complexities in the current climate of “indigenous recovery”.

In Mali, the MNM suffered during the post-independence era through a general lack of interest from the public, poorly trained museum personnel, lack of appropriate facilities, lack of funding and declining collections (Arnoldi 1999: 28). Yamadou Diallo’s Masters research on the museum (n/d: 26 and see above) recalled that the collections declined from 15,000 to a staggering 1,500 artefacts (having started out in 1951 with records of 8,554 works, of which only 160 were ethnographic and the rest were archaeological finds). At independence the majority of the collections remained archaeological and therefore quite difficult to access by the untrained general public. Another factor that apparently contributed to low public attendance of the institution was that, fundamentally, it inherited characteristics as a dedicated research centre from the Institut Fondamental d’Afrique Noire (pers. comm. Ardouin 18.02.10). In a rare (and albeit rather ambiguous) reference to the Institution, Modibo Keita exclaimed that the former IFAN would help the government to “proceed at once with vigorous exploration of our country’s riches” (Keita January 20 1961: 35). The museum was not perceived as a public space for the public display of material culture, but rather, gained the reputation as a storehouse at best or as a necessary space that all nations were required to have. It was not until the directorship of the Malian historian, Kléna Sanogo in 1973 that the museum began to receive its due attention. Ardouin (pers. comm. 18.02.10) argued in turn that it wasn’t until archaeologist and future President of Mali, A. O. Konare’s intervention three years later (and the French prime minister Giscard d’Estaing’s allocation of funding) that the public dimension of the museum

began to be fully addressed. Discussions were also generated at a seminar organised on 17-18th May 1976 entitled 'On museums and cultural heritage in the Republic of Mali' (*le séminaire sur les musées et le patrimoine culturel en République du Mali*). Participants advocated the construction of a new national museum (with proper care for the collections) and the creation of regional museums (in Bandiagara, Gao and Koulikoro) to promote "the democratization and decentralisation of the museum" (Arnoldi 1999: 28). A newspaper reporter who attended the seminar declared that a lot remained to be done to improve the situation at the musée national which he described as a "mouldy depository" ("*un dépotoire cramoisy*" Dembélé 1979: 11). Dembélé concluded by advocating and associating the fight for the restoration of the museum with the fight for national dignity.

Approaches to the collection and display of material culture, particularly with regards to debates surrounding 'ethnicities' and the construction of national identities in museums across West Africa remain at the very core of accusations that they are 'foreign' institutions. This helps to contextualise their marginalisation among indigenous societies. These discourses will be expanded upon in more detail in the next chapter and particularly in relation to the debates that were generated by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) conference entitled 'What museums for Africa?' in 1991. Within this particular chapter I have highlighted the complex conceptual position of cultural heritage institutions such as museums at the time of independence in Ghana and Mali. Their position was in part due to the lack of coherent policies on behalf of the new governments, a general absence of interest and in part due to the construction of identities that were both divisive and in the processes of

being redefined. Museums' roles were perhaps particularly contentious, or reflected sensitive topics during this period because of their highly visible, and tangible function as transmitting culture from the state to the citizens. For the Malian youths, this process was, ironically, more successfully achieved by the *semaines*^{cliii} for example, than by their own museums. In reality, the national museums of Mali and Ghana did not play a particularly significant part in the (re)construction of the nation. Aradeon (2002: 135) has explained this by the inheritance of institutions whose missions were not sufficiently understood. Yet in his paper in the journal 'Museums International', Vincent Negri (2006: 41) (along with other heritage professionals since the 1980s) claimed that certain museums in Africa became "political organs" of the state, utilising terms such as "preoccupation" and "museums as the institutional lever of the state"... Contrary to these assertions this was not a particularly groundbreaking time for museums (see also Konare 1983: 146). I have suggested therefore that such discourses are neither applicable to the MNM nor to the NMG which remained significant in their marginalisation for a very long time. Their marginalisation may be considered surprising given their potential power, in theory, over the shaping of the *ethos* of the nation (through a revival of a common national heritage). The ensuing chapters chart the institutions from the 1980s and 90s and revisit these issues.

Chapter 5 Museums and their publics. West African critical museology in the 1980s



Figure 6: the entrance to the musée national du Mali (2006)



Figure 7: the entrance to the National Museum of Ghana (2009) (photo by Bianca Murillo)

My aim in this chapter is to provide an account of museological debates that circulated during the post independence era in West Africa, and to locate the principal emerging ideologies within the contemporary contexts of the National

Museums of Mali (MNM) and of Ghana (NMG) (figures 6 and 7). I begin with a review of the literature by local museum experts from the 1980s and 1990s. Influenced by external agencies (such as the BM), the work of local museum experts indicated growing concerns over the *roles* of museums in Africa as postcolonial institutions as they sought to address how local and national interests combined. It is not the first time that questions over the role of the museum have been raised in this research project, see Chapter 3 on British concerns over the position of the NMG for future generations. In the late 20th century however, more acute and pressing indigenous attempts were generated to address local public expectations and to position these institutions firmly within the communities that they were supposed to serve. From these discourses emerge some distinctive characterizations of museums. Yet, my research demonstrates that to attempt to impress definitions upon museums poses constraints that are too narrow to account for the 'heterotopian' nature of these institutions across Africa (see Foucault 1984). The heterotopian space of the museum is determined by its diversity of individual interpretations and positionings. Museums vary according to such interpretations as well as according to their origins, collections, staff, locations and size, among other contributing factors. This chapter focuses on the range of proposals that were put forward transnationally within Africa to explore the function of the museum institution in Africa from the late 1970s to the present date.

In the second section of this chapter those ideologies will be evaluated in conjunction with feedback that I have collected from the field. These discourses are framed phenomenologically according to the visitors' and non-visitors' own 'subjective-relative' (Husserl 1970: 126) spatial/ bodily experiences of the

museum space and not from the museum's hierarchical/ panoptic perspective. This non-positivist methodological approach provides an initial sensory siting of the visitor to elicit their feelings. I deal with the topic as a visitor would, with an attempt to understand their own knowledge and positioning upon approaching the intentional object (in this case, the museum) that entails walking from the museum's external building spaces, through its entrance and into the galleries. Having initially gained familiarity with the buildings, I used participant observation to determine how visitors oriented themselves both outside and inside the galleries. I invited selected members of the public who had never been inside their museum for a visit and, during these accompanied visits and in follow-up interviews, I asked questions that allowed for an interpretation of visitors' sensory and cognitive experiences. These exercises endeavour to develop a framework for exploring the relationships between museums and their publics (see Tilley 1994: 16). In my conclusion I return to the complexities that are involved in attempting to develop cultural institutions — taking into consideration the complications that arise from the diverse individuals that constitute their communities — and I question whether a museum is indeed able to cater for all of its publics.

5.1 Ideological trajectories of national museums in West Africa

5.1.1 Indigenous cultural heritage specialists raise awareness of the value of cultural heritage and museums

Until the early 20th century, museums in Europe were generally associated with the project of citizenship within the bureaucratic nation states that had emerged in Europe by this time (Levin 1983: 1). Cultural institutions became recognised as places for disseminating education and notions of citizenship to non-elite fractions, partially emulating hegemonic models of the elite education (Gramsci 1971: 416; see also Lears 2002: 326). From the mid 20th century, African museums were re-contextualised within the emergent nation states as a possible means to replace the colonial discourse of subjecthood. There was also a growing trend for museums across the world to shift and to re-evaluate their position within society. This involved re-questioning their relationships and duties towards their visiting audiences as a means of justifying their value and expenditure to the nation state (see also Althusser 1977: 158). On the whole, they no longer regarded themselves as “self-contained professional units” (Hudson 1977: 1), destined to satisfy the purposes of research, conservation and the civilising of publics. With the emergence of popular museums and their redefined roles, museum experts and staff understood that discourses and exhibitionary practices had to change in order to utilise their institutions as necessary instruments for education that would cater for broader sections of the public. Across West Africa, museum professionals made concerted efforts to establish a future role for their institutions. They turned to address the constraints that shaped their collections and exhibitionary display in the hope of

offering a role for museums that was relevant to local publics as well as in the construction of notions of collective nationhood and citizenship.

In 1973 in a United Nations address, President Mobutu of then Zaïre (1965-97) called for the return of museum artefacts held by former colonial powers, rhetorically arguing that they could teach children their nation's history (Hall 1982: 39; see also Hess 2001: 60). In 1974 local petitions for the return of looted artefacts were made to the British on the centenary of the raids on the Asante kingdom in Ghana^{cliv}, with organised memorial services and funeral dirges (see Eyo 1994: 334). As we have seen in Chapter 4, the collections at the MNM had declined drastically from 1964-75 (Diallo n/d: 26 and Malé 1999: 30). In the late 1970s interesting initiatives were made at the NMG under the directorship of Richard Nunoo (Chapter 3 page 124). The museum staff coordinated a series of acquisition programmes. Fieldworkers visited villages to introduce the institution and its reasons for requesting donations from members of the communities^{cliv}. The programmes were successful in raising awareness of the need to preserve material culture and in explaining and diffusing the purposes of the national museum. By the mid to late 1970s the role of the museum in West Africa was conceptualised as a platform for cultural heritage through the display of material culture among its own communities (Monreal 1976: 11). During his work as member of the 'Nigerian National Commission for Museums and Monuments', Emanuel Arinze (1983: 161) led the movement and addressed the need to revive material cultural heritage as a form of education. To support his argument he referred to the devastating effects that colonial rule had had on eroding the fabric of social and cultural heritage in West Africa (recalling Modibo Keïta's similar concerns in the early 1960s, Chapter 4 page

159). Arinze drew upon the example of the ban of vernacular languages in schools (particularly missionary and state) to lament that young children rejected and consequently remained largely ignorant of their own communities' customs and histories (see also Batibo 2008: 19)^{clvi}. Arinze began to argue that, among others (such as the family and the school), museums should act as appropriate avenues for stimulating this local cultural knowledge and history.

5.1.2 Museums as constituting local and national spaces (methodologies and workshops)

Museological debates in West Africa in the early 1980s continued to adhere to displaying exclusively their own cultural materials. Museums were perceived to serve as spaces instrumental in remedying their own peoples' social and cultural ruptures with the past engendered by the colonial experience. In line with Arinze, the former Malian Minister for Culture Alpha Oumar Konare^{clvii}, who was "first and foremost" a historian (de Jorio 2006: 92) vociferously supported and defended the role of the museum. He too believed (Konare 1981: 7) that it was the duty of these institutions to protect and rejuvenate learning about cultural heritage and that "[...] the collapse of the traditional social structures imposes particular responsibilities on the museum". The operation of international bodies such as UNESCO (1945) and other emergent institutions concerned with world cultural heritage no doubt influenced the work of collectives of culturally aware conscious individuals, professionals and museum specialists across West Africa in the wake of the 1960s and 70s. Together they led a 'cultural renaissance' (Makaminan 1984: 4). Philip Ravenhill set up the West African Museum Programme (WAMP, Dakar 1982) funded by the Ford

Foundation, with support provided by Doran Ross and John Mack. All the board members were West Africans, Arinze took on the role of leader, and participants came from West African Francophone and Anglophone countries. Transnational approaches were favoured as a mandate to empower West African museums from which institutional and social networks, and a new philosophy of museum practice emerged and influenced smaller museum projects such as the Upper Volta Museum. In Niamey for example, the outdoor 'People's National Museum of Niger' that combined a local zoo, regional architectural structures and workshops for craftsmen was heralded as an early example of change (Toucet 1963; Aradeon 2002: 137; see also Coulibaly 2010 in the daily Malian newspaper *l'Essor*). The movement involved an understanding that museums must reject external influences in the form of colonial legacies and break with the perceived imposed autocratic, 'top-down' hierarchical model of these institutions. Practical considerations of how the museum could better occupy spaces within the local community emerged from Mali. Suggestions ranged from the use of regional languages; employing local craftsmen to work on inventories, staff recruited from the country's schools and evening opening hours to allow workers to visit at the end of their day (Konare 1981: 4). Konare (ibid: 8) also recognised the simultaneous role that the MNM could and should play in strengthening collaborations and cooperation between neighbouring countries in West Africa advocating an African national perspective. In a remark that preceded the formation of WAMP, he hoped that a successful institution would serve both to elevate the Malian people and to forge closer relationships with their neighbours.

In the early 1980s Konare and his contemporaries actively promoted the regional dimension of cultural institutions across West Africa. They believed that the museum occupied a pivotal space to foster collective identities and also to generate better knowledge between the diverse communities that made up these nations. In 1985 the Malian government adopted the law no.85-40/AN-RM concerning the protection of cultural heritage (Keita 2003: 3). It was an exciting time for African museums, and one outcome was the popular exhibition '2000 years of Nigerian Art', which toured the world for five years (1980-85). However, museum projects also re-encountered complex issues in attempting to celebrate the diversity of communities whilst *simultaneously* re-uniting them into a singular nation-wide 'community' (as discussed in Chapter 4). The dichotomy at this point between subject and citizen is a core and recurrent issue that was manifested among most national museums across West Africa. The dichotomy reflects on the one hand (in the early museum years) colonial legacies that shaped 'ethnicities' as culturally distinct entities to be represented within the museum space (Mamdani 1996: 24). And on the other hand, the necessity from the 1950s to consolidate 'ethnicities' into a single nation in the postcolonial climate through the curation and display at the 'new' national museums. This rather delicate balance between heralding 'identity' and 'differentiation' (Mamdani 1996: 8) in a single museum space stirred sensitive and complex issues. At the Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park in Accra, Eddie^{clviii} (pers. comm. education officer 30.03.07) complained that it was difficult at the time because their collections did not cover everyone in the country, "we did conserve our culture, but not in terms of actual objects." Another example occurred during a visit to the MNM (pers. comm. Jacques 27.10.06 appendix 1:19) with my informant Jacques^{clix}, who was a Bozo speaking individual. He

mused that the museum favoured the Dogon (“the Dogons are good friends of the Museum”) referring to what he saw as the overwhelmingly majority of collections on display that were of Dogon origin^{clx}. To a certain extent therefore, for the purposes of defining different ethnicities that were devised under colonial Africa, the museum participated in the institutional differentiation explored by Mamdani (1996).

Political instability, economic crises and a lack of state resources by the mid 1980s were triggered by a lack of investment, poor infrastructure and the imposition of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) across West Africa which followed Reaganite policies of monetisation and free markets opening up to global competition and an increase in oil prices (in the 1970s)^{clxi}. The economic situation in Ghana carried dire consequences for the newly elected President Rawlings who in 1981 had had little choice but to succumb to the SAP (Rothchild 1991: 6). Between 1983 and 1986 Ghana received \$200 million per year from the International Monetary Fund (IMF, Hertz 2004: 102). By the end of the 1980s the global recession had given rise to a collapse in commodity prices, forcing many more African governments to turn to financial institutions (the World Bank, IMF and bilateral agencies) to increase assistance. The loans provided to assist developing countries came with strict political conditionalities and imposed large and unfeasible debts upon the former countries (for Mali, see Kane 2008: 15 appendix 1:20)^{clxii}. The programme was the imposition of a monetary policy of aversion to state intervention, based on withdrawing support from African state institutions described in Chapter 4 (which were seen as too inefficient) and injecting funding into the commercial economy directly. A consequence of this was the drastic diminution of the state in terms of capacity

and power, and massive rises in unemployment and inflation. Neither Mali nor Ghana was exempted from the economic climate and conditions although it is has been claimed (Grosh 2005: 72) that Ghana adjusted best to the reforms out of all the African countries (and the French West African nations came out worst, not having reached a consensus to devalue their currency).

The cultural sector was deeply affected (Okeke-Agulu 2007: 203). Konare (1983: 147) had cautioned against this dangerous outcome in 1983, arguing that “A museum which aspires to serve the broad mass of the population and national cultures cannot opt for a ‘universal’ approach, which would place it in the hands of moneyed interests”. In his statement, Konare urged for museums and culture not to follow the same path as the SAPs, which (according to him, Malian ex minister for culture Aminata Traoré and other critics) had such disastrous consequences on economic growth and continued to crush prospects for recovery. After twenty-three years of military rule in Mali, General Moussa Traore, who had taken over from Modibo Keïta was overthrown in 1991. The CFA (*Communauté Financière Africaine*) devalued in 1994 and the country ended up suffering due, according to Aminata Traore, ex-minister for culture (1999: 12 appendix 1:21) to the ‘noose’ tied around its neck by Western economies:

“We are no longer, theoretically speaking, colonies, but our countries submitted to economic reforms and draconian structures that we did not ask for and upon which the majority of the population was not consulted, and, who, by consequence are becoming more impoverished and subjected.”

Over-reliance on state funding is a characteristic — usually driven by necessity — of national museums as public institutions rather than private or community museums. But in the case of the former it has led to a lack of financial support from the state in this sector in West Africa. The issue became particularly acute in West African countries where the cultural sector has less priority over more pressing concerns in the areas of health and the economy. Furthermore, the relative ‘youthfulness’ of museums had not by this date generated recognition in terms of the potential income that they could produce. By the end of the 1980s the museums in West Africa entered a general phase of inactivity with problems of personnel, documentation, exhibitions and conservation. According to museum conservator Mubiana Luhila (1995: 32) (and former Head of the Centre for Heritage Development in Africa) writing in 1995, the NMG last mounted a temporary exhibition in 1980, and he accused the institution of “slowly drifting off to sleep”. Arinze (1998: 31-33) too acknowledged this stagnation and blamed it twofold on the irrelevance of subject matter in exhibitions and the over-reliance on government funding in the early part of the decade within the wider context of economic decline with SAPs in West Africa.

Another colonial legacy that hindered the development of museums in West Africa after Independence concerned the museums’ staff. When the national museums were being formed under colonial rule, local staff had largely assumed positions of assistants, cleaners or attendants. Teams of relatively unskilled staff lacked specific expertises, which precipitated uninspired approaches to exhibition display and contributed to the museum crises (Arinze 1998: 31). This led to the realisation that training programmes needed to be set

up at the national level and to draw on local resources to combat a growing rejection and scepticism of overseas-trained museum staff:

“At the moment most of our staff are trained in the developed countries. Undoubtedly the training facilities in these countries are excellent but on his return home the trainee has to adapt what he has learnt to his own situation. This is the area where the problem is experienced vividly” (Myles 1976: 202).

Renewed and concerted efforts eventually emerged from the relatively negative museological trends of the late 1980s through a series of activities in the forms of workshops and training programmes. The emphasis on ‘in-house’ training still continues today with the ‘École du Patrimoine Africain’ (EPA) in Porto Novo [Godonou 2006: 95] and its anglophone counterpart, CHDA (Centre for Heritage Development in Africa) in Mombasa, Kenya (both originally ICOM and both linguistically divided rather than according to regional affiliations) as well as initiatives at the University of Legon to teach Masters’ courses in museum studies. WAMP’s early objectives, operating from Dakar (Senegal)^{clxiii} were to “promote good museum practice in terms of research, documentation, preservation and dissemination” (Ardouin 1990: 4-6) and to establish links between museums and staff in West Africa in addition to access to sources of support outside Africa (see also McLeod 2004: 53). The first workshop for museum directors from French speaking Sub-Saharan Africa attracted nineteen directors from fifteen countries to Niamey and was organised by WAMP and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM 1986) in 1990 (WAMP 1991: 16). Museum professionals from the entire African continent met for the first time in 1991, when ICOM organised the first of three well-attended workshops by

francophone and Anglophone participants across West Africa (in Abomey, Accra and Lomé) entitled 'What museums for Africa?' A collection of the proceedings was published in 1992 and out of these workshops also came a project to compile the first existing index of African museum professionals. The relevance of the conference led to creating the International Council of African Museums (AFRICOM^{clxiv}) in November 1991. The body of work from the conference was published in 1993 by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) and WAMP in order to forge stronger museum networks that would hopefully stimulate the development of cultural projects across the continent (see also the proceedings of the meeting organised by the 'Centro di Studi di Storia delle Arti Africane della Università Internazionale dell'Arte' of Florence and by the 'Associazione 'Poro' of Milan, Bassani and Speranza 1991).

Following their first workshop on 'Museums and the Community' in 1985 (in Lomé), WAMP organised a series of other events, 'Museums and Archaeology' in Abidjan 1993, 'Museums and History' in Ouidah 1995 and 'Museums and Urban Culture' in Accra 1996. The proceedings were published in 1995, 1997, 2000 and 2002 respectively. Each workshop provided regular opportunities to bring together members of the pan-African museum community to share their own experiences and views regardless of linguistic and national boundaries, and to strengthen social networks. The occasion for the first of the series ('Museums and the Community') was inspired by a regional workshop coordinated by the West African Museums Programme (WAMP) and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the musée national du Mali in Bamako in 1984 on the topic of textile conservation. The Bamako workshop developed into a

project between the musée national and the Museum of Culture and History at the University of California launched by Claude Ardouin, Philip Ravenhill, Doran Ross and Rachel Hoffman in 1987. It was the first example of long-term collaborative projects between American and African museums and it generated important discussions on the role of community museums as to the preservation of material culture in the context of what the centralised, national museums were able (or not) to achieve in practical terms. The project thus exemplified the beneficial outcomes from organising these collaborations. At the Lomé workshop thirty-eight participants attended and topics were presented that ranged from 'The Training of Local Museum Staff' (Arinze) to 'The Proposed Eco-Museum at Ziguinchor, Senegal' (Ndiaye 1995). The 1995 workshop focused on 'Museums and History' with an accompanying exhibition organised by the Director of Cultural Heritage (Republic of Benin) and curated by staff members of the History Museum of Ouidah as well as by families from Ouidah. It aimed to promote links between museums, communities and historical research and to demonstrate how they could be used as tools for education through incorporating local histories in their exhibition and education programmes (Gueye 1997b: 68). The examples above serve to demonstrate some of the main activities in the museum field in Africa until the mid 1990s, and the input of WAMP on smaller projects too, such as the Upper Volta Museum. The shifting nature of the workshops illustrate the emphasis upon forming nationally trained staff and using national resources to secure solutions to the dilemmas facing museums *in situ*, rather than relying on answers from 'outside' (Ardouin 1996: 200).

By the mid 1990s the subject of the WAMP organised workshops had shifted from a focus on the community to exploring the discipline of archaeology, to then focus on history as a way of highlighting the development of human urbanisation in Africa. With the acceleration of mass urbanism in the 20th century, the workshops also addressed its attendant social conflicts. 'Museums and Urban Culture' (24th – 28th June 1996) attracted twenty-three participants to Accra, of which twenty one came from across Africa (Gueye 1997a). In his foreword to the publication Arinze hoped that one of the outcomes would be to motivate national museums to acknowledge urban communities and address through their temporary exhibitions contemporary local issues that were facing modern society^{clxv}. An awareness of the need to protect urban heritage and to train staff to be aware of new social realities was raised at the workshop. As hosts of the event, the NMG was asked to curate an accompanying exhibition to serve as a practical exercise for the forum: 'Spotlight on urban culture'. The exhibition however, was badly received. Fogelman (2008: 21) described its critiques as having a heavy focus on propaganda (artefacts borrowed from government ministries, private businesses, framed photographs, calendars published by the Black Star Line) rather than demonstrating a real understanding of urban culture, such as hairstyle trends, housing, music and entertainment (see also Quainoo 2000: 98). Alongside these more specialised conferences on the changing roles of the museum, a number of programmes were also produced that addressed other aspects of the museum such as conservation training programmes, museum management courses and security in the museum (see ICCROM, PREMA 1998^{clxvi}).

5.1.3 Stimulating interest among contemporary urban audiences

Critical debates circulating in the field of West African museology continued to develop towards the end of the 20th century. Diverging from earlier assumptions about museums and nation building, claims were made that these institutions must be firmly positioned within their own localised communities and should exist predominantly to serve the latter and to conserve their material culture. The museum anthropologist and founder of WAMP, Philip Ravenhill (1995: vii) stressed these mutual benefits. He emphasised that museums should be part of the community, responsive to their needs and serve them, and that both should work together for the “growth and development” of the community. This did not imply that museum specialists necessarily sought to reject other sources of visitors though. In line with similar discussions from the workshop ‘Museums and Urban Culture’ above, Arinze (1998: 31-34) blamed low levels of local attendance on the nature of museums’ ethnographic collections and display (the issues persisted despite concerted efforts to raise museological standards and reconfigure colonial legacies). He argued that exhibitions did not correspond to the interests of audiences where, for example, African nations have experienced wars, famines or coups. “Health, urbanisation, environmental problems, political evolution [...]” are themes that Arinze (ibid) claimed were entirely absent from African museum exhibitions. Contemporary exhibitions on urban culture that are central to the concerns of the community (given the location of most national museums) will draw in local audiences according to Arinze. In criticising the current state of museums, he stated (1998: 31) that:

“Rather than promote new ideas and strategies to meet these changes, they [museums] cling to the past, showing little motivation and no clear

vision of what they are expected to be doing nor how to respond to contemporary society...”

It was not until the work of museologists Claude Ardouin (1996: 188-9) and Emmanuel Arinze emerged in the late 1990's, that ideas of re-evaluating the nature of the collections to forge closer connections with their potential audiences really began to circulate.

5.2 Legacies of late 20th century museology in West Africa

The previous section of Chapter 5 (5.1) reviewed the museum debates towards the end of the 20th century in West Africa, such as the rather limited impact of museums in their local and urban environments, how best museums could become functioning spaces and how they could achieve their potential roles by appealing to wider members of the public and not to be restricted to overseas visitors. Within this framework the next section attempts to understand whether some of these ideas have been incorporated into the actual development of the MNM and the NMG, and to what extent the institutions were successfully answering the needs of local audiences at the time of my research.

The NMG generally received between 15–20,000 visitors per year and the MNM about 30,000 visitors per year. It is significant that when broken down, national and non-national visitor attendance figures can mislead due to the large numbers of school children that tend to visit in groups of up to forty at a time. For example, in November 2006 the NMG received 332 non-national visitors^{clxvii} and 436 nationals. Of the latter, 347 were students or school children^{clxviii} and only 89 were national adults (NMG visitors' statistics, appendix 8). Disparate figures were also evident during observation at the NMG and the MNM, sustained by feedback from museum members of staff and frequently discussed outside the museum grounds. At the NMG both the education officer (pers. comm. Gymfri 08.03.07) and the Museum director's secretary (pers. comm. Gloria^{clxix} 16.03.07) explained that most schools in Accra regularly send one class per term per year to the museum. What I am interested in concerns the low levels of attendance numbers of local adult audiences — 'leisure' visits

— that persisted at the National Museums of Mali and Ghana (and which caused a major concern to both museum directors, pers. comms. Sidibe, MNM director 28.12.06; and Maisie, NMG director 16.03.07). For these reasons, the themes in this section include physical access to the museum and interpretations of the collections — both of which are crucial in determining the positive and/or negative experience of a museum visit.

I have collated the local impact of the two museums from a wide selection of visitors and non-visitors in order to ascertain which, if any, factors might hinder a visit to the museum or act as deterrents to potential audiences. The methodologies used to conduct this type of research employed several approaches in order to generate quantitative responses towards understanding museums within their own environment. Printed questionnaires were distributed to visitors at the NMG and the MNM (appendix 9, 10 and Chapter 6). Besides the standard questions ascertaining whether the informant had visited the museum/ other museums/ understood what a museum was^{clxx}, I questioned what they would like to see inside a national museum and what topics were suitable for exhibitions (many responses elicited interesting suggestions, for example, exhibitions on old cars, on football, or on musical instruments). Quite often informants would go through the questions orally with myself or with my research assistant and result in semi-structured discussions, incidentally incorporating qualitative responses as well. The questionnaires were circulated outside the museum space too. In total 191 questionnaires were completed. I invited six first-time visitors, in pairs, to both museums to assess their interpretations *in situ*. Interview questions addressed their impressions upon first entering the museum galleries and were continued in each of the galleries.

The informants would select particular displays and explain what appealed to them and why, and if not, why not. The experience was interactive and insightful and at the end of the visit, we reflected together on the overall experience. My own presence (as a Westerner) conducting the questions (or guiding my research assistant) in these situations was facilitated by the nature of my research. Both inside and outside of the museum spaces, Malians and Ghanaians are conscious that foreigners come to learn about local heritage, which is facilitated by the museum sector. That I was interested in investigating local responses to museums was acknowledged and understood.

I conducted a focus group session in a junior secondary school in Accra (JSS level). The school was close to the museum and, after seeking permission from the Headmistress, I met with one of the teachers who, on an arranged date and time after lessons, had selected a group of five young girls and boys for the session^{clxxi}. They had all visited the museum and I questioned them about their positive and negative experiences there. I had prepared images of objects (from telephones to masks and cars) and instructed the students to select an image each and decide whether it would go in a museum. This exercise helped to stimulate qualitative interpretations of their perceptions of the roles and definitions of a museum, with particular attention to whether a museum should be about 'old things'^{clxxii} or 'Ghanaian things' or not. In my research I have also made use of participant observation inside the gallery spaces and of informal interviews that were carried out outside the museum space with non-visitors where relevant. Individuals were on the whole, familiar with the museum building, the structure from outside, but did not feel that it was for them (or inviting enough) and as a result, had not formulated a clear idea of what was

inside the space. I followed up findings afterwards with members of staff at both museums, members of staff at the ministries of culture and from the National Tourist Board (in Accra). Information was thus reviewed in this way through semi-structured interviews as a means to plot triangulation of the data. The underlying themes throughout this part of my research were to attempt to generate qualitative data and understand why certain audiences did not frequent the museum — what factors hindered a visit? How was the museum building perceived? And did they feel that the museum was ‘for’ them or not? Responses to these issues generate an understanding of to what extent the museums have or have not met with their own expectations of their projects in relation to local communities, explored in the first part of this chapter.

5.2.1 Tangible experiences: the museum-visitor and the museum space

An extensive amount of literature has been published on the architectural designs of museum buildings in 18th and 19th century Europe (see, for example, Horne 1984; Bennett 1995; Duncan 1995; Dias 1991; Vidler 2003). Such institutions as the British Museum, le musée du Louvre or the Royal Museum in Tervuren, Belgium were built as grand, imposing, awe-inspiring architectural structures that dominated the visitor and also recalled histories of imperialist interpretations of national and overseas expansion and power (Chapter 2)^{clxxiii}. Duncan (1995: 4) asserted that museums worldwide share dominant physical characteristics because they were conceived with the same ideological needs of shaping the public with national sovereign regimes. State buildings such as presidential palaces, town halls or museums (which habitually receive state visits and inherit state gifts for their collections)^{clxxiv} were also designed to

impress and to reflect positions of state authority. Moreover they were a means of inscribing notions of a secular (Rowlands 2011: S30) common citizenship that was regulatory and constantly centralised. This section addresses in detail how and whether the designs of the NMG and the MNM articulated particular regimes of power, to what extent they appeared as disciplinary institutions, and the making of particular subjectivities within their spaces.

The design of the NMG was an impressive structure in local Ghanaian terms largely due to its uncharacteristic domed roof. The dome covers the main circular gallery, which conditions the movement around the building and also recalls Foucault's (1979: 200) work on annular penitentiaries and the concept of the panopticon, where the inmate is constantly visible and thereby internalises the regulatory regime. Inside the museum gallery, attendants observed the visitors either from angles on the ground floor or from the upper mezzanine (figure 8)^{clxxv}.



Figure 8: the circular galleries at the NMG (2007)

The MNM (renovated in 1983^{clxxvi} and 2003 by French architect Jean Loup Pivin^{clxxvii}) impressed its visitors with grand gates and tall banco facades (in a neo-Sudanese style of architecture integrating features from the north and from the south) and subsequently also appealed to national pride by making use of local materials^{clxxviii} (see figure 11). The remarkable, unique buildings of both institutions conveyed their importance and positioned them among the upper echelons of state buildings and away from ‘non-places’ (airport lounges or motorways for example, see Augé 2008). Yet museums can also be associated with prisons, hospitals or cemeteries in that they occupy a space that is at once central to a culture and yet set aside. They also have a system of limited access of opening and closing, which makes them both penetrable and isolating and they share heterotopian characteristics (Foucault 1984: 182). Similarly, museums are such spaces, set inside controlled spaces. Museums are buildings that, due to their nature of articulating an accumulation of the past in one location, are also part of the project of Western cultures of the 19th century. This argument helps to further contextualise those concerns that sought to reject external influences on the museum (5.1). The design of the museums (particularly the museum in Mali) had a grandeur but also an exoticism (in terms of design) so that perhaps consequently “the architecture is more appreciated by foreigners” (Suteau 1995: 24 appendix 1:23). This, combined with the isolating nature of museums also posed a challenge where attempts were made to present more user-friendly museums for the public.

The National Museum of Ghana

First impressions of the museum's buildings are crucial in preparing the visitors and in determining whether he/she will feel like they *want* to visit. The national museums of Mali and Ghana shared similar physical characteristics. They were built a little way out of the centre of Bamako and Accra respectively, located in the "quiet environment" (Aradeon 2002: 134) of what was once the colonial administrative part of town. The musée du District de Bamako in contrast to the National Museums for example, was located in the heart of the city and as a result, the site was better known at the time of my research by taxi drivers, shop owners, post office workers and other members of the public that I questioned. Both the National Museums of Mali and Ghana were in affluent parts of the city, close to administrative offices. The entrance to the NMG was off a busy dual carriageway and close to a bus stop. A discrete sign (in the characteristic dark blue colour of all GMMB buildings) read: "National Museum: Archaeology, Ethnography and Art (Ghana Museums and Monuments Board). Visiting hours 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. everyday. Closed on Mondays" (figure 9).

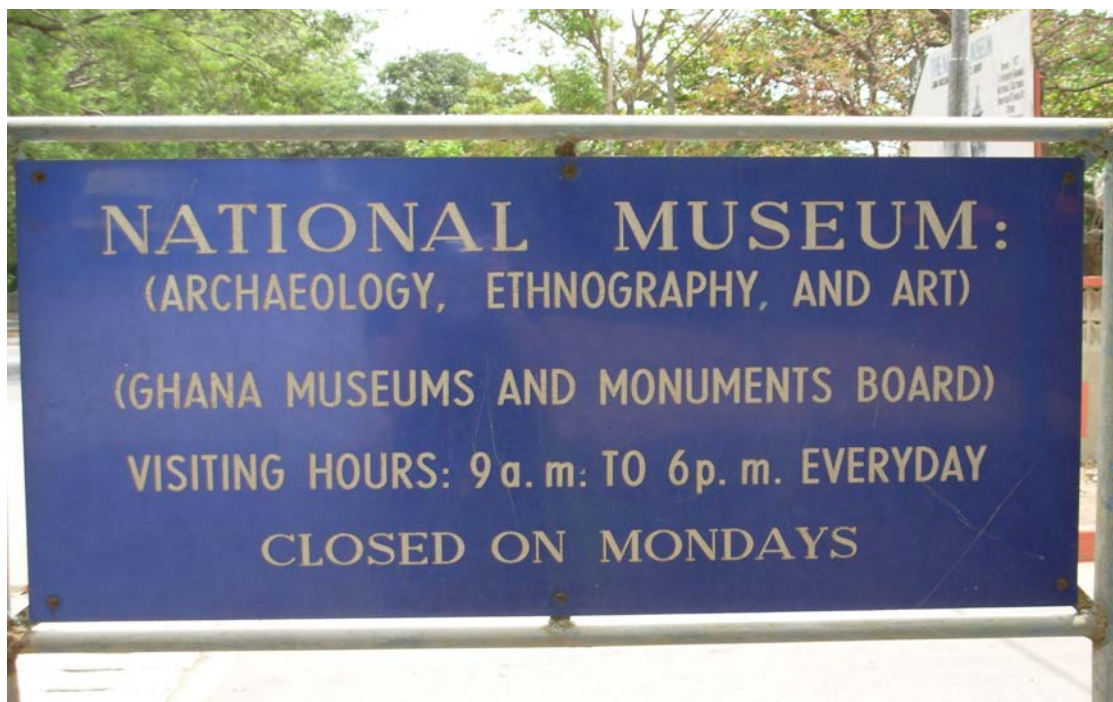


Figure 9: the entrance sign to the National Museum of Ghana (2007)

Primary information about the building was therefore initially restricted to those who were literate, understood English and were familiar with the definition of a museum or its associated disciplines such as archaeology or ethnography.

Access was via a drive-through with a statue of former President Kwame Nkrumah in the centre (figure 10, see also Chapter 1 page 38), the gallery steps were immediately to the right, *Rosie's* café/ restaurant was in front and to the left (near the exit) were the museums' sculpture gardens and workshop.



Figure 10: Statue of Kwame Nkrumah, NMG (2009) (photo by Bianca Murillo)

The museum grounds were surrounded by tall trees and a security wall (renovated with funding from the Swiss Embassy in 2007) that prevented passers-by from observing what was inside. An alternative 'unofficial' back route to the museum cut across from behind *Rosie's* restaurant, and was more regularly employed by museum staff or frequent visitors. The galleries' entrance

(through large heavy glass doors) was guarded by security and manned by receptionists. After paying the appropriate entrance fee, the visitor passed through an old-fashioned turnstile, presented his/ her bags to security for inspection and entered the gallery. The National Museum's galleries were not accessible directly from street level and there were no illustrations explaining what it was that the museum did. Akin to feelings of hesitation, to do a half-turn in full view of the security staff and receptionists would most likely draw attention and cause embarrassment to the unaccustomed visitor. This is an issue that appears time and time again within museums around the world. The Mozambican Minister for Culture and Youth (Costa 1995: 106) empathised with the reticence expressed by the potential public visitor at the National Art Museum in Maputo, explaining that the occasional citizen passing by might decide to walk in out of curiosity and would enquire whether they were allowed in, if they had to pay, and whether they were suitably dressed. The NMG was located on Barnes Road in Adabraka central district, close to the National Archives, Calvary Methodist Church, YWCA, a mental asylum and a Hilton Hotel. The spaces between all of these buildings were large (having accommodated in the later colonial times, polo grounds, military parades and bungalow compounds, Crinson 2001: 232), the roads were wide and there were no shops, food stalls and few hawkers at the time of my visits. The museum distinguished the commercial and residential or historical districts in this part of Accra (ibid). Except for access from the bus stop, few people would enter the museum as 'passers by' through the main gate by foot, thus privileging cars above pedestrians and exemplifying the disciplinary procedure that organises the social space (de Certeau 1998: 49).

Le musée national du Mali

The MNM's grounds were more spacious than those at the NMG, with over 1,700 m² of exhibition area (Y.Diallo, conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* 09.09.06), yet the two museums shared some common features. The former also had two entrances. The employment of two entrances creates an important architectural and social division of spaces according to 'front' (outside access for the tourist, first time visitor or dignitary) and 'back' (inside access for locals, frequent museum users and staff), with the museum space in the centre. Goffman (1956: 144-45) has described conceptualised forms of physical access to performance spaces (referring to performances for the tourist industry) as distinct spaces allocated to the visitor, non-visitor and even the non-participant. The process allows for both informal spaces and for the cultivation of 'authentic spaces' that can be applied here to the museum context. The official entrance to the MNM was on Avenue de la Libération, off the junction that led to the plateau of Koulouba and the Presidential Palace^{clxxix} and the unofficial was via the car park, makeshift canteen area, library and staff offices. The main entrance was rather grand and set back from the street, which has been commented upon by Sanogo (pers. comm. 19.01.07), director general of the Direction National des Arts et Cultures (DNAC) as simply not practical, being away from the main thoroughfare of the city.

A large sign "*Musée National du Mali*" above wrought iron gates linked the high walls surrounding the museum grounds (except for a gated section that separated the main road from the education department offices area). An

impressive water feature greeted the visitor and irrigated the museum gardens (its source was natural)^{clxxx}. To the visitor's right was the reception desk (a separate small building with a glass window manned by Ibrahim Diallo). The visitor paid and collected his/her ticket to access the galleries here^{clxxxii}. Access to all the rest of the museum spaces apart from the galleries and prehistoric gardens was free and the museum operated a free entry policy for the first Wednesday of every month (implemented on 07.04.04). A paved path guided the visitor past the museum shop, across an open-air events space and right, up some stairs to the permanent galleries (producing a palatial effect, figure 11), left up some stairs to the temporary galleries or straight on to the privately-run café, museum office, library and back entrance. The museum grounds were large, open, leafy, quiet and were kept spotlessly clean^{clxxxiii}. Very few people were visible and dark windows (in contrast to the bright Malian sunlight) made it difficult to see inside the museum shop and the temporary and permanent galleries without entering first. The first-time visitor was not able to gauge what the museum did from passing by the outside, and the rather palatial architecture might be intimidating. However in practice, visitors were able to (and from my own observations, did) enquire discreetly from the young receptionist at the front entrance (or security staff at the back entrance) before committing themselves to entry^{clxxxiii}. Although the MNM was designed as a more impressive and awe-inspiring building, the experience was, for the social interaction cited above, initially somehow less daunting than at the NMG.



Figure 11: Entrance to the permanent galleries, MNM (2006)

Both national museums were already perceived as foreign models. There remained a distinct lack of understanding of what the buildings contained, how one was expected to behave and what general purposes they served.

According to my own observations and feedback from members of staff it did seem that, to a certain extent, the MNM was beginning to receive local highly educated members of the elite culture who were accustomed to visiting museums in Paris or London, for example, and the museum director (pers. comm. Sidibe 14.01.07 appendix 1:24) defined his audiences as foreign visitors and the urban elite^{clxxxiv} (for Europe, see Bourdieu and Darbel 1966). However in my research, I have tried to gather information from broader sections of the public in attempting to understand the barriers for ‘non-visiting’ publics. The historian and assistant director at the MNM, Salia Malé (pers. comm. 28.12.06) believed first of all that the word ‘musée’ acted as an intellectual barrier and that it did the institution no favours. According to Malé, there is no appropriate

equivalent word in the local vernacular, Bamanan, and even the vowel “u” does not exist. The noun has not entered current usage (unlike, for example *lakoli* meaning school/ *l'école*, integrated from the French); it is associated with foreign ‘things’, and contributed to the image of the museum as a foreign space for foreign people. Of twenty-three surveys that were conducted outside the museum space in Accra, results indicated that the only people who had already visited a museum (of any kind) and would consider a repeat visit were teachers, artists or students. Lack of familiarity was directly linked with a lack of confidence: “you have to have had an effective education before going [to the museum]” (pers. comm. Dzamafe, director of Culture, Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture, Ghana and ex-director of the NMG 19.03.07). Familiarity through repeated visits or having been brought regularly as a child to the museum is generally key to avoiding feelings of intimidation, alienation and therefore of boredom (for a counter critique on British museums, children and boredom, see Hodges 2009: 39).

A clear understanding of the purposes of the museum and what it contains is therefore central to audiences even before the start of their visit. This was highlighted by one individual in Bamako, who demonstrated her unawareness in response to my questionnaire by defining the museum as a place that “sold things”. According to Youssouf Haidara (pers. comm. Ministry of Education 12.04.06) the general feeling was that people were not going to be interested in visiting the museum because they didn’t know what was inside and that they were afraid of showing their ignorance. Key findings on European museum publics published by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Derbel in 1966 (146) suggested that the length of time spent in higher education was

crucial to making people want to come to museums, as a form of ‘cultivated pleasure’ and that the more the institution physically (and conceptually) resembled a temple of high culture than a forum for the people (Chapter 2 page 80), the more people felt excluded (see also Merriman 1991: 63)^{clxxxv}.

In a review conducted for the touring exhibition ‘Vallée du Niger’ at the MNM in 1995, Rachel Suteau (1995: 26 appendix 1:25) observed that “the Malian public, of which a considerable percentage is coming for the first time, does not know how to behave, and, for fear of appearing ridiculous, does not always dare to ask for the information he needs for a satisfactory visit”. Naana Ocran, the head of Education at the NMG (pers. comm. 12.03.07) confirmed too that, “people want to be reassured at the entrance where there is a feeling of foreboding and intimidation”. It is worth considering at this point how the ‘museum image’ is presented to the visiting public prior to their visit. Tourists and school children formed among the highest figures for attendance at the NMG. The latter are first introduced to the museum in schools by their teachers who act as the mediators — in this case — between the state (the museum) and the public (the visitor). During an interview however, NMG director, Maisie (pers. comm. 23.03.07) was concerned that the teachers weren’t being efficient mediators for the museum: “Yes, most of the school children see [the museum] as ‘full of old things’ because that’s what the *teacher* tells them, they tell them that in the museum there are old things, they forget that everything of the present can be there”.

5.2.2 Museum collections and exhibition styles

The overall degree of appreciation experienced by the museum visitor is determined to a large extent by their interaction with the exhibits, as this dictates what sort of responses they will come away with. Interaction depends upon the particular style that the museum has selected to present its displays whether, for example, it adopts the approach of celebrating the sanctity of the artefact (formalist approach, see Chapter 2 page 72) or the more interpretive approach, which encourages physical interaction by appealing to the senses through engagement with the artefacts as much as possible (analyst approach, *ibid*). Where, for reasons of security, the artefacts are not allowed to be touched, visual stimuli can be generated through supporting materials such as photographic images, maps, timelines, 'props' and backdrops. The National Museums of Ghana and Mali have adopted slightly different approaches in their presentation of material culture to their audiences. This section adopts a phenomenological approach to position those museological approaches in relation to public perceptions. The museum visitors' experience inside the galleries is the important second stage in their visit (after the initial impressions of the building and museum grounds) in gaining knowledge and understanding of the museum and its roles. It determines whether there will be a repeat visit, which also indicates to what extent the museum has been successful in its missions.

The National Museum of Ghana

Each of the human senses (smell, touch, see, taste and hear) were restricted, and in some cases forbidden (taste and touch) inside the gallery spaces at the NMG. The 'regime of the museum' contributes to feelings of entering a

designated area that is separated from every day life outside alongside highly visible boundaries of regulation. Several factors made the visitor aware that he/she was entering a different and special space. In her study of museum visitors' experiences, Carol Duncan (1995: 11) drew on Mary Douglas' (1966) work on rituals to refer to the analogies between museum visiting and entering this 'different' social and physical space. She suggested that the space is framed by physically demarcated rituals, likening it to a stage and script. Douglas (1966: 63) described that "The marked off time or place alerts a special kind of expectancy, just as the oft-repeated 'Once upon a time' creates a mood receptive to fantastic tales". Not being able to touch the exhibits contrasted greatly with other public areas such as Makola Market in central Accra, where the displays of textiles, beads, fruit, vegetables were touched by shoppers. The contrast in the museum can feel either incomprehensible or disorientating for the unaccustomed visitor though it can be argued that to a certain extent the process is also intentional. To temporarily suspend the norms of social behaviour induces more engaged interpretations, thereby allowing visitors to look at themselves from different perspectives (see Turner 1974 in Benamou and Caramello 1977). In general, the visitor was compliant and heeded the 'museum rules' and the cautions of gallery attendants not to touch the displays.

In one example however, an informant whom I had invited to the museum decided to display a sense of "moral resistance" to the imposed system inside the galleries (de Certeau 1998). Despite my protests (and out of sight of the gallery attendants), Alhadji Tall insisted on sitting in each of the state chairs (Dutch, German, British and Nkrumah's chair) that were on display in the peripheral galleries (his custom states that it is fortuitous to sit on an important

persons' chair, and Alhadji Tall wanted some of that luck too)^{clxxxvi}. The act recalls the term coined by de Certeau (1998: xiv) as *la perruque* in French ('the wig'). It refers to employers diverting their office time to carry out an activity of their own, such as, for example, a secretary typing a love letter at work — rarely perceived as a punishable offence, yet a diversion from the 'rules' nonetheless. Alhadji Tall consciously (and lightheartedly) subverted the museum's moral and regulatory regime momentarily by diverting from the rules for his own pleasure and resistance in this encounter (Karp and Kratz [2000: 218] also refer to the "thrill of defying museum guard authority").

There is an issue in this encounter about the museum following a Western scenography of display. The collections were on plinths or behind glass cases or spotlighted from above and they could be seen but not touched. By sitting in the Governor's chairs, Alhadji Tall was, himself, appropriating the museum rules for his own personal gain, which might also be an appropriation of resources that circulated outside his own immediate field, such as a sense of political power over things that were not immediately within his ability to control. In his work *Africa on Display: Curating Postcolonial Pasts in the Cameroon Grassfields*, Rowlands (2009: 155-6) distinguished between 'things' that were used and 'things' that were for display, as forms of extraversion, *for the self* and *outside of the self* (in his case, instigated by the Palace, and in the case above at the NMG, instigated by Alhadji Tall). For reasons that are evident to the museum-user or material culture specialist, if visitors handle the artefacts they will quickly lead to wear and damage and be 'unusable' for future generations. This marks out the distinction between artefacts for use and for display. It may not, however be as easily apparent to visitors who are accustomed to using those same

artefacts on display around the home, or who do not share the same concepts about the preservation of past material culture for all of society (see Chapter 6).

Further sensual restrictions inside the museum space included visual and aural: the emphasis on the visual interaction or the 'gaze' on the exhibits is passive (which can induce boredom). The NMG had made some serious efforts to break away from the singular approach of 'texts on walls' (see Karp and Kratz 2000) such as, for example, by including reconstructions, photographic backdrops and mannequins to diversify and animate the visitor experience. The Museum also hosted contemporary art exhibitions. Works were displayed in a room that led off from the central gallery on the opposite side to the main entrance. Yao Dzamefe (pers. comm. 19.03.07) believed that "beautiful things" (conceptualised as Ghanaian contemporary paintings and sculpture) appealed more to the general public than museum artefacts that were accompanied with lots of text. According to him, the layout of the museum obliged the visitor to walk through the main exhibits to access the temporary gallery, and he hoped that this would "break them in" (see also Chapter 6). In his discussion, Dzamefe addressed a crucial differentiation between museum visitors, which was generated by varying levels of education (see Bourdieu and Darbel 1966) whereby the elite were interested in the museum displays because they were interested in reading, but text alienated the less literate. Museum exhibitions that rely heavily on text contribute to widening the gulf between their audiences. The exhibition spaces were also silent — the visitor was expected not to shout or cause any noise disturbances to other individuals using the space. Again, this was in contrast with every day life outside the museum walls, where it was impossible to escape the sounds of children playing, somebody's radio blasting

music or conversations, people chatting or hawkers publicising their wares. This restricted sense of freedom inside the galleries can feel disconcerting and unfamiliar for the unaccustomed museum visitor, highlighting an ordering and regime to which they are being subjected.

Le musée national du Mali

In contrast to the NMG, which had windows that let in a minimum of street noises and natural light, the MNM's galleries were silent, cold (air-conditioned)^{clxxxvii}, dark and there were few places to sit and rest. The three galleries have adopted a more formal and minimalist style than at the NMG (see Bassani and Speranza 1991: 174). The wall spaces were empty, the artefacts were placed at eye level and lit individually with the spaces uncluttered. The galleries corresponded accurately to Duncan's (1995: 17) description of European public museums, whereby

“installation design has consistently and increasingly sought to isolate artefacts for the concentrated gaze of the aesthetic adept and to suppress as irrelevant other meanings the objects might have”.

During a discussion of the museum layout, Sanogo (pers. comm. 19.01.07) deplored the museum's approach of utilising empty spaces between each room because “you go from one to the next like the entrance, in and out... at the Museum in Niamey, you feel like you are a tourist seeing new things each time — it's fun!” The wall colour throughout the museum was a deep dark red, which created a sombre atmosphere. It did not correspond to those popular colours chosen for street signs (youth clubs), or posters (politicians slogans) and advertisements (hairdressers' salons) outside of the museum space. In his presentation, Till Forster (*Visual culture in an urban environment* 05.03.07^{clxxxviii})

cited from his own research that the most admired and appreciated colours were the bright, eye-catching hues of reds, yellows and blues. The visual layout of the galleries did not mirror popular tastes (existing outside its walls) and the extent to which these approaches had been taken into consideration is questionable.

The final point that addresses the visitors' sensory space inside the gallery and interaction with the exhibits at the MNM revisits the one-dimensional approach of 'text on walls' (illustrated also in the NMG case-study above). Information could come at an extra cost by hiring a museum tour guide or from the accompanying exhibition catalogue (purchasable for 20,000CFA^{clxxxix} from the museum shop). Otherwise, discreet text panels in small font (size 12-14) written in the "omniscient" third person (Karp and Kratz 2000: 215) and using academic French (and not Bamanan) were interspersed between each section and provided information about the artefacts that could easily be missed. This form of transmitting cultural knowledge excluded non-literate visitors^{cxg} and non-French speakers, and "[writing] lacks the warmth of the human voice" (according to a recording of a Malian griot, 1950s in Wilks 1996: 12). Ardouin (1992: 291) had argued that it was essential to make use of appropriate methods of communication that did not rely entirely on the written word, and proposed the use of participatory storytellers, guides, images and sound. Two informants whom I invited to the museum for research, Jacques and Koné (pers. comm. 27.10.06), explained that when they were young, they had learnt about, or 'memorised' their own past through storytelling (see also Ingold 1996: 203). In contrast, the act of reading text is an individualised, passive and distancing one. According to the griot cited by Wilks, written texts that record

history serve to distance the individual from that past, which is not *felt* and as a result whose memories are not so vivid or valid. A Ghanaian jazz musician in Accra (Daniel, March 2007) had composed a song during my visit, which he entitled *If you want to hide something from an African, write it in a book*. During fieldwork in the East Dogon region of Mali, I read a schoolboys' study book (Year 9) for ECM ('Etudes Civics et Morals' — civic and moral studies, appendix 1:26)^{cxci}. I copied the following extract from Abassa Ongoïba as it suggested that solitary behaviour was uncustomary and actively discouraged in Malian society:

“Solidarity: one cannot and one should not appreciate the actions of a man isolated from life and from the aspirations of the society of which he is from and lives in, whence the obligations of helping each other”.

The museum experience, in contrast, focused on an individual experience, where one read alone, oriented oneself alone in the galleries and was confronted with the works on display as a one-way process. This was unlike most other experiences outside the museum space (where one is always accompanied by friends, family members or other acquaintances). I do not of course, imply that acts of solidarity were intentionally discouraged at the museum though I would suggest that, from observations, through regulating the individual, the museum tended to discourage collective participation (see also Agan 2006: 77). Current modes of transmitting cultural knowledge were not easily accessible to all potential visitors and did not naturally facilitate cultural ties.

The nature of the collections that have been inherited by the MNM and the NMG determined to a large extent the degree of engagement the public were

able to have with the exhibits. Often the works were old, fragile, rare, and required adequate preservation methods. Konare (1990: 50) stated that the “museum, I think, is a good thing because it has allowed colonial countries to assume the task of conservation, but we must adapt this institution to our own needs.” Bodily and sensory restrictions that were imposed on the museum visitor also acted as cultural barriers. Alternative methods of presenting material culture and coordinating audience interaction with the exhibits can be adopted to complement formalist approaches. Some of these methods of enhancing community participation will be explored in the next chapter. Both national museums adhered to methods of artefact conservation following European practices, yet did not present their displays according to their own audiences’ needs, such that they were spaces that Monréal (1976: 10) warned about: where “people only go to the traditional type of museum on tiptoe”.

The dichotomy between a cultural heritage that is ‘alive’ and material culture displayed in glass cases is beginning to emerge and will be addressed in more detail in the next section. Throughout the course of the discussion session at the Junior Secondary School in Accra (16.05.07), a young student called Prince complained that he didn’t like the fact that he couldn’t touch the artefacts at the NMG. During participant observation at the museum I witnessed people disappointed or confused when they reached the display of musical instruments and couldn’t play them. Other critics stated that cultural heritage is everywhere, and not in an enclosed or ‘restricted’ space, which removed all the sensual fun and pleasure from learning. Sylla (deputy director of the IES, ‘Institut d’Education Sociale’) supported this view in a personal communication (9.01.07 appendix 1:17) arguing that, “the museum is everywhere. Instead of going into

a building, you have to take a bus and go to the village. Families keep the objects. You have to go into the regions, that's the museum.”

5.3 Revisiting museological challenges

5.3.1 *Africa: museums and heritage for which publics? (ICOM 1992)*

A review of some of the titles of organised workshops, conferences and publications produced in the field of West African museology since the 1980s indicates ongoing concerted attempts to re-position museums according to national and community-based needs within the nation state. Conference headings such as *Museums and their community* (WAMP 1985); *What museums for Africa?* (ICOM 1991) and *Africa: museums and heritage for which publics?*^{cxcii} (MNM 2006) suggest that these institutions are still struggling to address their audiences' needs. There exist no clear-cut solutions to these issues, whether generated from international, national or local perspectives because of the sheer diversity of museum audiences. Several factors still contribute to the image and the practices of the museum as a 'foreign' or 'top down' institution. A glaringly obvious characteristic shared by the National Museums of Mali and Ghana was that their ethnographic collections were regional because of their colonial trajectories, such that these museums in Africa were about local indigenous African culture (Chapter 3 page 135)^{cxci}. In contrast, museums (and International Exhibitions) across Europe in the 19th century exhibited ethnographic material culture that originated from overseas. This appealed to their wider communities' senses of curiosity precisely because they were coming to the museum and experiencing something *new*.

Re-contextualising local indigenous artefacts in an African national museum behind glass cases render the works at the same time both distant and familiar

for the local visitor^{CXCIV}. The most frequently cited reasons among non-visitors for not visiting the national museum in Bamako and Accra were “I already know everything that is in there” and “the museum is not interesting to me.” The exhibition tour at the MNM began with a highly aesthetic textile display of dyed *basin* cloth — an integral feature of everyday life in Mali (see Chapter 1 page 48). Though appealing to the tourist visitor (the director explained that this gallery was intended to cater for foreign audiences, pers. comm. 14.01.07), it generated such local responses as above (“I already know everything that is in there”)^{CXCV}. Perhaps a more relevant display for local audiences would address the present-day cotton industries in Mali, including the effects of subsidies on the global market (see page 42). Within the above framework, the collecting missions organised by the NMG in the late 1970s (and referred to at the start of this chapter) for example, could be considered as missed opportunities in retrospect. Artefacts that were acquired duplicated those already existing from the late 1920s. Poster images of the ethnographic artefacts held in the museum’s storage rooms were used as prototypes by the fieldworkers to explain what artefacts they were seeking to acquire. Any prospects of reviewing the concept of the museum to break away from its colonial archive and legacies were consequently lost (see Fogelman 2008 and McLeod 2004). Taking into consideration that the material culture on display in the galleries could also be found outside the museum walls^{CXCVI} and without cultural barriers (such as entrance fees, imposing architectural features, behavioural constraints or lengthy text panels) and instead within familiar social contexts, it is indeed possible to question what motivated a visit to the museum and for which audiences the museums existed. The belief that national museums were unique sites that allowed access to the cultural heritage of multiple ethnic groups was

discredited by the aforementioned Sylla, asserting that (to continue from his citation above): “If I want to learn about the Miniankas, I will go with my friend who is a Minianka to his village for a week” (pers. comm. 09.01.07 appendix 1:28). The unchanging ethnographic framing of the MNM and the NMG’s indigenous collections remains one of the core obstacles to overcoming their colonial legacies and one of the key issues to address in response to the questions raised by the conference *Africa: museums and heritage for which publics?* (2006)

5.3.2 *What and whose cultural heritage is displayed by whom?*

Phenomenological approaches to the museum visits outlined in section 5.2 addressed the degree of controlled access and restricted sensory experience to national cultural heritage that was at play at the museum. A system of social barriers induced the visitor to behave in a certain way that was alien to that practised outside the museum walls and highlighted the Eurocentric framings inherent to museums worldwide. In practice these authoritative ‘museum regimes’ were enforced by the museum staff who act as mediators between members of the visiting public as agents of the state. National projects differ here from community museums with local agendas because the former are directly linked administratively to the government. The director of the MNM was employed by the Minister of Culture, and staff at the NMG were also on the board of the GMMB, which came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture. The transmission of cultural knowledge (which under certain circumstances can be highly contested material) thus took place on a site that was highly disciplined and managed by agents of the state. On the one

hand, state management of national heritage can serve to consolidate and unify (Foucault 1979: 219). On the other hand, the agency of the state in heritage affairs serves to distantiate and differentiate the general public.

Outside the museums I encountered levels of mistrust of the institutions. The museums were perceived as not generating income for the community and its knowledges of cultural heritage was evaluated as illegitimate. It was not considered possible that academic or state trained staff could possess the intimate (and accurate) social knowledge that was required ‘to know’ the works exhibited. My informant Seydou Koumare, a blacksmith from Bamako (*numuw* or ‘sculptor-smiths’ [McNaughton 1979: vii] in Mali are part of a powerful and secretive caste) questioned whether any blacksmiths worked at the museum (pers. comm. 23.01.07). Before I could respond he continued, “anyway, even if there are, they are not the *real* blacksmiths”. I asked Koumare what he meant and he implied that a fully trained, knowledgeable and respected blacksmith would not consider working for a museum. Malé also addressed these issues in his research and claimed in an interview (pers. comm. 04.10.06) that elders worried about the artefacts being in the hands of people who don’t know “one hundred percent of all the attributes” of the works. Furthermore, the public display of culturally sensitive material that had other contemporary social contexts, such as the *kòmò* (a police mask [Sidibé, et al. 2006: 77] and/or a potent Bamana mask [McNaughton 1979: 1]), which is forbidden to be seen by Bamanan women and those uninitiated into the cult of the *kòmò*, has caused concern (see also Arnoldi 1999)^{cxvii}. According to the head of education at the MNM (pers. comm. Y Diallo 24.10.06) local initiated school children were displeased about seeing the mask on such public display. A former colleague of

mine expressed discomfort during discussions on the kòmò cult into which he had been initiated, and I did not pursue the topic (pers. comm. Gaoussou 2003-4; see also McLeod and Mack 1985: 8). The problem was also raised during informants' discussions and even provided the storyline for a local novel 'The rebellion of the Kòmò' (*La Révolte du Komo*) (A Diallo 2000). The popular novel is centred on the shock felt by its main character ('Zan'), who, having migrated to Bamako, found himself confronted with the kòmò mask at the National Museum. He returned immediately to his village to report the news to his father: "I saw the Kòmò exhibited to all: men, women and children!" (Diallo 2000: 38 appendix 1:29). Zan's character represents those voices that believe the kòmò cult is still active. By exhibiting the powerful artefact to the general public, the museum changed fundamentally the ontological status of the work and was indirectly undermining or betraying the underlying foundations of that community: "The Komo mask is made to look like an animal. But it is not an animal, it is a secret" (Sculptor-smith Sedu Traore, September 1973 in McNaughton [1979: epigraph]). In the novel, the author opened up fictional debates between the village elders and the Director of the museum.

The tensions outlined above over access to and management of cultural heritage between the state and communities outside museum spaces and between institutional and indigenous knowledge raise questions over *what* and *whose* cultural heritage is being displayed, and by *whom* (ICOM 1992; Kaplan 1994; Rowlands 2002; Bouttiaux 2007). Arinze (1983: 161) advocated that "museums should act as appropriate avenues for stimulating cultural knowledge" (see 5.1) and Sidibe (conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* 09.09.06)^{cxviii} advocated an educational approach within

the museum, yet some of the examples above demonstrate the complexities involved in these tasks, and they are particularly acute within the domain of the multi-functional sites of *national* museums which differ from local or regional museums (see Chapter 6).

Conclusion

The field of West African museology has evolved considerably since the 1970s. Innumerable workshops, conferences and publications have been produced. Specialised courses for training museum personnel are currently being coordinated by the University of Legon (since September 2008) and the Director of the MNM is actively encouraging his staff to further their studies at the Institut National des Arts. Sensitisation projects organised by the National Museums of Mali and Ghana have raised nation-wide awareness of the importance of protecting material culture and the fight against illicit antique trafficking. The work of transnational associations such as WAMP, SAMP (African-Swedish Museum Network), ICOM (International Council of Museums) and the International Council of African Museums (AFRICOM) has increased dialogue and collaborations across the continent^{cxix}. In particular, access to the worldwide web has allowed for more effective and direct communication and the sharing of experiences among museum professionals^{cc}. The economic potential generated by museums has also been recognised and contributed to a rise in domestic tourism in Ghana and has led to an explosion of community museums outside Mali and Ghana's capitals, which will be addressed in more detail in the next chapter. In these terms therefore, perhaps many of those ideological projects accounted for at the start of this chapter have, in fact, been accomplished. It is undeniable that it is difficult for museums to satisfy every person's needs (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 1) — as expressed by the words of the MNM director "We need lots of museums in one museum... Perhaps we are thinking of trying to do too much?" (pers. comm. Sidibe 14.01.07 appendix 1:30). The focus of this chapter has been on the museum model leading on

from independence (in Chapter 4) to its present context in Ghana and Mali. As previously stated, national museums are considered essential and as a source of nationalistic pride, yet they do continue to be avoided by most sectors of local publics (except perhaps for school children and the elite). In Chapter 7 I question whether this in fact *matters* or not (see also Wright 1989: 130). These museums are serving a purpose and to argue that they are distancing local publics because of their colonial legacies is to deny West African museologists and other heritage professionals agency in the development of these institutions since independence. It also disregards the conscious and intentional decisions to market for an economically viable international audience (see Chapter 7 page 292 and Fogelman 2008: 23). This chapter has demonstrated however how the democratisation of both national museums has not been entirely successful. In my next chapter I describe how knowledge of indigenous ideas of collection and display have been put into practice and focus particularly on some of those efforts and projects that have been set up with the purposes of attracting more regional or community audiences into museums. I question to what extent these efforts are needed, are incorporated and are, in fact, feasible within a national museum setting.

Chapter 6 Outreach projects, ownership and the post-modern museum: bringing in the 'non-visitor'

"We must keep the objects that we have inherited for our children and grandchildren. That way they will be able to study our culture and learn how our ancestors lived before us. Our heritage is something that we must respect and guard well. Today people are engaged in the religion of Islam, but it's not good to abandon the tradition of the past. The future happiness of our people will be determined by the strength of our connection to the past." (60 year-old sculptor from Fombori, in Deubel and Baro 2002: 23)

Artefacts as 'relics' that survive over time serve as testimonies of the past and are utilised as shared resources in the making of histories and collective identities. They are factors in the re-construction of the past, acting as "essential bridges between then and now" (Lowenthal 1985: xxiii) and are subject to acts of interpretation, oral histories, narratives and archaeological research. Such reconstructions are located in the selective interplay between domains of *memories* and *histories*^{cci} (Nora 1984; Connerton 1989; Werbner 1998; Forty and Küchler 1999; van Liempd 2002; Rowlands 2007). Relating to these themes, a wide scope of opinions about the past was raised during my research in Mali and Ghana. Informants broached concerns over the supposed erosion of cultural values and norms, particularly in Mali. I am not sure whether the latter was due to a stronger emphasis on culture during French colonial rule or due to higher levels of poverty in Mali, and/or to the fact that Malians drew upon a strong sense of national pride from the ancient Mali and Songhay Empires, or a combination of these and other factors. Changes were on the whole generally negatively perceived to have occurred too dramatically and to be escalating

among the younger generations with important consequences. Yet views also varied from pride to scepticism towards the nostalgia for so-called ‘good old times’, or resentment over what little economic development had been achieved in the past (see Chapter 1 page 37). On several occasions there was an ingrained fear of old artefacts that were associated in informants’ minds with death. For example, friends of the director’s PA at the National Museum of Ghana (NMG) (pers. comm. Gloria 16.03.07) asked whether she was not afraid of her workplace? Not all informants wanted to be reminded of the past but it was also widely acknowledged that the past was worth knowing about. During fieldwork a wide range of informants repeatedly reminded me that heritage is important, referring to the well-used expression in Mali ‘you have to know whom you are to know where you are going’ (*ni ma fili la i buo yoro ma i taa yoro bè i konon guan* — Bamanan)^{ccii}. Even though as much as was forgotten as was remembered (see Gilbert 2010: 426), what was remembered was continually reconstituted inside as well as outside the museum in performative acts that re-enacted particular constructions of the past for the present and for the future (Douglas 1966; Barber 2007: 24).

The topic of memory as a politicised, social or individual “selective re-creation” of the past has generated a renewed interest in the last few decades in the humanities, social sciences, public culture and contemporary politics (Argenti and Schramm 2010: 1; see also Huyssen 1995; Matsuda 1996; Cole 2001 for example). Case studies in this chapter examine alternative forms of remembering and forgetting in a museum environment. In Ghana, the past is made to matter through the use of the Twi word *sankofa*, which signifies the act of returning to the past to confront the present, of “going back to move forward”

(MacGonagle 2006: 257). Although the uses of these concepts were not necessarily associated with museums, museums were nonetheless recognised as providing a space where the past could be re-presented and where it was possible to learn cultural heritage. The firm assertion and belief that the 'past is worth knowing about' vocalised by informants who confessed to not knowing their own histories themselves, nor having ever visited their own museums, produced a form of constraint that I felt deserved further attention.

This chapter expands upon one of the concluding points in Chapter 5 — that museums occupy complex positionings by having to cater to diverse individuals' needs. I acknowledge the variety of views of the past and position these within the framework of a selection of individual projects. These recent projects are particularly relevant because their aim has been to encourage more localised public participation by developing inclusive strategies to benefit and involve members of the local community (Antubam 1963: 207; Simpson 1996). At the international conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* (Bamako 09.09.06 appendix 1:31) an audience member advocated that the future of museums in Africa lay in community museums. Indeed, proximity as well as time and (free) access are three factors that have tended to facilitate greater local involvement with museums. My research in this chapter at the rural community CultureBank project (Mali) demonstrates that free access, proximity and a sense of 'continuation' with the past became less of a hindrance in rural community environments, where perhaps the past is less considered as a foreign place (see Lowenthal 1985: xviii and pers. comm. Cisse 26.11.06). I begin with the case of the CultureBank project in Fombori (Mali) to question whether (and how) an increased sense of 'ownership' or 'control' over localised

cultural heritage facilitated greater (positive) attachment to the artefacts used in re-enacting particular pasts. Curatorial authority and the effects of implementing outreach activities are explored at the Volta Regional Museum (Ghana). Finally, I address a series of musical concerts hosted by the musée national du Mali (MNM) to attract localised and diversified audiences into the museum grounds and to thereby help integrate the museum space into the practices of everyday life.

6.1 An overview of Fombori, Mali



Figure 12: Fombori village, Mali (2006)

Having spent over ten months as an intern in Bamako at the MNM in 2003-4 followed by several return trips and fieldwork research in the capital, I was keen to explore the workings of a rural museum in November 2006. My particular interests lay in gaining perspectives on how the past was constructed and construed at rural community sites and the roles of community participation in cultural heritage projects. During a preliminary fieldwork research trip to Mali in December 2005 I was introduced by a mutual colleague to Daouda Keita, archaeologist and co-president of the four 'CultureBanks' in Mali. It was agreed that I would spend over a fortnight in Fombori in November 2006, living by myself with the family of Djadjie Ongoïba (credit manager and one of the eleven committee members of the CultureBank). Djadjie and I have remained in regular contact, and in October 2009 he telephoned to announce my homonym, his

newborn daughter called Safiatou Ongoïba (my adopted Dogon name in Fombori).

Fombori is a village of approximately 2,000 inhabitants in the eastern Dogon region, about 800km from Bamako and 2km south of the Fulani town, Douentza (see figure 1). It is located in Mopti, one of the poorest regions in Mali according to the nonprofit international organisation ACDI VOCA^{cciii}. The village lies between the famous 270km long Bandiagara escarpment and Mount Hombori on the plains in the Mopti region (figure 12). Fombori is divided into two districts, with two Womens' Associations set up in the 1990s (pers. comm. Haoua Ongoïba 30.11.06)^{cciv} and two covered spaces for meetings (*toguna(s)*^{ccv}). The village has a small boutique, a primary school, a mosque and an open-air recreation centre where films were screened on Friday nights (rented in Douentza and powered by a hired generator). According to the museum coordinator and interpreter Alou Baga Cisse, the village dates back to 1445. It is one of forty *Jam Sai* villages in the area (a grouping of Dogon speaking people) and in 2002, contained over forty-two extended households of principally Dogon (*Jam Sai*) and Fulani inhabitants (Deubel and Baro 2002: 32). The dry season is from October – May and the rainy season June – September. The main source of livelihood in Fombori is subsistence agriculture and the crop cultivated is millet. Other grains include rice, fonio, sorghum, groundnuts, beans and corn, which are sold at the Saturday market in Douentza. My arrival in November coincided with the harvesting of millet after two bad years. 2006 had been a good year with abundant rains and morale was high as the young men returned from the fields to stock up their granaries at the end of the day. If filled, each granary should provide the family with up to four months' food and Djadjie

Ongoïba and his family co-owned three granaries. During my stay I ate with the women of the Ongoïba household. Eleven of us shared a large bowl of pounded millet grains (*tô*) with a sauce made from baobab leaves three times per day. The diet was not varied and we only ate beans to celebrate my last evening (figure 13). There was no running water or electricity in the village, literacy levels were low and there were minimum prospects of alternative employment. A garden project was set up before 1997 but without much success. The average expenditure per month was approximately 9,000cfa (£10)^{ccvi} per household (pers. comm. Djadjie Ongoïba 28.11.06). Access to Fombori was by foot or bicycle from Douentza (where I spent my first night with the family of Cisse). It was also possible to reach the village by car (4x4) from the main road that linked Bamako with Gao (via Douentza), which provided a feasible route to the site for tourists. Perhaps because of its proximity to Douentza, the village had a history of attracting NGO workers, and upon the discovery of ancient caves built into the escarpment (with cave paintings and human remains), the site demonstrated potential for the setting up of a cultural heritage and development project.



Figure 13: sharing our last meal together, Fombori (2006)

6.1.1 The CultureBank project in Fombori

The CultureBank of Fombori has an interesting history as it was the first of what are now four 'Banks' that were set up and currently operate in Mali. It was the innovation of combined efforts by the villagers and NGO workers (from the Peace Corps and The Unitarian Service Committee, USC) in 1995-1997. In early 1995 the co-president of Fombori's Womens' Association (Aissata Ongoïba) travelled to Bandiagara to visit an agricultural project (Bandiagara is a nearby town, often saturated with tourist excursions into the Dogon country). Aissata (pers. comm. 27.11.06 appendix 1:32) explained that there she saw groups of up to twenty tourists eat at a restaurant and spend a lot of money buying ancient artefacts from local residents. Despite Malian export bans enacted in 1985^{ccvii}, 1986^{ccviii} and a bilateral accord between the Malian and U.S governments to ban imports from the Niger Valley in 1993 (McIntosh 1996: 55), the idea spread rapidly and Fombori women began to sell their own belongings, from carved granary doors, jewellery, textiles, to other personal heirlooms. Concerned for the future of the region's heritage with the disappearance of works that had been carefully safeguarded, Aissata approached a local NGO worker, Mariam Ouologem^{ccix} and Peace Corps volunteer Felix Cross. Felix passed on the project prior to her^{ccx} departure from Mali to Todd Crosby who then helped set up the first CultureBank^{ccxi} (figure 14). The project was formally inaugurated with an initial sum from donors^{ccxii} and the organisation of a General Assembly of community members that was headed by the village chief in May 1997^{ccxiii}. With funding from the World Bank, WAMP and the NGO Karité

International there now exist three more CultureBanks, in Dègnèkoro (2004-05), Kola and in Dimbal (2006) (see van den Oever 2005; Yattara n.d).



Figure 14: The CultureBank, Fombori (2006)

The CultureBank is a system whereby culturally significant artefacts that belong to members of the community and its thirteen surrounding villages can be used as collateral to obtain a small micro credit loan^{ccxiv}. To counter the constraints of setting up loans in a poverty-stricken environment (where collaterals in the form of land or other physical assets are lacking [Khandker 1998: 145]), the CultureBank has found an alternative solution by capitalising upon the region's heritage artefacts. It has three roles, conceptualised as, a village museum^{ccxv}, a cultural centre and as a bank. In exchange for depositing artefacts in the museum, the loans are used to invest in a commercial activity. For example, women used their funds to trade in millet, other cereals and soap at the weekly market in Douentza and men traded in livestock (goat, sheep and cows). To

fulfil its role as a cultural centre, profits from loan repayments were re-invested into the community through training skills classes such as soap-making (figure 15), literacy classes in the local dialect of *Jam Sai*, theatre performances (Keita 2003: 4), artisan workshops and conservation courses. According to a 2002 report for the African Cultural Conservation Fund (ACCF) produced by researchers Tara Deubel and Mamadou Baro, requests from the community for future workshops included more soap and literacy classes, knitting, dyeing *bogolan* (mud cloth), gardening and embroidery^{ccxvi} (Deubel and Baro 2002: 14). In 2004 the CultureBank received a second funding (\$3,500) from WAMP, which has enabled it to sustain the coordination of the workshops. Eleven committee members (including the two heads of Fombori's Women's Association) met monthly and all decisions were shared and updates provided to the community. Access to the museum was encouraged and was free for Fombori residents (500cfa and 1000cfa for nationals and non-nationals respectively at the time of my research). It was evident that the project had been set up primarily for the benefit of the local community through workshops, classes and use of artefacts to generate much needed revenue. The CultureBank sought to address conservation and tourism, community empowerment and economic development. In the process, it has contributed to widening social networks and to the safeguarding of the region's material cultural heritage.



Figure 15: Soap making classes at the CultureBank, Fombori (2006) photo by Daouda Keita

6.1.2 Is the past considered less as a ‘foreign country’ in a community museum?

The CultureBank is located at the periphery of Fombori village, close to the escarpment caves that attract tourists. Its strategic location ensured that the tourists’ presence was discreet and did not interfere with everyday village lives (pers. comm. Amadou Aya^{ccxvii} 02.12.06). The structure was built in 1995 in *banco* (mud brick), in keeping with the rest of the village, by Fombori residents who provided labour and building materials (Deubel and Baro 2002: 9). They decorated the inside of the building with brightly painted motifs and the external walls and roof were re-coated annually by the villagers. Encouraging such participation strengthens social responsibility and affinity with the project while transferring important trade skills (Marchand 2009) and fostering sustainable

development. Henry Bundjoko from Lubumbashi Museum advocated these approaches during a conference in Bamako (2006, appendix 1:33) claiming "... if, really, the African feels implicated in his/her museum, sustainable development will happen."

According to reports, initially the CultureBank coordinators encountered difficulties in convincing Fombori residents to part with their heritage. The project's co-president (pers. comm. Daouda Keita 04.01.07) joked that he felt he was 'tested' on numerous occasions by residents presenting him knowingly with worthless objects (broken plastic pots from the market). Once the villagers became accustomed to the concept and were reassured that the CultureBank was indeed for their own benefit, they gained confidence and started to offer their more valuable artefacts as collateral. Many of the artefacts on display at the museum had entered the community as a result of intermarriage. Fombori wives have tended historically to come from surrounding villages and were encouraged by the Womens' Association to store their possessions at the CultureBank. Fombori women on the whole obtained more loans than their male counterparts and they had a better track record for repayment, though they received a smaller sum than men. From my own observations at the CultureBank the women appeared to have a stronger presence in the daily life of the project, either through the Women's Association or by class attendance (men's work took them into the fields away from the village during the day). Their artefacts were in the majority. 44% of the total collection in 2002 was jewellery (Deubel and Baro 2002: 10). Amadou Aya (pers. comm. 02.12.06) also explained that the most sacred artefacts (like the Kòmò mask among the

Bamana, Chapter 5) had not gone into the CultureBank but were kept hidden, and this may be in part due to the presence of women at the CultureBank^{ccxviii}.



Figure 16: main gallery at the CultureBank, Fombori (2006)

The first of the three small galleries contained fertility and agriculture sculptures, drums and cloth that related to or had been inspired by Dogon history from the Tellem (estimated 2-9th century) onwards to the present. The second gallery was dedicated to womens' jewellery (figure 17), household goods and clothing that illustrated womens' roles in society. There was also a permanent display of seven bowls that were donated to the museum, made by a deceased and reportedly much admired woman potter from the village. The third 'trans-cultural' gallery showcased material from the various ethnic groups in the region, including the Tuareg and Fulani. Pieces of jewellery were displayed under glass table cases, bowls and spoons were laid on tables, and drums rested on the floor. The walls had been decorated with cloth hangings and

artefacts. The overall effect, though dusty, was vibrant and colourful. There were many works to look at and the tables were covered with local hand-embroidered indigo cloths that produced an intimate or more personal effect. All exhibit labels were in an easily comprehensible French as well as in the local *Jam Sai* dialect. In his conference paper, cultural consultant Yves Robert (Bamako, *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* 09.09.06, appendix 1:34) supported the practice of using local dialects inside the museum as an effective tool for bringing populations closer together — to each other and to their museums. Batibo (2008: 19) also stressed the need for increased use of indigenous languages to boost self esteem, where ex-colonial languages used by the ruling elites remain dominant and incomprehensible to the mostly illiterate audiences. The CultureBank also contained a large classroom and a shop where locally made crafts were sold to visitors at fixed prices (10% of the revenue fed back into the CultureBank fund with the remaining 90% going directly to the owner of the works). On the entrance wall visitors could observe a collection of (unfortunately faded) photographs of the Fombori villagers that had participated in the project over the years. During my research, several residents proudly pointed themselves out in these pictures. Haoua (Djadjie Ongoïba's first wife) was also keen to show me her own necklaces and calabashes inherited from her mother. She explained (pers. comm. Haoua Ongoïba 25.11.06) that she preferred to have them there than to have sold them to a foreign museum or to the national museum in Bamako where she was just as unlikely to be able to see or access them^{CCXIX}. Another consequence of selling works, for example, may also lead to the loss of potentially renewable materials in the region. In her doctoral research on Dogon masquerades, Polly Richards (2000: 236) explained that mask-makers had voiced the difficulties of incorporating cowry

shells into their fibre masks because the older masks had been sold to tourists and that traders no longer imported cowry shells into the region.



Figure 17: Jewellery display at the CultureBank, Fombori (2006)

6.1.3 Youth migration and cultural roots in Fombori

Since the 1980s Mali has experienced a rise in the loss of material cultural heritage through illicit trafficking and the international market for antiquities (see Sidibe 1995; McIntosh 1996). Historically brought to the attention of global art collectors and dealers during expeditions like the Dakar-Djibouti collecting mission in 1931-33 (Chapter 3), Malian artefacts have gained major economic value. In recognition of these problems, the CultureBank has provided an alternative for residents in Fombori through addressing some aspects of the causal relationships between poverty and looting and acknowledging that “efforts to help the rural farmers of Mali must be fore-grounded in our efforts to

preserve cultural heritage” (Roberts 1996: 18). At the CultureBank in Fombori the focus is to raise awareness of the importance of retaining cultural heritage *in situ*, in part by attributing some sort of financial reward to it in the present. Prior to the opening of the CultureBank, up to a third of the women from the village had already lost or sold their artefacts to passers-by, whereas none had knowingly been sold once the CultureBank was set up^{ccxx} (Deubel and Baro 2002: 13-10). Aissata Ongoïba (pers. comm. 27.11.06 appendix 1:35) remained evasive when I questioned whether she had ever sold any of her artefacts before the CultureBank existed. Instead she showed me one of her necklaces that she said tourists had desperately wanted to buy, but she had repeatedly refused, and was now glad that she had done so:

“these are the lessons, it’s not good to sell because the money you will get from having sold it, you’ll see, you will eat and it will be finished. Meanwhile, you have little money, and it disappears quickly and you’ll have sold your own stuff, your heritage.”

In the Dogon region, conversion to Islam and social changes such as urban migration have meant that many ‘previous customs’ are being forgotten or neglected or rejected (Ådahl and Sahlström 1995; Rosander and Westerlund 1997; Levitt 2001: 200; Noray and Maïga 2002). In one way, this has allowed for the public display of culturally sensitive material artefacts because they are now firmly positioned in the past. In another way, according to Amadou Aya (pers. comm. 02.12.06) if you are seen with these artefacts today in your own home, you will be accused of being an animist. Social changes and the passage of time have inevitably contributed to the loss of ‘previous customs’ that are forgotten. In Fombori, informants expressed a clear sense of nostalgia and dismay that younger generations weren’t familiar with or interested in their

heritage. They saw 'remembering' as a way of concretising the past (Bloch 1998: 39). When Cisse began working for the CultureBank, as an experiment, they dressed a young girl in all the jewellery and clothes that her mother and grandmothers used to wear (pers. comm. Cisse 26.11.06). Rather than revealing and revelling in her 'new outfit', the young girl started to cry because it felt unfamiliar and it frightened her. Cisse explained with regret that he didn't want people to feel afraid of their heritage but to feel proud and to recognise its value.

Informants cited urban and international migration as a contributing factor for the loss of younger generations' ties with the past. I became interested in this form of migration and raised it during a series of interviews. A close personal friend still refuses to allow her eldest son to return to Bamako after nine years living and working in Paris because of the income he provides to his family in Mali (pers. comm. anonymous 24.04.09). This is a common and socially accepted practice (see Wooten 2005; Argenti 2011: 287). In Fombori, elder generations (male) explained that although conditions in the village were better in the past, they too had travelled, and even some of them as far as France (Aissata's husband, for example, had joined the army and served in Marseilles). The son of the village chief (pers. comm. Ismael Ongoïba 25.11.06) told me that he had reached the Malian border whilst trying to get to Libya in 1985, but Aissata and Ismael insisted that their cases were different, because they had left *to come back*. The notion of 'going and returning' is significant, with important implications on the localised preservation of heritage. A respected Dogon elder gave an emotional plea on this same topic in Bandiagara (09.12.06)^{ccxxi}. Addressing a crowd of Dogon students, he urged them to travel

but to return too to their villages afterwards, he declared that “May God accompany your departure *and* return...”^{CCXXII} (see Jonsson 2007: 50 for insightful studies on Soninke migration, which appear to contrast with the above benedictions). Despite acknowledging the significant financial incomes generated through migration, without exception the elder Fombori generations worried about their children leaving for the cities and not returning, and the consequences of cultural and other ties with their native villages disintegrating.

Yet migration is an integral part of social life in Mali, particularly among young men (it distinguishes hierarchically between boys and men in the Soninke village of Kounda for example [Jonsson 2007; UNDP 2009: 81]) and for some groups it is a rite of passage (van Gennep 1960). Cisse (pers. comm. 27.11.06) complained that due to migration the social structures of the village had collapsed and that nobody knew who they were anymore, he said that one could come across a noble man making indigo, for example (a practice not befitting nobility, see appendix 1:37). A World Bank survey on poverty in Mali in 2001 (UNDP 2006: 22) indicated that 33.6% of respondents believed that ‘lack of solidarity’ was a key factor in causing poverty (following ‘drought’ (68.3%); and followed by ‘illiteracy’; ‘economic crisis’; ‘inequality’ and ‘other’). In Fombori, elders worried about the loss of those social and moral ties that they valued and which they believed upheld their society. Children who had left were referred to as ‘*les enfants perdus*’ (‘the lost children’). The sensitisation projects set up by the CultureBank engaged with and generated a concerted effort to use tangible materials to increase awareness of the value of material heritage that was part financial, but also to contribute to and develop this sense of moral duty.

A salient point to the CultureBank project in Fombori is that members of the community were encouraged to borrow their artefacts whenever they wanted. I was shown a drum that had been recently used for a wedding in the village. This practice helps to avoid distantiation from the artefacts once they are placed in a museum environment and it reinforced the perception of the Bank as a local depository that belonged to and was for the benefit of all the members of the community. The CultureBank provided an attractive and alternative way of turning “a community’s cultural heritage into a vital economic resource” (Deubel and Baro 2002: 25) in order for it to become an integral part of the local micro-economy without depending entirely on tourism revenues or on urban migration.

One of the more curious aspects of the project was that the amount of credit offered by the CultureBank in exchange for the artefact was not calculated according to its value on the market (see Steiner 1993: 107). The project organisers were eager from the start to disassociate the disproportionate market value with the cultural worth of the artefact, so the loan sum was calculated according to the amount of information that could be supplied by its owner. Any risk of stolen artefacts being offered as collateral was thus avoided and also it ensured that knowledge about the artefact was generated and documented. With enough information gathered, the owner completed the Bank’s questionnaires (*fiche de catalogue*) with Cisse, detailing such aspects as who it belonged to, what (if any) legends or stories corresponded to the artefact, how was it made and how it was obtained (with bonus questions to receive extra cash, see appendices 11, 12, 13 for samples of the form [Keita 2005: 39]). The procedure created and provided a significant ongoing inventory of all the artefacts in the collection. If the information provided was insufficient, the

application was rejected until the owner could find out more. The individual therefore conducted his/her own research, where possible, with family members, consulting his/her neighbours and generated further knowledge of the past from direct interactions (see Marchand 2009: 143-167 for a comparable example on the active transmission of local knowledges among masons and apprentices in Djenné). Knowledges of local histories were thus elaborated from tangible artefacts, which acted as *aide-mémoires* (Clifford 1997: 189) and the evocation of memories was passed on through these intergenerational dialogues (Deubel and Baro 2002: 23). The reliance on peoples' *memories* in order to classify and categorise the histories of the region formed a core difference between the CultureBank project and other museums (Ingold 1996: 203). Such processes of active remembering differentiated the CultureBank from other cultural institutions where, by preserving heritage, the latter also *separated* the past from the present (MacCannell 1976: 84). The MNM for example, relied heavily on historical or archaeological 'facts' generated from state-authorised academia or internationally recognised 'truths'.

When the CultureBank was set up, two residents were trained for a week in artefact conservation methods at the MNM. Despite this, Cisse explained that Fombori artisans would fix and embellish an artefact if it was broken or needed repair. He described this as repairing the work in their own way, a way that made it look pretty again. This re-appropriation of the artefacts provided another distinction between practices at the CultureBank and more conventional museums. The purist might critique that the artefact was not being preserved adequately according to its originating circumstances at the CultureBank. Yet the practice reinforced a localised sense of authority, belonging and ownership

(as locally constituted) between the work and its current owner and/or the community as part of present day relations and networks in a contemporary setting (Latour 1993: 51-55). Rather than preserving the artefacts' original form for purely academic purposes, the work was reintegrated, 're-born' as a testimony of the past but also with an 'addition' from the present. The approach recalls what anthropologists Stephan Feutschwang and Mike Rowlands (conference paper *Cultural Heritage in China* 06.05.10)^{ccxxiii} have referred to as the 'palimpsest of objects'. The 're-conservation' of the work enters perfectly with the philosophy of the CultureBank: by seeking to raise awareness among the community of their own cultural inheritance whilst attempting to avoid distantiation.

6.1.4 Site-specific constraints that threaten the sustainability of the CultureBank project

Between 1997 and 2002 the CultureBank of Fombori supplied 451 loans to 70 borrowers, and by 1999 the project had become self-sufficient (Deubel and Baro 2002: 9). In times of bad harvests and economic hardship as the previous two years, the project accountant Amadou Aya noted a rise in requests for loans. Profits gained from the loans (which were repaid at a 3% monthly interest with a 93% success rate) had been used to organise three literacy classes; two wood sculpture classes, two soap-making classes and to help send two women potters to the regional capital, Mopti, for a workshop as well as two individuals for conservation training in artefacts at the MNM. In terms of individual benefits, a total of 110 residents participated in the literacy classes; 40 women learnt to read and write *Jam Sai*; 17 youths were inducted into the local theatre group

(which promoted awareness of safeguarding cultural heritage and protection against HIV/ AIDS) and the number of artefacts documented rose from 270 in 1998 to over 400 in 2002 (Gueye 2002: 14). These figures demonstrate that, at least until 2002, the project satisfactorily fulfilled its role as a museum, a community centre and a local bank and that subsequently the following social and cultural impacts were also accomplished:

- “- fostering awareness of Dogon history and cultural heritage
- promoting the conservation of cultural resources in the local community
- increasing social capital among participants” (Deubel and Baro 2002: 4)

The two comprehensive and well-balanced reports carried out by Deubel and Baro (2002) and by the project manager for evaluation, E. H. M. Gueye (2002) praised the success of the project and claimed that it had achieved its goals. Both reports contained recommendations that had not been implemented to my knowledge by 2006, the time of my own visit. These were largely related to the economic survival of the project^{ccxxiv}: in some instances, individuals had been offered a loan despite not using artefacts as collateral and their track record of repayment was subsequently lower, which drained the Banks' resources. Other recommendations included organising more workshops and allowing women the same sized loans as men. This was raised in the Deubel and Baro report (2002: 30) but not in the Gueye report (2002). Since the time of the reports and my own visit, I was concerned that the standards of overseeing the project and ensuring that loan repayments and investments were returned to the project had fallen. I suggested to Cisse, Djadjie Ongoïba and the CultureBank's co-President (Aldiouma Yattara pers. comm. 06.12.06) that the year 2007 could be used for compiling a five year update with a serious overview and/or celebration

of the project (ten years after its opening) but lack of funds and time (attention being turned towards setting up three new banks) have impeded this from happening so far.

Key difficulties encountered by the CultureBank have been, rather predictably, due to financial difficulties and management conflicts. Certain tensions over decision-making and mistrust are largely unavoidable given the size of the community that was involved in the project (the whole village of approximately 2,000 inhabitants). Clearly the notion of heritage as a “common possession” (Scott 1999: 124) entails a number of actors and diverse positionings. A key issue was raised towards the end of my stay and outside of formal and structured interviews. One of the women who ate with us every day appeared sceptical about the benefits of the CultureBank and I also learnt that she was angry towards Djadjie Ongoïba. The problem emerged during one of our last meals together when she wanted to speak with me, but some of the other women urged her to keep quiet, although others thought she should be able to continue to voice her opinions. Communication was difficult when I was alone with the women as only one of the women (Halimatou Onjoïba) in the village could speak a few words of French and Bamanan (the project co-ordinator, Cisse acted as my interpreter during structured interviews). Halimatou helped to explain that the woman^{CCXXV} had previously obtained a loan in exchange for depositing one of her artefacts at the CultureBank and that now she had repaid the loan in full and decided that she wanted her artefact back in order to sell it to tourists. There were still plenty of opportunities for selling antiquities in Fombori. Not only did tourists ask to buy local artefacts, but Nigerian traders offered contemporary cooking utensils such as aluminium cooking pots and

pans in exchange for artefacts (pers. comm. Aissata Ongoïba 27.11.06). The CultureBank's credit manager and my host Djadjie Ongoïba admitted to having difficulties with this woman whom he was trying to discourage from reclaiming her artefact. But on the evening that the debate emerged, opinions remained divided. Many women actively supported her decision and claimed that the artefact was hers and that she needed the money, so she could do what she wanted with her own inheritance. On the one hand, individuals should be entitled to take decisions over works that they individually own, and this reinforces the intimacy between the individual and his/her artefact. However on the other hand, one of the key objectives of the project was to obtain a community-wide consensus, otherwise the project's aims disintegrated. The CultureBank operated in a way that tended to generate and stimulate the concept of *shared* heritage among the community (collective loans were frequent) in much the same way as national museums cultivate the concept of a *national* (shared) heritage^{ccxxvi}. Where the project in Fombori conscientiously strove to make individuals feel that their artefacts were still theirs (they could be borrowed, visited or — in *theory* — removed), in practical terms certain difficulties did arise in generating community-wide consent over the ownership and management of the region's material culture. These issues served to highlight the precariousness of the economic situation in Fombori. It further demonstrated that despite successful sensitisation projects, economic dependency prevailed and remained one of the key obstacles to ensuring the success of this particular fight against the plundering of local artefacts.

Despite many of these difficulties the Fombori CultureBank project remains, from a museological perspective, an important initiative offering alternative

ways to conceptualise notions of ownership and cultural heritage. It is a useful case study for understanding community participation and ownership of museological processes within the museum space. Within the particular context of this chapter, the CultureBank demonstrated how activities could be successfully coordinated with the support of and direct benefit to the immediate local community in a local rural setting. The two case studies that follow are set in a large town and in a city respectively, where the audiences are more diverse. The more diverse the audiences are, the more difficult it is to encourage community-wide participation and involvement in outreach projects.

6.2 The Volta Regional Museum (VRM)



Figure 18: Main gallery at the Volta Regional Museum, Ghana (2007)

This case study addresses community participation and issues of ‘ownership’ over cultural heritage at the Volta Regional Museum (VRM) in Ghana (figure 18). The VRM was inaugurated in 1973 as the country’s first regional state museum^{ccxxvii}. In *Ho*, the capital of the Volta Region about 160 km east of Ghana’s capital Accra, the VRM is in an urban setting off one of the main roads in the city centre. The Volta region is the most easterly region in Ghana (east of the river Volta) and now shares its borders with Togo. Ewe speaking people are the predominant grouping in the south, with Akan speaking people in the north of the region. This was not reflected at the museum, which contained collections from all over Ghana with the intention of promoting a nation-wide dimension of cultural heritage according to its directors, thereby aiding the integration of Ewe culture into the nation (Crinson 2001: 240)^{ccxxviii}. In this way,

the VRM differed significantly from the CultureBank and the consequences will be explored below.

In April 2007 I conducted a site visit to the VRM. I was given a tour of the exhibition and recorded on tape a lengthy interview with the Museum director, Mr Kjedje and the Head of Education, Mr Alex Okpei. The interview inside the gallery was relaxed and informal. I did not take written notes in order to generate more open discussions. The approach worked well for the setting. Both Kjedje and Okpei were helpful and keen to share their experiences and to exchange views on museums and their visitors in Ghana. During participant observation I compiled a collections and exhibitions analysis. To my knowledge there were no publications available to visitors and no literature on the museum, nor have any previous studies been carried out. Information regarding visitor statistics was collated from annual reports produced for the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB) to which I gained access during my research at the National Museum of Ghana (NMG). Although my visit to the museum was brief in comparison to other museums researched across Mali and Ghana, the VRM was an interesting and particular institution to study because of its shift from regional methods of practice (inherited from the British colonial regime) towards a heavily centralised relationship at state management level with the NMG. Of further importance to these themes were the VRM's national approach to the display of cultural heritage as well as staff's concerted efforts towards social inclusion in order to attempt to locate the museum firmly within the local community.

Museum facilities included guided tours and an education hall. The main exhibition hall was a single room. It received natural light from large windows, was well aired (with ventilation ceiling fans) and had been subdivided into sections by panelling according to the nature of the collections and not according to geographical origins. Displays were thematically divided and the display style was typical of a Western museum scenography. Artefacts were presented in glass cases that had been imported from overseas to Accra or they were on raised plinths. The visitor's route was prescribed, beginning to the right of the entrance and continuing throughout the whole gallery. There were no maps or timelines and there was minimum text to accompany the exhibits, many of which were placed too high for children to read. The museum staff themselves compiled those that did exist. They were written in an accessible language style (in English)^{ccxxix} and were interactive. They encouraged the visitor to ask him/herself questions about the displays. Here is a transcript of one of the text panels accompanying the chief stools:

“Many traditional settings in Ghana have figures or inanimate representations backing the PROWESS of families' clans and stools. These representations of LION, ANTELOPE, BUFFALO and CRAB belong to the Mafi stool of the Volta Region. Do you know the symbol of your stool? Do you want them for show in the museum?” (Text panel, VRM 27.04.07)



Figure 19: Photo display at the Volta Regional Museum, Ghana (2007)

The visit concluded with an insightful display of black and white photographs of museum staff carrying out collecting missions for the institution in the 1970s from the surrounding villages (figure 19). The museum also hosted a contemporary art display at the back of the gallery, demarcated again by the use of panelling. It followed precisely the same format as at the NMG, in that first time visitors unaccustomed to museum settings were obliged to walk through the core collections before reaching the contemporary works (pers. comm. Dzamefe 19.03.07, see also Chapter 5 page 205). The museum was open from 9am to 6pm every day of the week except Mondays. According to a report for the GMMB compiled in 2005 the entrance fees were as follow: national visitors: 5,000 cedis^{ccxxx}, students: 2,000 cedis, children: 1,000 cedis and foreigners \$2.5 or its equivalent in cedis (Kankam 2005: 2). During the time of my visit however, fixed fees were waived in lieu of a donation basis. I return

to this in the section on 'wider communities'. The museum had no visitors' book and no visitors shop either, although a small selection of postcards could be purchased from the reception desk. The original museum collections were acquired through donations and from the National Museum in Accra. They were mostly ethnographic wooden artefacts and pottery, weaponry, royal regalia, beadwork and musical instruments. Carved stools from the various regions and some colonial relics such as a German governor's chair were displayed, as were a selection of Ewe textiles. The contemporary art section exhibited paintings, metalwork and other sculptures by artists from all over Ghana. The diverse geographical and ethnic nature of the collections and the layout at the VRM paralleled the ways in which the National Museum in Accra was organised.

The Museum opened to the public a year after Kwame Nkrumah's death in 1973 and befits his philosophy of consolidating a united nation state (Chapter 4). At the VRM Kjedje explained that their goal was for social inclusion in order to help people understand each other and to recognise themselves as Ghanaian citizens. This was considered achievable through the displays that originated from all over the country. Kjedje (pers. comm. 27.04.07) stated that "when you come from the North and you come to the Volta Regional Museum, you know you are a Ghanaian". The VRM became actively engaged in promoting a consolidated nation through a politics of nurturing differences and embracing similarities and unifying them (van Dijk 1998: 176 see also for example, Werbner and Ranger 1996 on postcolonial nation building; Mbembe 1985 on 'national construction' among youths; and Hall 1993 on cultivating national identity and the complexities of hybridity). Approaches at the VRM

presented two variations of nation building in museum contexts. The VRM differed here from the European public regional and ethnographic museums of the 19th century that exoticised and differentiated material cultures (see chapters 1 and 2, Hudson [1977: 25] and Herzfeld [2005 : 71]). Nation building policies in Europe advocated presenting material cultures in the museum in a manner that accentuated differences between European visitors and the non-European societies that were on display. On the one hand a consolidated sense of belonging was cultivated through notions of difference among the European visiting audiences. On the other hand at the VRM a sense of belonging was promoted by an inclusive approach towards the nature of its collections. The VRM collections originated from all over the nation state and were presented together to harness, unify and embrace the similarities between national visitors. In both these situations, the museum models shared the same purposes of reaffirming national identities, yet they sought to achieve this via alternative strategies.

The autonomy of regional museums in Ghana such as the VRM was at the time of my research constrained by the top-down organisational structure of the cultural sector which emanated from the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture (2006) and the National Commission on Culture (1991), of which a subdivision was the GMMB (see an example from the 1980s, appendix 14). The Ghana Museums' administrative division was located at the National Museum in Accra whose members of staff were also on the board of the GMMB. The structure was heavily centralised and increased the workload of NMG staff. In an interview with Francine Meyer (Director of Cultural and Cooperation Services, French Embassy, Accra, pers. comm. 17.05.07 appendix 1:38) on the politics of

managing cultural heritage, she criticised the overly centralised system, referring to the constraints in decision-making for all museums. According to Meyer, decisions concerning regional institutions became even more “evanescent” and overall, their position within the whole system was not an easy one (see Sandy Grant [1990: 222] for a parallel example in Botswana and see Gathercole [1989]).

Methods of collaboration between the VRM and NMG in Accra deserve further attention here. Members of VRM staff (nineteen at the time of my visit) were required to conduct one month’s training at the National Museum. The VRM director (pers. comm. Kjedje 27.04.07) supported this practice stating that: “you have to learn the fundamentals, curating, excavating, mapping, accounts... to handle every aspect”. According to a decentralised approach inherited from the British regime (Chapter 3) the VRM began as administratively autonomous in 1973, but the institution quickly struggled financially with limited resources available, and an agreement for funding applications was put in place to assist the VRM. Now, VRM staff submit a request to the director of the National Museum to write their funding proposals, which are subsequently processed and forwarded to the relevant bodies. Given the precarious financial circumstances of the VRM, Kjedje described this process as a necessity and did not foresee any changes, but also regretted that it had become difficult for the government to allocate funding to individual institutions such as his museum. Despite the commitment to museums prescribed in 2004 by the National Commission on Culture (article 9.3.1)^{ccxxxix}, public museums across Ghana suffered from lack of investments. According to GMMB archives, funding applications for individual projects at the VRM had been more successful

through smaller bodies such as the Ho District Boarding Institution and the West African Museums Programme (WAMP). WAMP had provided financial support for workshops carried out at the museum and in 2006 helped the museum acquire a television set (GMMB 2006: 10). Consequential effects of receiving money allocated to specific activities however, are negative if they are awarded in place of long-term sustainable projects such as investment in the infrastructure of museum buildings. As such, Kankam (2005: 1-2) protested in a letter to the National Museum compiled by the VRM that: “The Volta Regional Museum had not benefited from any facelift/ improvement programme for the past twenty (20) or more years. As a result of the neglect, the gallery is in a deplorable state [...]”.

6.2.1 “We want you to know [...] we do community work. We thought we could help the community” (pers. comm. Okpei 27.04.07)

Kjedje and Okpei emphasised their own professional backgrounds as former teachers as key factors in applying inclusive strategies in the museum (evident in the language used to describe the artefacts) and in the knowledge and ability to carry out research and to be resourceful^{ccxxxii}. They explained that teachers know what style of language to use and how to adapt it and, ‘project it’ (see Barber 2007: 138) on tour according to their audiences (Junior Secondary School (JSS) pupils, students or adults). These are valid points in seeking to attain levels of inclusivity at the museum. Museum visiting can be a daunting and intimidating experience for the unaccustomed visitor and all too often rendered inaccessible by the use of academic language employed by curators. Kjedje and Okpei were proud of their work at the VRM and of their skills in

interpreting the collections. Okpei exclaimed that he could influence people's emotions such that: "if I take you round [the galleries], I can make you weep!" Such interactive skills contribute to stimulating visitors' memories and to forging more intimate links between museums, their collections and their audiences.

Interesting outreach initiatives were launched at the VRM. According to staff members they injected vibrancy into the museum due to their popularity and perceived benefit to the localised community. It was through these activities that staff had attempted to integrate the institution despite the constraints experienced along the way. However, the activities were costly and by the time of my visit they had ceased. Following a grant received from WAMP, the VRM launched a series of workshops in 2000 and 2002 under the directorship of Grace Krokroko^{ccxxxiii}. The participants, sourced via local schools in Ho were former students who had discontinued their schooling for a number of reasons. Kjedje referred to them as 'school drop-outs' (mainly teenage women) with no job prospects and lacking trained skills. The workshops at the museum provided both weaving (Ewe narrow strip cloth) and pottery classes and the works created were put up for sale in the museum with profits shared. The events were considered successful. In conducting these activities, Kjedje and Okpei felt that the museum was genuinely promoting its image and at the same time helping local individuals develop skills for future employments that they had not been able to gain at school.

In 2005 the VRM hosted a temporary exhibition on linguists' ceremonial staffs from the region. The VRM curators travelled to the villages, met with elders and chiefs to explain the purposes of the museum and to seek their permission to

loan artefacts for a temporary display (a similar project was a successful exhibition on family memorabilia mounted in the Republic of Benin [McLeod 2004: 53]). According to VRM employees the project was well received on both sides and Kjedje stated that “It was very nice, we went round to the chiefs, they gave staffs, people were very interested” (pers. comm. Kjedje 27.04.07). To attract visitors, the exhibition operated a free entry policy. To reach a maximum of audiences, it was publicised on posters across town, announcements on local radios, on TV and through a loudspeaker touring the city in a van borrowed from the Ho Information Services department. At the end of the exhibition, photographs were taken (displayed in the galleries) and the linguists’ staffs were returned. The project renewed bonds between elders in the surrounding villages and the museum. Kjedje and Okpei announced that they hoped to hold another similar temporary exhibition later on in the year.

Despite the substantial administrative logistics in place between the VRM and the National Museum that restrained autonomy and funding applications, in terms of outreach activities, regional museums have more independence. Francine Meyer (pers. comm. 17.05.07 appendix 1:39) stated that the “institutional weight” is felt less in the regions and she considered whether it was possible to do more outreach activities because these museums were smaller? This recalls approaches adopted by the CultureBank (section 6.1), yet the CultureBank defined its roles clearly as a museum, a financial institution *and* a community centre. And it is in this last remit that enabled it to carry out soap making, weaving and literacy classes. It could thus be argued that activities organised at the VRM for a small selection of school drop-outs digressed from a more conventionally perceived role of the museum

(particularly in terms of conservation, acquisition and display). Significantly, Kjedje, the director became wary of providing a definition of a museum, perhaps because this would imply limitations that would lead to constraints and hinder outreach programmes at the museum within the community?

6.2.2 The VRM lacks a clear sense of direction

In 2006 the museum received 461 foreign visitors (GMMB 2006: 11). They were not charged entry fees and had presumably come to see the permanent collections, not the temporary exhibits, and so would have provided well-needed revenue. In addition, the outreach projects had not significantly boosted local visitor figures, which remained low: in 2006 the total of Ghanaian adult visitors amounted to 52 although there were 222 student visitors (GMMB 2006: 11). Increasing national visitor figures by including large groups of school children, and the considerable difficulties in attracting local visitors to their own museums were addressed in Chapter 5. Despite the efforts to promote the VRM through temporary exhibitions, marketing via posters in town, television and radio announcements, loudspeakers touring the city, workshop classes and organised quizzes, activities cost money. They are not financially viable and an ongoing lack of funding had resulted in a decline in outreach programmes at the VRM. Museum staff had taken the conscious decision not to charge entry fees for fear of discouraging visitors, but consequently the museum was not making any profit (profits from the workshops had been expended)^{ccxxxiv}.

As a visitor I came away from the VRM with similar feelings to those experienced at the National Museum. It replicated museums initially shaped

upon European models, yet, because the collections emanated from all over the country with no obvious common theme other than 'nationhood' (which was not made clearly apparent), the institution suffered from a lack of direction or focus — was it an historical museum? An ethnographic museum? A contemporary art gallery? This elicited direct criticism from the Head of Archaeology, University of Legon who complained that the museum did not “do what it was set up to do” (pers. comm. Gavua 22.03.07). From participant observation, despite concerted efforts there was a lack of localised participation, of intimacy or familiarity with the collections at the VRM. By the time of my visit, the outreach programmes had not been integrated to complement the displays so that I was not aware of the activities until Kjedje and Okpei described them. It was encouraging to learn about the achievements and the sense of commitment to local audiences to date but also disheartening to see that they had not left long-term legacies in the museum space, and to learn that they were ceasing because of acute under-funding. In Botswana, Grant (1990: 223) heralded the concept of the museum as a community education centre building upon innovative projects directed towards local audiences alongside more conventional museum practices. This was one of the aims of the VRM outreach projects, but such 'non-income-generating' projects can only happen with the help of external funding sources, which rendered the VRM's educational objectives untenable.

Museums have been accused of alienating audiences from material cultural heritage by placing artefacts behind glass cases and so forth (Merriman 1991; Ames 1992). Outreach activities at the CultureBank and VRM helped challenge these perceptions whilst promoting the institutions as attractive, vibrant and entertaining spaces. CultureBank and VRM staff demonstrated innovative

approaches and commitment to accessing and managing cultural heritage whilst integrating their localised communities in the process. Because of the legacy and internal structure of the CultureBank, it was already well established. Launched by the community as a smaller-scale regional project, it fostered participation and a sense of ownership over museological processes and in turn, the collections. The past on display was widely acknowledged as belonging firmly to the community, it was shared and more intimate. Already due to its legacy and larger-sized community, the VRM staff struggled actively to attract and involve local visitors in the same way into the main gallery. Outreach projects coordinated at the VRM indisputably helped to redress imbalances but only among a small selected category (local school drop-outs and some village elders).

6.3 *le musée national du Mali* and its outreach projects

Due to colonial legacies and more recent historical trajectories, the national museums in West Africa have come to occupy an ambivalent position among localised communities. At once inside the community yet also considered outside of it, they are widely regarded as being for the benefit of ‘non-local’ audiences, school children, tourists and the select few members of the elite urban classes. Arguments over why and how this has happened have been addressed in Chapter 5. The study of local audience non-participation and questions on whether museums appealed to these publics are at the core of this research. This section consequently looks at what has been achieved in recent years at the musée national du Mali. In attempt to resolve the Museum’s reputation as an elitist space that catered predominantly to foreign audiences, in 2003, the museum director (Samuel Sidibe) commissioned his team of staff from the education department to implement and carry out a programme of activities at the museum^{CCXXV} that specifically targeted members of the local communities. According to participant observation, interviews with coordinators and museum staff and with members of the audience themselves, the backgrounds of visitors who participated in the activities at the Musée National were mostly made up of Malian nationals and were unusually diverse in comparison to those who frequented the galleries. In distributed questionnaires (appendix 9) a young Malian student responded that those who participated in these activities were “98% Malian and 2% foreigners” (09.11.06). A study targeting these audiences therefore became particularly appealing.

Weekly musical concerts at the musée national du Mali provide examples of alternative strategies of outreach activities as repeated performances in a larger-scale, urban environment. In addition to a detailed structured interview with the project director (pers. comm. Igo Diarra, director of the PR company *Balanise* 04.01.06) I conducted non-structured interviews and distributed weekly questionnaires among the activities' audiences from November 2006 to January 2007. The completed 123 questionnaires contained fifteen short questions formatted in a direct style (yes/no boxes) and open-ended questions (such as *Will you return? Why? ...*). Three sections addressed outreach activities (*Have you already participated? Will you return?*); museum-visiting (*Did you visit the Galleries? What artefact did you like most? Who did you visit with? Will you return?*) and general culture (*Do you like dance, griots, masks, workshops? If you organised an exhibition, what topic would you choose? What artefacts would you include in an exhibition on Mali?*). The opportunity to distribute these questionnaires was invaluable to my research. It allowed me to access a large and wide range of publics, in particular those who did not usually frequent the museum (the 'non-visitor' or the 'first time visitor'). The museum director and his staff actively encouraged the study because no such work had been carried out before and my results were shared and discussed with them. Finally, the project was of particular and rather personal interest because I had helped to set up these outreach projects whilst carrying out a ten-month internship with the education department at the museum in 2003. I was therefore particularly keen to assess the difficulties that had been encountered and to ascertain the success or failure of the project.

6.3.1 The *Jeudis Musicaux* at the musée national du Mali

The programme of activities was grouped according to three themes, of music, film and workshops, and allocated into a monthly time plan. Film^{ccxxxvi} and workshop activities (although sporadically organised) had not yet become regular features at the museum at the time of my research. The task of organising musical concerts in the museum gardens was allocated to *Balanise*, an external private company based in Bamako with a pro-active director, Igo Diarra^{ccxxxvii}. The first concert was launched on Thursday 12th February 2004 in honour of (and prior to) 'Women's month' (international women's day is the 8th March). The concerts were named *Les jeudis musicaux* ('Musical Thursdays')^{ccxxxviii}.



Figure 20: Performances at *les jeudis musicaux*, MNM (2006)

The concerts every Thursday from 5-6pm, have been regularly staged since 2004 and have grown in popularity according to many of the participants and to my own observations during return trips to Bamako carried out in 2005,

2006/07, 2010 and 2011. Approximately 500-1000 strong audience^{ccxxxix} crowded into an outdoor amphitheatre in the museum grounds facing the orchestra. The sessions were presented by an *animateur* who set the location by providing a brief background to the museum, introduced the musicians, and tried to promote the museum as belonging to the public by employing vocabulary such as “*votre musée*” (“*your museum*”). The use of ‘your’ suggested a sense of shared ownership or belonging and befitted the activity. Concerned about the lack of interaction between the concert visitors and material culture on display inside the galleries, the *animateur* appealed to audiences to return during the daytime to discover the exhibitions. As a ‘taster’ and to tempt curiosities an artefact from the collections was selected each month^{ccxli}. The artefact was introduced and presented to the crowds at the start of the concert and its image printed on promotional flyers. Marketing of the *jeudis musicaux* was diffused through radio programmes (local radio stations *Chaîne 2*, *Kledou*, *Bamanankan*)^{ccxlii} and announcements on local television channels (commercials and cultural chat shows such as *Samedi Loisirs*). Forthcoming musicians were publicised on a prominent banner above the entrance of the museum (visible to students at the nearby ‘Conservatoire des Arts’ — a private art college) and flyers were distributed at cultural centres (such as, for example, the French Cultural Centre and the ‘Carrefour des jeunes’^{ccxliii}). Depending on the musicians’ popularity the concerts could be quite lively with students from the Conservatoire mingling with the musicians’ performers and dancing for the crowds (figure 20). Occasionally theatre troupes replaced the musicians such as for example, the well-known puppeteer Yaya Coulibaly with his puppet show (figure 21).

The performance and practice of the *jeudis musicaux* successfully addressed the category of intangible cultural heritage, which has become a focus of interest for West African museums. It is this lack of capacity to incorporate intangible cultural heritage that has been widely criticised in conventional museum displays of material culture that are devoid of those vital performative elements that give the artefacts significance (Arnoldi, et al. 1996). It is useful to question the relationships between intangible and tangible heritage through the Museum's outreach activity programmes and material culture on display.



Figure 21: Yaya Coulibaly's puppeteers at *les jeudis musicaux*, MNM (2006)

6.3.2 Curating tangible and intangible heritage

The immense popularity of the *jeudis musicaux* could be measured visually by the large crowds and supported by responses to the questionnaires. Many of the informants had already participated in the concerts and the vast majority affirmed they would return. First time visitors also responded that they would visit again (exceptions came from tourists for obvious reasons). This is a good indication that the participants enjoyed themselves and were not disappointed, fulfilling one of the criteria advocated by Gavua (pers. comm. 22.03.07) that the “museum should be educational and a pleasure”. A large proportion of the audiences were students and school children, yet, according to responses to the questionnaires, there were also a significant proportion of workers such as public servants, economists, gardeners, artists, tour guides and tailors, to cite just a few. Through conversations with my neighbours in the crowds I understood that some of the women were street vendors who dropped in at the end of the working day with their children. A final category of members of the audience that is worth attention was the women who came alone or with friends. In predominantly Islamic Mali, public entertainment spaces are often frequented mainly by men or accompanied women. Here, the museum had created for itself a gendered mediating role. The event provided a ‘safe’ and well-respected leisure space particularly for women to listen to music and meet up with female friends (as suggested by Mary Jo Arnoldi, pers. comm. 24.01.07). Comparisons can be drawn upon with the public ‘mingling’ role of women in 19th century department stores in Chapter 2 (see also Bennett 1995 and Wolff 1985). The fact that many of the questionnaires’ respondents indicated that the informants had not been to the museum galleries and did not intend to go confirms that by hosting the music concerts, the staff at the

museum had been successful in attracting those visitors who did not normally attend.

The organisers of the event took two key steps to ensure that the concerts appealed to as wide a range of publics as possible. Diarra (pers. comm. 04.01.07) explained that in the beginning, in order to motivate the crowds the then head of education at the museum (Mamadou Goita) invited large groups of school children to attend and to participate. Diarra said he was both happy and unhappy about this decision. He wanted the event to be lively and accessible but he also didn't want the concerts to gain the reputation of 'a children's event', which might have risked excluding other potential members of the public. Goita was thus gently discouraged from inviting such large groups of children. The other key step lay in the selection of musicians commissioned to play at the concert. These varied in style quite considerably from week to week. The conscious decision to combine more 'traditional' artists with popular contemporary artists in the programme demonstrated the museum staff and project director's efforts to appeal to a wide variety of musical tastes and to cultivate diverse tastes both among older and younger visitors. Reassuring me that it was not their intentions to 'dupe' the audiences, the museum director and Igo Diarra hoped, rather, to surprise their publics through their choice. The exercise was particularly aimed at the younger crowds' lack of appreciation or familiarity with more ancient Malian musical styles and instruments. Whilst this no doubt worked on some occasions, during interviews, some of the students had been disappointed with the line up and had left the concerts early. I attended over eight concerts during my fieldwork at the musée national and despite the variety in musical styles however, each one was a success and

attracted large numbers of diverse audiences. Through a strategic marketing approach carried out by experienced professionals, the museum succeeded in reaching out and pulling in publics that would normally neither enter the doors of the institution nor listen to (and learn about) new musical styles and heritages.

A final consideration of the *jeudis musicaux* project was raised and iterated by Sidibe and Diarra. The free concerts addressed community participation and drew large crowds into the museum space but not inside the galleries. Not only did this make them costly (to pay for the musicians and the necessary staff and equipment) but they did not serve to support the collections and the exhibition displays. There was little indication that the concerts had raised curiosity about the artefacts nor any indication that members of the audience would visit the galleries in the future. Where the concerts did appeal to Mali's musical and intangible heritage, the collections remained in the meantime static and frozen behind their glass cases indoors. In this sense the project at the *musée national* differed from the cases of the CultureBank in Fombori and the Volta Regional Museum where outreach activities related directly to material culture. Despite these concerns the activities generated awareness of the museum's existence, location, accessibility and availability to a wider urban public. By hosting these events, the definition of the 'traditional' museum (Chapter 5) has also been challenged, diversified and widened to include events that would not normally be associated with such an institution.

Conclusion

Outreach activities are a way of enticing local audiences into museum spaces and promoting them as user-friendly institutions. They can ease tensions over the management and 'ownership' of cultural heritage by increasing access or encouraging participation. In the case studies of the CultureBank in Fombori and the Volta Regional Museum in Ghana in particular, I have provided an account of the commitment and efforts carried out by their staff and members of the community to instil (or to maintain) a collective sense of cohesion and shared belonging by bringing the past into the present. Through organised workshops providing training skills, both institutions have proved themselves as attractive spaces dedicated to improving the present and the future lives of members of their own communities^{ccxliii}. In this sense they can be considered as institutions that are placed at the *service* of society.

Coordinated activities and their repeated performances can be perceived as social bridges between the museums and local communities in a way that had not been previously achieved successfully. Responses to questionnaires at the *jeudis musicaux* indicated that concert attendees did not and would not consider visiting the museum's exhibitions. So what about the collections: the artefacts, the displays and the tangible material culture? Lowenthal (1985: xxiii) asserted "it is *relics* [my italics] [that] remain essential bridges between then and now", perhaps it is *activities* (namely intangible heritage) that serve as the bridges today? The examples selected for this chapter suggest that outreach activities generate more interest than material culture, whichever way the latter is interpreted. It is worthwhile considering how to bring activities into museum

spaces, inside the galleries and how to incorporate them with the exhibitions rather than trying to relate the activities more closely with the collections.

Through community outreach programmes, definitions of museums are already widening in order to comply with social inclusion and interactive needs. The next chapter develops these definitions to consider the positionings of local, regional and national museums within a wider, global framework.

Chapter 7 Contested identities in contemporary museum contexts

Drawing upon the theme of community projects, this chapter flags up additional forms of initiatives designed to target wider audiences as well as local publics by museum staff in Ghana. Moving beyond the themes covered in Chapter 6, I revisit museum definitions as well as initiatives carried out to consider whether the parameters of social inclusion require further attention, or whether museums at the time of my research were already fulfilling their multiple roles satisfactorily. Ghanaian cultural heritage has become iconic for particular publics, especially to the diaspora of USA and Canada as part of the history of the 'middle passage' (the movements of people within the transatlantic slave trade) and who claim invoked links to West Africa, and Ghana in particular. There are very few references to case studies from Mali throughout this particular chapter. The transatlantic slave trade was rarely considered in museum and heritage settings as the tourist industry in Mali catered heavily for local cultural heritage tourism (from natural heritage in the Dogon region to the mud-brick architectural heritage in Djenné and Mopti for example). In addition, Mali's tourism infrastructure was less developed and it was French-speaking. There was consequently not as strong an appeal for visiting members from the English-speaking diaspora as there was in Ghana. For the purpose of discourses examined here, the more salient examples are case studies sited in Ghana. The Manhyia Palace Museum (MPM) in Kumasi, Cape Coast Castle, Elmina Castle and the National Museum of Ghana (NMG) are considered because they target this diasporic audience and expose marketing strategies and entangled memories between local communities and overseas visitors.

As memoryscapes, heritage spaces become contested sites of divergent claims for a wide range of audiences. As certain claims become prioritised by the more dominant voices, it becomes necessary to acknowledge the voices from local communities (Clifford 1988; McLeod 2004). For example, with respect to Ethiopia, David Phillipson (conference *Africa's Fragile Heritage* 02.10.09)^{ccxliiv} asserted that one couldn't say there was a lack of local historical consciousness among existing local publics, and John Picton (1997: 25) has argued that art mattered in Edo (see also Kreps 2003). In her review of Holsey's work *Routes of Remembrance* (2008), Meera Venkatachalam (2010: 520) wrote that with respect to local residents in Ghana, the "silence" in the public discussion of the slave trade did not equate to forgetting such histories (see also Filippucci 2010: 9). This chapter brings out the tensions between localised responses in Ghana versus globalising strategies that advocate notions of 'world heritage(s)'. Within these two frameworks, my research raises questions about the ways in which cultural heritage is revisited, reclassified and re-presented for different audiences at a range of institutional levels in the 21st century. Emergent implications in terms of repatriation issues will be addressed in Chapter 8.

Through the overarching construct of notions of 'world heritage(s)' and of the 'universalist' museum, so-called 'transnational' European museums have sought to redress tensions between competing divergent claims since the late 1990s, in part by employing effective marketing tools to assert their commitment to the concept of 'one' shared world heritage. At the musée du Quai Branly in Paris, for instance (see Price [2007] on the former musée de l'Homme inaugurated as ex-president Chirac's legacy in 2006), popular branding promoted the museum as a place where "cultures dialogue with each other"

(appendix 1:40)^{ccxlv}. Another example employed the term “illuminating world cultures” (the British Museum)^{ccxlv}. On the one hand, the ‘universalist’ concept of shared global heritage responds to issues about the repatriation of tangible heritage by building on the hypothesis that it ‘belongs’ to ‘everyone’ (Hannerz 1996; Cuno 2009). Its outcomes, in theory, address greater transparency, development and transnational cooperation. On the other hand, in practice and drawing upon localised responses, reciprocal access to this ‘shared’ heritage has not yet been given the full attention that it deserves, thus highlighting continuing inequalities of relations between African and Western museums. I argue that access to world cultures through collections’ display (that characterised European ethnographic museums) has not been sufficiently addressed in collaborative projects to date.

As has been discussed, inequalities among institutional relations inextricably emerged from the historical trajectories (particularly in terms of unequal power relations) of museums. Born of the ‘Enlightenment’ period, European museums were intended to inspire, instruct and bring knowledge(s) of the world to European audiences as well as (as claimed in the present) to preserve “our common artistic legacy in the public domain” (Cuno 2009: ix). Because of colonial trajectories, museums in Africa have remained afro-centric (Chapter 3 page 135). Despite recent efforts and policies that advocate a ‘shared’ heritage, there remain significant contrasts between former museums that display artefacts from all over the world whereas the latter do not. These contrasts are integral considerations in the development of future collaborations between Europe and West Africa, in reciprocal exchanges between collections, and in attracting new local audiences. Considerations emerge in this chapter that point

to the need to renegotiate such roles of national museums in West Africa, both as (necessary) spaces to safe-keep national identities and material culture and as (necessary) spaces to widen museum definitions, content and exhibitionary practices to include the display of world cultures^{ccxlvii}.

7.1 Revisiting museum definitions and positionings among local communities

The modern museum carries the distinctive purposes of acquiring and caring for collections, but also of transmitting cultural values publicly through display.

Acquiring and caring for collections overlap with more long-standing practices, and the museological exhibitionary display is a relatively recent phenomenon in West Africa (Lema 1991: 81 appendix 1:41 and pers. comm. Kwadwo 13.04.07)^{ccxlviii}. Although the 'museum' is a product of European trajectories, institutions have existed in West Africa long before this colonial intervention where artefacts and relics used to be (and sometimes still are) cared for by designated elders in the community (in the Asante region see McLeod 1987; 2004: 58 and Schildkrout 1999: 16)^{ccxlix}. According to Fombori residents (in Mali), for example, the CultureBank's collections did not hold their most treasured artefacts because these were kept hidden and stored in specific people's houses.

As a fundamental part of most modern nation states, national museums entered into similar categories as, for example, national monuments, iconic sculptures (the image of the *ciwara* is the logo of the Malian national electricity board), government buildings and even school uniforms and local currencies (Hess 2001: 71; Fuller 2008). As such, the museum itself becomes regarded as indexical of national status^{cci}. The architecture of the museum as a form of social engineering (Mourby 2009: 92) projects an image of grandeur befitting of the state and the former NMG director (pers. comm. Isaac Debrah 20.03.07) claimed that "the appearance of the museum reflects in people's minds the

country that it represents”^{ccli}. The absence of a national museum (in whatever shape or form) is rare and unusual. It implies a neglect of the state’s cultural heritage and a reluctance to share its histories, to cultivate citizenship and to project positive images of the nation state at home as well as abroad. I raise these considerations to contend that museums already have value merely by their existence, regardless of whether they are viewed (or not) as successful institutions by local and non-local visitors and non-visitors.

In terms of the relative success of museums on the ground, NMG and musée national du Mali (MNM) visitor attendance figures indicated disproportionately high numbers of overseas visitors and local school children (Chapter 5 page 188 and Holsey 2008: 178). The museums were certainly not considered naturalised as part of a quotidian regime of every day practices (conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* Sidibe 09.09.06).^{cclii} It was widely acknowledged that domestic visitors continued to stay away (according to Aradeon [2002: 136] less than 10% of urban dwellers visit museums in West Africa). During my research, justifications for not visiting museums ultimately remained personal and varied according to the individual’s situation or social background. David (pers. comm. Kumasi student 16.04.07) explained that “when you are studying all week and are tired, you go to the sea, watch waves and relax, you don’t want to go to a museum and read more!” Bouba (pers. comm. Bamako waiter 07.11.06) believed that it was the privilege of the wealthy to have the leisure time to be interested in the past^{ccliii}. The imagery of ‘ethnicities’ also isolated audiences that felt under-represented or excluded from the museum space (Chapter 5 page 179). Furthermore, the MNM has consistently struggled to enlist participation from, for example, the elder

community members living in and around Bamako (pers. comm. Sidibe 14.01.07). Critically regarded by the latter as a government institution, the museum was perceived to present state history as an alternative to and sometimes in conflict with their own memories (see also Filippucci 2010: 6). As such, the museum ran the considerable risk of alienating material culture from those local communities (Handler 1988: 156). The CultureBank case study, for example, showed how small-scale local projects reached the Fombori community efficiently via immediate exchanges of localised collective knowledge. A small amount of information was communicated rapidly among the majority of its members (see Hannerz 1996: 37) and not only were collections, knowledges or the awareness of projects easily disseminated and publicised, but also critical feedback was quickly reported and could be acted upon directly according to changing circumstances and to fulfil the changing requirements of local audiences (Kitungulu and Voogt 2008). Museums in urban settings on the other hand have to contend with competition for a diverse range of audiences with sophisticated tastes and high expectations. This makes it crucial for museum staff to acknowledge and to actively address their own ongoing agency in managing cultural heritage. Efforts to redress these problems must also reflect audience participation in the dialogic changing processes of interpreting cultural heritage (Barber 2007: 174).

7.1.1 The National Museum of Ghana (NMG), Accra

On the 16th May 2007 a private kindergarten school from *Osu* (a prosperous Accra district) visited the National Museum of Ghana. Whilst on site, the head of education (Naana Ocran) sought the headmistress's permission to visit the school in return to celebrate 'International Museums Day' two days later and I recorded the National Museum of Ghana's first coordinated outreach activity of the year. The museum invited a television crew (*TVAfrique*) and two journalists (*Daily Graphic*). Sixty or so children (ages 3-5) sung for the cameras and we shared a feast. The education team carried out a visual demonstration of NMG artefacts they had brought with them (sandals, a crown, stools and an *akuaba* doll) followed by a question and answer session to encourage the children to name artefacts they had seen in the museum. The activity combined education with leisure to enable the children to build up an overview of Ghanaian cultural heritage as it was presented at the museum. Sackey then introduced himself as an NMG member of staff and director of the Museum of Science and Technology (MST) in Accra. In his speech he cautioned the children against dropping litter in the street. At first glance there appeared to be little relevance between his contributions and the events that preceded it and I was baffled by this decision. His topic was, however, evidently received with great enthusiasm by the children (they were engaged and responsive) and as the teachers beamed their appreciation and joined in songs about 'litterbugs', I learnt that museum projects could appeal to the making of the Ghanaian citizen on many different levels. The incident challenged restrictive museum definitions pertaining to tangible, elite or past cultures (see also Spring, et al. 1996: 49^{ccliv}).

7.1.2 The Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park (KNMP), Accra



Figure 22: Posing for photographs at the KNMP mausoleum of President Nkrumah (2007)

The Kwame Nkrumah Memorial Park (KNMP) opened in 1992 in the heart of downtown Accra on the coastal front, and taxi drivers tended to be, on the whole, more familiar with its location than with the NMG (pers. comms. taxi drivers March 2007). Set within well-kept gardens, the privately run institution contained the former President Nkrumah's mausoleum (figure 22) and a museum dedicated to his life. The museum was a single gallery showcasing personal belongings of Nkrumah such as, for example, photographs, letters and his furniture laid out in a chronological order. I conducted a meeting with the Director and repeated visits as well as interviews with the head of education (Eddie) who described two projects that were specifically intended to engage

local visitors (pers. comms. Eddie 23.03.07; 30.03.07). At the time of my visits the institution teemed with schoolchildren and local and overseas visitors. According to statistics provided by the Institution, the KNMP received 54,979 visitors in 2006, of which 37,356 were residents and 17,623 non-residents (appendix 15)^{cciv}. The education department coordinated story-telling sessions for younger audiences every Friday afternoon by enlisting a puppeteer to conduct the activities in the park (figure 23). According to observations and feedback from teachers and the puppeteer, the event was interactive, well received, engaging, and it directed visitors away from passive experiences associated with static exhibit displays or structured guided tours. The puppeteer (pers. comm. John^{ccvi} 30.03.07) tried to bring indigenous stories ‘to life’ for the children, arguing that they associated more with this style of oral transmissions (see also Chapter 5 page 207). The children’s participation in question and answer sessions that constituted part of the storytelling facilitated an active engagement with the subject matter (in these cases, localised histories). Engagement — from consultation work to coordinating children’s activities — has been proffered as an effective approach to safeguarding material culture (Robert [2007: 20] cited in particular, safeguarding archaeological heritage). In 2006 the head of education was also the lead curator of an exhibition project on the lives of the wives of Ghana’s former presidents. The exhibition theme targeted ‘local’ visitors to whom this personal and accessible, and therefore more engaging topic particularly appealed and, according to Eddie, was a great success (pers. comm. 30.03.07).



Figure 23: An example of one of John's puppets, KNMP (2007)

Outreach activities are public relations tools that can provide outlets for museum staff to instil values and to transfer knowledge to audiences in a variety of ways. The two cases above recall museum narratives on the making of the citizen. Through fostering a 'conscientious society' at the NMG and, for example, cultivating political curiosity at the KNMP, these institutions shape identities and are thus defined as 'museums of identity' (Negri 2006; MacKenzie 2009).

7.1.3a The Manhyia Palace Museum (MPM), Kumasi: Local visitors

Overseas publics, including African descent diasporas, are now introduced from research conducted at the Manhyia Palace Museum (MPM) (Kumasi, March-

April 2007) that investigated the vested interests of 'roots' or 'heritage' tourists who came to the site. I continue to consider how the past was marketed for and/or appropriated by divergent audiences, and questions that emerge concern not only the making of local audiences as Ghanaian citizens (as above) but also subsequently the making of tourist members of an African diaspora as Ghanaian citizens.

Two years before the official opening of the CultureBank in Fombori (1997) a private museum was inaugurated in Kumasi, the capital of the Asante region in Ghana^{ccclvii}. Both projects were similarly structured in their respective communities. A committee of eleven village members managed the CultureBank and the MPM was administered by the Palace court and was the wish of the Asante King, Asantehene Opoku Ware. Its key aims were to commemorate the King's predecessors (Otumfuo Agyeman Prempeh I and Otumfuo Sir Osei Agyeman Prempeh II^{ccclviii}), to generate revenue and to celebrate and disseminate Asante cultural heritage. The project was set up with the continued support and commitment of museum expert Malcolm McLeod. Museum locations are crucial factors in determining levels of integration within their community and the MPM was the site of the previous Kings' palace, located at the heart of the Asante administration^{ccclix}. A guided tour of the museum began with a short documentary film on Asante history (with English subtitles) followed by an accompanied visit through King Prempeh II's house and belongings. In his office, his files were displayed on his desk intact. Maps of the Gold Coast (1946) and personal diaries dating from 1970 offered further insight into the former King and his rule. On the ground floor of the Palace were also Prempeh II's living room (photographs, gifts, sofas, a television set and

portraits of the King) and a room of thrones (decorations given by ex-President Kwame Nkrumah, Emperor Haile Selassie, ex-President Tubman of Liberia and King George VI of Britain). An adjacent room contained posthumous effigies^{cclx} of the previous Kings and of the Queen Mother who led the Asante war in 1900, Naana Yaa Asantewaa. Further displays included replicas of courtly regalia such as state swords, finger rings, linguist staffs, sandals and stools that were still used by the current Asantehene. Rooms on the first floor continued with similar displays of the King's memorabilia. The Museum received the 'Visitor Attraction of the Year' award from the National Tourist Board in 1997 just two years after it opened.

The MPM was a private museum of the Asante 'nation' and as locally configured it remained administratively autonomous. It was not considered a national institution and it did not fall under the directorship of the Ghana Museums and Monuments Board (GMMB), according to Crinson (2001: 240) it was founded despite government opposition^{cclxi}. Like the CultureBank, the MPM was economically viable as it was able to retain all of its profits, and according to the Director (pers. comm. Kwadwo 13.04.07) it actually *made* money (although public museums received money from the government, they generated meagre revenues). Funding entered the MPM via donations, entrance fees^{cclxii}, sales from the gift shop^{cclxiii} or from carvers, goldsmiths or weavers associated with the museum. The institution therefore relied heavily on external funding or on attracting numbers of international tourists (the source of substantial economic revenue) away from the more frequented coastal regions (McLeod 2004: 56; Schramm 2007: 74).

Museum staff and Palace members encouraged a sense of shared ownership between the institution, its collections and the Asante population. The sum of £120,000 was entirely raised by the Asante people to contribute towards the cost of the building (McLeod 2004: 55). According to Kwadwo (pers. comm. 13.04.07) “all property belonging to the King also belongs to its people”. The MPM (like the CultureBank) was also considered a *living museum* or of “joint stewardship” over works (Brown 2009: 151). Every Monday and Thursday the ceremonial guns and swords for when the King sat in state were borrowed from the exhibition galleries, linking it to prior ideas of storage held on behalf of the community (see 7.1). In 2000 however, the logistics of replacing artefacts on time could lead to temporary gaps in the exhibition display for some visitors (McLeod 2000: archives). The use of replicas and effigies in particular was conceived at the time as a novel curatorial approach to re-create the past and to encourage audiences to connect more closely with it in a vivid and experimental mode. The effigies have since proved popular and featured prominently in photographs on the MPM official website^{cclxiv}.

The museum adopted a rather different formula to ethnographic (national) museums rooted in the colonial period. Its more personal approach commemorating notable Asantehenes encouraged stronger ties of affinity between the museum (representing Asante royalty) and its local visiting publics. Yet the Palace also remained a sacred place in Asante-speaking peoples’ minds. It was the site where ritual killings used to take place, where some accompanied the King to the land of the dead, and where powerful ancestral spirits were perceived to still reside. During Prempeh’s lifetime, many Asante feared entering the building and the MPM recorded a dip in national visitors

after the last King Otumfuo Opoku Ware II died in 1999 (pers. comm. Kwadwo 13.04.07). A local informant visiting the museum, an Asante policeman in his mid forties, stated (pers. comm. 23.03.07) that visitors did not need to be afraid anymore because the Asantehene was peaceful. However, comments in the visitors' book indicated that there were still some visitors who were wary, such as, for example, "Quite a wonderful tour even though we were a bit scared (Rebecca Rethers, Ghana 06.02.07)". The decision therefore to turn the former Kings' Palace (as a container of powerful artefacts) into a museum (with Western scenography and technology) tied the museum spatially and historically to the history and culture of the region and specifically to the Asante confederacy and its notions of kingship. The paradox of the Palace as container of powerful artefacts and the museum as a mode of Western museum display technology together contributed to enhance the project's efficacy.

Despite advocating social inclusion during interviews, the museum staff had not implemented any outreach programmes or activities with its localised communities at the time of my visit and the guided tours were obligatory and "highly controlled" (Gavua n.d: 21). The institution was not flexible in its approach to the public and this created a restrictive atmosphere. Visitors were not allowed to enter the galleries alone and I too was unauthorised to enter the building unaccompanied or to take photographs despite securing prior permission during a preliminary site visit (25.03.07)^{cclxv}. There were limited opportunities to interact with the exhibits or to ask questions during the tour. The tour guide manual advised guides to state at the beginning that he/she will answer questions at the end of the visit so as to avoid unnecessary delays. Tour guides might accommodate smaller groups, particularly during quieter

times with questions and discussions as a two-way process in order to make the visit more interactive. One overseas visitor noted in the comments book that he was unhappy with the approach, writing that “Hustling is not needed, your presentation was rushed and hurried (Anthony James, USA 10.10.06)”.

Because the MPM was a private museum containing the personal belongings of the Asante Kings, there was great attention over the protection and safekeeping of the collections. To such an extent that in terms of public display and access, this ironically raised questions over Kwadwo’s assertion that “all property belonging to the King also belongs to its people” (above). In a series of surveys conducted among local residents outside the museum space, most respondents associated the museum with a school or a library and defined it as, for example, a place “where some old items are kept for future references” (Acheampong, admin assistant ref 9/30)^{cclxvi}. Many of the respondents had visited museums before with friends or with church groups, yet, according to museum staff and statistics, local adult visitors remained low. General and familiar (Ghana-wide) explanations included, for example, “this [museum-visiting] is not part of our culture” (pers. comm. Kwadwo 13.04.07) or time factors, such as, “foreigners are interested in Ghanaian culture, Ghanaians don’t have time” (pers. comm. Gloria, PA at the NMG 16.03.07). Another respondent cited financial constraints, claiming that “we [Ghanaians] don’t like to spend our money on leisure things” (pers. comm. Pat, tour guide, Prempeh II Jubilee Museum, National Cultural Centre, Kumasi 10.04.07). In response to the last comment, the Museum Director (a retired teacher) had not considered a ‘free entrance day’ (as at the MNM) but with frequent school visits, he hoped instead that in

time a culture of museum visiting would be instilled among the younger generations.

7.1.3b The Manhyia Palace Museum (MPM), Kumasi: International visitors

“Ghana has become one of the few nations where the world community can be educated further about the slave trade and aspects of the cultural history of Africa” (pers. comm. Gavua 17.05.07)



Figure 24: The Cape Coast Castle, Ghana (2007)



Figure 25: The Elmina Castle, interior, Ghana (2007)

According to recorded statistics, the MPM received 32,332 visitors (17,315 school children) in 2006^{cclxvii}. 6,865 were non-national visitors, of which many were identified as of African descent. The latter visit Ghana in large numbers to learn about the history of slavery through organised ‘roots’ or ‘heritage’ tourism. The ‘Joseph Project’ (UNESCO 2005: 33; Holsey 2008: 233) or the annual ‘Pan African Historical Festival’ (PANAFEST) for example, are actively encouraged by the government which has rediscovered the slave history as a “marketable asset” (Schramm 2007: 72). Overseas visitors frequent Ghana’s castles and museums in the southern coastal regions, especially Cape Coast Castle (1971, restored in 1994, figure 24)^{cclxviii} and Elmina Castle (declared a national monument in 1972 and restored in 2006, figure 25)^{cclxix}, but some also visit the MPM in Kumasi to learn about the famous Asante culture, frequently associated with *kente* cloth in the USA (see Ross and Silverman 1998). Tourists, of which the African diaspora make up a considerable number, contribute significantly to the national economy in Ghana and they have been steadily on the increase

(NMG acting director, Maisie, in Archebong 2009). As a sign of the times the 'Ministry of Tourism' changed its name to the 'Ministry of Tourism and Diasporan Affairs' in 2006^{cclxx}. Statistical data provided by the Ghana Tourist Board indicated that visitor arrivals for US nationals had almost doubled in Ghana from 26,317 in 2000 (appendix 16) to 50,475 US nationals in 2005 (appendix 17). These figures compare with 36,747 UK nationals and 10,089 French nationals in 2005 and international tourism in Ghana is now the third largest source of revenue (after gold and cocoa).

At the MPM (like most museums in Ghana) visitors' entrance fees differed substantially according to categories of Ghanaian visitors and foreign visitors. Conducting participant observation on reception at the entrance desk of the MPM interesting dilemmas emerged and I directly witnessed heated arguments over the different levels of fees. Large tour groups of African-Americans^{cclxxi} resented being categorised as foreign visitors when they considered themselves to be returning to their homeland. A peculiar series of questions and answers followed. In attempting to ascertain whether the visitors were Ghanaian nationals, Teresa^{cclxxii}, the MPM receptionist asked for a few words in the national language *Twi* (visitors offered "*Akwaba*" — "welcome") or to name the town where they lived (responses included the coastal town of Elmina or Osu, referred to above). The sensitive topic was visibly received as an insult by diasporan visitors and was acknowledged by some museum staff as an ongoing problem. The MPM deputy director insisted that it was a rare occurrence (pers. comm. Antwi-Poakwa 13.04.07) and stated that most people were and should be happy to help contribute financially to the upkeep of the institution. The incidents were not unique to the MPM as I encountered similar resistance at the

NMG, at Cape Coast Castle and Elmina Castle (and it resurfaced during interviews with their respective directors).

The occurrences at the museum provided particularly insightful examples of the tensions at play between shared heritage, economics and the politics of belonging (see Bruner 1996; MacGonagle 2006; Schramm 2007; McCaskie 2009). Museum staff too were keen not to alienate diasporan visitors in recognition of the need to generate revenues, which was particularly feasible from such wealthier sources. In her work, MacGonagle (2006: 257) has remarked that:

“a sense of one collective memory from Africa and the diaspora is a fiction, but both Ghanaians and diasporan visitors cling to it for mutual benefit. Both parties have something to gain by promoting a sense of a cohesive community joined by a common African heritage”.

The MPM actively sought to instil a sense of pride in or awe of Asante culture among all of its visitors^{cclxxiii}. The language employed by the tour guides was informative, evocative and full of dignity (“yes, the Asante are the proud descendents of the Kingdom of Gold”, for example, recorded on tour 25.03.07, see also McLeod [2004: 55]). The tone alluded to an image that was appealing to visitors who associated their descent with the Asante and who sought knowledge of their ancestral history in a way that was “very flattering” (pers. comm. Francine Meyer, head of Culture and Cooperation, French Embassy, Accra 17.05.07 appendix 1:43). Comments in the MPM visitors’ books reflected that these were valued (and in some cases *shared*) experiences, and some examples are “We can feel the pride of the Ashanti people! (Ronald Caza, Canada 15.03.07)” and “Excellent! Enjoyed the history (our story) thank you

(Verona Wynter, Florida USA 23.01.07)” and “Excellent edification for the black soul. All should visit and be blessed in culture (Edwina Adade Holder, London UK 22.12.06)”. The MPM visit was an educational and an emotional one. Museum tours and re-constructions of the past filled a void that the horrors of the slave trade has left on millions of descendents, whose family history has been erased and was perhaps being remade in these pilgrimages^{cclxxiv}. The visits appealed to individuals as well as to collectives (Cole 2001) that were seeking to rebuild the “tear in the social fabric” (Eyerman 2001: 2) through linkages to Africa, entailed through the histories and memories that were represented to them. Evocation of these pasts contributed to processes of self-affirmation in the present (Filippucci 2010: 18) as Jeanette Johnson of USA reflected in the visitors book that “This is an awesome spiritual experience (03.09.07)” and another commentator wrote “what a powerful moving experience to reflect on the legacy of my people (African American 12.10.06)”. Consequently, the MPM along with Ghana’s other cultural heritage sites and museums that accommodate ever increasing numbers of visitors from the diaspora are obliged to address more than usual for an institution, the deeply moral and sensitive question of how the past is remembered, for whom and how it is talked about (Connerton 1989; Werbner 1998; Rowlands 2002; De Jong and Rowlands 2007; St. Clair 2007; Kitungulu and Voogt 2008).

7.2 The management of heritage sites in Ghana as “contested terrains”

(Kreamer 2004: 89)

Presenting the history of transatlantic slavery to publics requires the exercise of sensitivity and diplomacy at heritage sites. This is to avoid causing offence through the contestations of personal memories and other conflicting interpretations of the past that arise despite certain claims to “universal moral obligations” (Zertal 2000: 97). The exercise became particularly acute considering the diversity of backgrounds of publics that visited the MPM, Cape Coast Castle and Elmina Castle (see also Holsey 2008: 196-232). On the one hand, an education in historical legacies that includes addressing discomforting historical facts can serve to improve understanding and awareness and can foster closer relationships between variant visiting publics. On the other hand, such recollections can engender hostile emotions and lead to racialised or other divisive tensions among visitors (between white Europeans and black members of the African diaspora more specifically, see Gavua [n.d: 8]).

Acts of physical aggression carried out by African-Americans on white tourists were reported during semi-structured interviews carried out at Cape Coast and Elmina, and staff had temporarily felt obliged to conduct segregated tours of the Castles. Comments left in the Cape Coast Castle visitors’ book in November 2006 and March 2007 reflected these tensions (there were many similar examples), such as “I found a certain Swede on my tour very illustrative of why this fort was built in the first place. Current European attitudes towards Africa sometimes mirror the condescension that perpetuated the trade (American 03.29.07)” and “We had a wonderful tour of the castle, thank Allah we were able

to control our anger towards the Europeans among us. Try to keep up the good work (Ghanaian 03.11.06)". Stronger comments were left by a Togolese visitor who exclaimed "to the devil, white people" ("au diable les blancs, Togolais 30.03.07"). An interview with the director of Elmina Castle (pers. comm. Qwaqwe 03.04.07) revealed his dismay over existing attitudes of racial tension on these visits. Whilst acknowledging the sensitive issues, he firmly believed in the redeeming role of his museum and in the duty of his staff to reconcile antagonistic feelings among all visiting publics. The Head of Culture at the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture (pers. comm. Yao Dzamefe 19.03.07) maintained that they were also trying to instil that "history is history" in order to facilitate peaceful and harmonious relations for the future. The incidents that occurred at Cape Coast Castle and Elmina Castle demonstrated how commemoration of the past raises moral conflicts that ensue from the processes of remembering and/or forgetting (see Werbner [1998] for a politicised critique on memory). As they were presented, the Castles resembled war memorials and monuments to the dead (Rowlands 1999; van Liempd 2002; de Jorio 2006) and staff encouraged that notion. However, in real terms, they did not always permit forgetting or 'moving on' in similar ways for visiting individuals and communities.

Tensions sustained through the social and cultural legacies between white international and African-American visitors now lead to considerations concerning the way in which relations and memories were configured at these museum sites between diaspora visitors and local audiences. Considering inclusive policies as integral features of museum sites, Rowlands (2002: 100-110) acknowledged that recognition of past trauma enabled African-Americans

to move on, and so he questioned “what does that mean for the Ghanaians/ those who remain in situ who are not ‘leaving healed’ – are they to be reminded of it everyday all the time?” Attempts to move away from one’s own past recall Nietzsche’s (1983: 60-61) referral to the “consuming fever of history”, as a “dark, invisible burden, which [man] would like to disown”. In Mali, Adame Ba Konare (1991; 2000: 22) was succinct in reflecting upon how much remembering or forgetting was indeed, appropriate for moving forward. She appealed to a certain extent to a collective amnesia^{cclxxv} in her work on the past and its heroes, cautioning that “Too much remembering can become an obstacle” and she referenced the “hurt” towards, in this case, the younger Malian generations^{cclxxvi} (see also Ernest Renan [1882] who cautioned against too much memory and history in Zertal [2000: 97]).

Furthermore, restrictive interpretations of heritage issues for the benefit of international tourists risked alienating local audiences who remained *in situ* at the Coastal Forts in Ghana. Not only were the frameworks ‘divisive’ (Filippucci 2010: 6) but they were also ‘reductive’ (Karp and Kratz 2000: 212). As such, they tended to turn memory into a “fashionable commodity” (Zertal 2000: 97), to romanticise heritage with stories circulating within the diaspora (Holsey 2008: 233) and to “gloss over” localised indigenous cultural and historical versions of the past (Gavua n.d: 12 citing Moore 1974; Handler 1988: 151). In his study on Cape Coast Castle and the slave trade, St Clair (2007: 7) condemned the “chirpy language” employed by the tourist industry in attempt to turn history into heritage. And Francine Meyer (pers. comm. 17.07.07) criticised such methods in what she saw as the “popularisation of heritage” (“*la vulgarisation de l’héritage*” my translation).

7.2.1 “Revealing is healing” (Shaw 2010: 257): international visitors

Difficulties arise when alternative or competing historical periods of the ‘revisited past’ are not given due recognition (Ndoro 2006: conference *Managing the Archaeological Heritage of South Africa* BM 06.05.06) and when access to heritage sites becomes restrictive. For example, GMMB staff prioritised (on tours and in text panels) the commemoration of the slave trade over Elmina Castle’s former functions within the local community as a school, a police recruitment centre and as government offices^{cclxxvii}. Decisions taken by the GMMB to impose entrance fees to Elmina Castle upon local Fanti residents and the forced relocation of market traders who used the immediately surrounding grounds to conduct their business hinder access and contribute to local feelings of exclusion and alienation. In 1996, an exhibition on local histories and cultures opened at Elmina Castle Museum. It was still there when I visited in 2007 and contained several lengthy text panels describing, for example, local flora and fauna (see Holsey 2008: 176). The GMMB put up a sign at the entrance to Elmina Castle, however, that read ‘This Area is restricted to all persons except tourists’ and recalls the alienating authoritative museum regimes and dividing spaces that have been discussed in Chapter 5. Safu, a local taxi driver who was 15 years old at the time, for example, was born and brought up in Elmina and had never been inside the Castle (pers. comm. 03.04.07). Finally, an ongoing plea on behalf of Elmina Chiefs was that they receive royalties as owners of the land upon which the Castle was built (Bruner 1996: 290, 297).

Regarding the upkeep and restoration of the Castles, conflicting opinions have also begun to emerge, with local residents arguing for the 'aestheticisation' of the building (whitewashed, clean, with good lighting and ventilation systems) to appear attractive to tourists. Diaspora tourists have reciprocated that they wanted the forts to be dark, dingy and relatively unchanged from when they once served as slave dungeons, in order to be able to connect more deeply with the place and their ancestors' spirits, using the forts as a bridge through which violence of the past is remembered (Küchler 1993; Kreamer 2004: 85; Filippucci 2010). One African-American visitor remarked in the Elmina Castle visitors' book that "Each time I come I see attempts to cover up the reality of the past. This is not possible. However, we must continue and struggle [...] (03.12.06 African-American)". Aradeon (2002: 135) claimed that the agony of black people in the diaspora linked to such cultural tourism was "insensitive". Processes of memorialisation and commemoration have become conceptual markers of separation between Ghanaian and diasporan visitors and in his study on the Castles, Bruner (1996: 293) summarised that "Ghanaians see the castles as festive places; African-Americans as sombre places [...]".

Phillipson drew attention to parallel tensions over heritage sites in Northern Ethiopia at the conference *Africa's Fragile Heritage: Future Challenges* 02.10.09^{cclxxviii} (also above page 268). He expressed serious concerns over the heavy focus on churches at Lalibela and Aksum as heritage sites for overseas tourists, where the use of language in text panels, guidebooks and signage, for example, catered predominantly for international tourists. Phillipson argued that such practices alienated domestic tourists and also led to existing worshippers being "squeezed out". He blamed a lack of collaboration and coordination

between the churches, bodies for conservation and those responsible for tourism in the area. Cases such as Lalibela and Aksum and Cape Coast and Elmina (including many world heritage sites) generate questions over who is ultimately responsible for management decisions at heritage sites (and for whom) at national levels (see also Brown 2003). In Ghana in 2007 cultural heritage sites and museums (and monuments) came under the governmental directorship of the 'Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture' (to which the GMMB was subordinate)^{cclxxix} rather than the 'Ministry of Tourism and Diasporan Affairs'. Since the 1960s the realm of 'culture' in Ghana has shifted according to an indicative number of name changes within departments at the Ministries; from 'Art and Culture' (1960s) to 'Education, Culture and Sports' followed by 'Culture and Tourism' (1980s) and 'Education and Culture' (1990s) followed by the National Commission of Culture. Finally, the Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture was established in 2006 (to present)^{cclxxx}.

According to my observations, the marketing of heritage sites and museums in Ghana^{cclxxxi} ultimately targeted the largest (and most economically viable, and one could argue the most powerful) audiences^{cclxxxii}: international visitors, of which those of African descent made up a significant part. These audiences manifested the most interest in learning about specific material and cultural trajectories of heritage, linked to their representation of the middle passage^{cclxxxiii}. In turn, this can become interpreted as increasingly self-serving as local inhabitants become excluded. Such practices as these described above deconstruct museological claims to universality, and such claims become yet another counter-narrative against 'universalist' discourses of museums.

7.2.2 “Revealing is healing” (Shaw 2010: 257): local audiences

How heritage was re-visited and marketed did not appeal in the same way to all publics. When visiting the National Museum of Ghana (as well as the heritage sites above as part of the ‘Slave Route’ project^{cclxxxiv}) some diaspora tourists actively expected, and sought therapeutically to vent their anger at, and frustration with, the painful pasts of transatlantic slavery and its ensuing inequalities. Traumatic effects of racism that were still encountered in their present-day world were thus referenced and framed through the historical experience of slavery. To learn about this period of history as a social process of loss, and to express a grief that had not yet been reconciled was for many the main purpose of their trip to Ghana (see also Kirsch 2004: 175). Visitors were emotionally or mentally prepared sometimes prior to their arrival at the museum for a sacred ritual space of commemoration, knowing that the subject matter and environment would enable them to express these feelings.

According to my research, other categories of individuals (namely younger generations of Ghanaians) rejected the main focus of their nation’s past as consistently associated with relics and negative events (transatlantic slavery). Slaves and slavery can carry denigratory connotations in West Africa associated with low status and often constitutes a part of hidden local histories (Argenti 2007). It is important to note again however, that because many of these histories were hidden, it did not mean that they were not engaged with in Ghana, or that they did not address concerns in the present in other ways.

For an alternative take on the museum, a taxi driver in Accra (pers. comm. 16.05.07) exclaimed that he wanted to see “shiny and expensive things” in his

national museum. He believed that this would show the world that Ghana was a modern, wealthy and progressive nation. A salient point was raised by Cameroonian-born Gaston Kelman, ex-director of the documentation and research centre, Evry (in France) and author of *Je suis noir et je n'aime pas le manioc* (2003) ('I am Black and I don't like Cassava', my translation). In a special edition review in French newspaper *Le Monde* (2005: 25 appendix 1:44) Kelman stated:

"I want the white man to recognise me as a brother, not as a former slave. If I should choose a museum to build, it would be about the 'tirailleurs Sénégalais' [soldiers who fought in the First and Second World Wars], not on slavery."

Kelman concluded that he did not always want to be reminded of his inferiority. His argument alluded to the pride that he wanted to feel and share, and recalls the roles of 19th century European museums where collections were manipulated and displayed to flaunt the political power and prowess of the Empire in order to cultivate a sense of pride among local visitors (Chapter 3).

In 1995 the NMG curated a permanent exhibition on slave trade routes, showcasing a replica of the *Fredensborg* ship that was donated as part of the Danish heritage project in collaboration with UNESCO's slave routes project, 1994-2004^{cclxxxv}. This now obliged the visitors to exit the NMG main galleries via the exhibition and through a reconstruction of the 'door of no return' (named after the door through which millions of slaves left Cape Coast). The ritual re-enactment of the slaves' arduous journey from the coasts of West Africa to the Americas made a daunting and sobering experience (both at Cape Coast and

re-created in Accra) and the Slave trade routes exhibition was well-attended by diaspora tourists, especially those on 'roots' or 'heritage' tours. I invited a local informant (Charles^{cclxxxvi}) to the museum to gather individual Ghanaian perspectives of the Slave trade routes exhibition. Charles demonstrated unease at the slavery exhibits and refused to pass through the reconstructed 'door of no return'. Visibly discomforted, he cited personal reasons and retraced his steps to exit via the main entrance. Whether Charles avoided the re-enactment because he found it distressing, did not want to remember past events, did not want to be involved in a slave status performance or because he rejected a 'Disneyfied' negotiation of a sensitive topic, I don't know. His reaction however illustrated the extent to which revisiting historical events is subject to a multitude (not a dichotomy) of public and individual interpretations, challenging the positivistic narrative that the past is remembered or forgotten in the same way (see Leys 2000: 7). In her analysis at Cape Coast Castle, Schramm (2007: 72) has remarked upon the interchanging characters and manipulations of the past, whereby "memory that is marginalized in one setting can become part of a dominant rhetorical strategy in another and vice-versa". The politics and theatre of museum at these sites' displays critically come to confront or to challenge visitors' accepted social memories. And in turn, memories that have been crucially remembered in different ways become defined and need to be acknowledged as "palimpsest memories" (Cole 2001: 17; Shaw 2010: 15).

7.2.3 Multiple interpretations of heritage sites are mutually exclusive

In the above narratives, heritage was re-articulated according to selective interpretations at managerial and state level, which in turn induced political and

even contested reactions among visiting publics (see also Jewsiewicki and Mudimbe 1993: 2). Diaspora tourists' and local residents' conflicting responses to how the past was remembered revealed problematics in presenting the past as an over-simplified static 'model' in an attempt to appeal to the largest categories of visiting (and paying) audiences. This section has reviewed whether, for example, Elmina Castle should be consecrated or whitewashed? Should renovations feature the Portuguese church inside the courtyard or the slave auction market converted by the Dutch in 1637? (Kreamer 2006: 456) Multiple interpretations at heritage sites and museums tend to be mutually exclusive. In physical and practical terms the incorporation of simultaneous pasts into one location presents a complexity that perhaps cannot be adequately curated. Individual and collective memories also belong to a diversity of audiences that in these cases can only with difficulty be negotiated as a 'collectivity' (Barber 2007: 139). Holsey (2008: 181) has described, for example, how tour guides at Cape Coast Castle altered their presentations according to African-American, Ghanaian or white audiences. Indigenous claims to managing (and marketing) heritage sites ought to be effectively acknowledged however and their diversity addressed inclusively.

In 2007 for the celebrations of Ghana's fifty years of independence, several descendants of the nations' political figures and past heroes researched and published the works of their fathers. Their efforts helped to keep recent memories alive in a similar way that Mali's griots consistently orally record and recall pre-colonial and national histories in the public arena^{cclxxxvii}. Eddie of the KNMP (pers. comm. 30.03.07) stated that "fifty years since independence has whipped up a lot of interest, we did not know about our leaders, and their

children are making us aware”. Kwame Nkrumah’s son living in the USA donated his personal letters from the President to the KNMP museum, and ex-President Prof K. A. Busia’s daughter produced a documentary film about her father’s life that was launched in Accra in March 2007. Events supporting ‘Ghana at 50’ provided opportunities for recent national memories to be actively re-invoked and sustained. Likewise, the fifty years’ celebrations in Mali (2010) generated much interest in the political leaders of independence (Modibo Keita and Fily Dabo Sissoko for example, see Chapter 4). The donation of collections, making of documentary films, publishing works and oral communications have provided varied approaches to cultural heritage that sometimes overlap and show how the present continues to shape the past (Antze and Lambek 1996: 243).

It is a banal argument that museums cannot please everybody and that relations of power and hierarchy enable only one overarching body to manage cultural heritage, yet it is a salient and persistent one. Museums must “serve many masters, and must play many tunes accordingly” (Hooper-Greenhill 1992: 1) and Mark Jones (in Binyon 2007: 12), the director of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London argued that it too needed to broaden its views and range of visitors like all museums. Staff at the museums examined in these sections have primarily decided which publics they were instructing in relation to those who claimed that instruction. Further considerations over how museums successfully did/ did not reiterate individual and collective memories, and according to who, will be discussed and developed the next section.

7.3 'Universal' museums, shared heritages and new collaborations

"I discern the search for a free world in which the relations of men to one another will be brotherly and hopeful rather than suspicious and savage; one in which not only the continent of Africa but the world community will be built in mutual respect and willing cooperation, on the common moral language which all humanity shares" (Busia 1967)^{cclxxxviii}

Institutions that are involved in promoting 'universalist' approaches to cultural heritage projects advocate the concept of an overarching globalised 'culture' that is shared and belongs to all of humanity (see Messenger 1999). The approach has epistemological roots in European Enlightenment movements that sought governance through rationality in the public sphere and has been applied to contemporary cultural heritage contexts (see also Sassen 2008: 33). Neil MacGregor, the director of the British Museum (BM) described a universal museum, such as the BM, as a space "where the world can discover the world" (cited in Morris 2003: 23). Not everyone has the opportunity financially and/or legally however to travel to London to access and use the BMs' collections^{cclxxxix}, as one informant in Ghana argued that "most Ghanaians don't have the chance to travel and it would be nice for them to see those things [objects from Britain or China]" (pers. comm. Charles 25.05.07). 'Globalised' or 'transnational' approaches to cultural heritage are in accordance with 'universalist' UNESCO values. From the 1970 World Heritage Convention onwards UNESCO adopted and applied the development of the concept of 'outstanding universal heritage'. The World Heritage List was launched in 1972^{ccxc}, in which the African continent is still severely under-represented^{ccxci}, and in 2003 the Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal

Museums was drawn up (see Chapter 8). Within the contexts of the Ghanaian case studies, the 'universalist' discourse may imply a more inclusive approach towards diaspora tourists, according to the notion that all material culture belongs to and is marketed as the property of mankind in general. The term 'property' (containing ideas of place, locality and knowledge and skill) implies 'ownership' but I prefer to employ it here in the sense of 'belonging to' or as a metaphor for "of potential value to [...]" following Appiah (2006: 120). Based on the ideological concept of 'sharing', the 'universalist' discourse of cultural heritage as 'belonging' to all of mankind regardless of where it was made and by whom, rather conveniently attempts to resolve the question of custodianship, of *who* is entitled to protect it in the present.

Firstly the 'universalist' claim is particularly salient when considering works that originated from societies that no longer correspond to modern nation states (such as, for example, Nok sculptures in Nigeria) or that are now found within transnational or inter-continental circuits as a result of their historical trajectories^{ccxcii}. Secondly, 'universalist' approaches to cultural heritage contest views of fixed territorial (or national) boundaries that are used to define and legitimize claims to artefacts within their sovereignty. With respect to past and present day mass movements of people, it becomes clear that sovereign states do not articulate homologous correspondences to the material cultures within their territories. The latter are permeable, increasingly diversified and they change or rupture over time, yet are reappropriated to the exigencies of the nation state (see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). These are not novel concepts. John Mack presented a paper (conference *Africa's Fragile Heritage* 02.10.09)^{ccxciii} and introduced a *Taino* figurine exhibited in 1994^{ccxciv} to illustrate

that theories of cosmopolitanism are not recent 19th or 20th century phenomena. He explained that the Amazonian/ Caribbean artefact was made a decade after Columbus' voyage to South America and was carved out of African horn. The *Taino* figurine demonstrates how fluid material culture can be in terms of 'ownership(s)' and how difficult it can be to ascribe to delineated geographically constructed boundaries. Within such contexts ideas begin to circulate over the review of the concept of a bounded state in postcolonial Africa (see also Appadurai 1993: 411). Further historical examples contesting national ownerships include among others, the Afro-Portuguese 17th century ivory saltcellars commissioned by the Portuguese and carved by the Edo and Sapi in Benin City and Sierra Leone respectively (see Bassani and Fagg 1988).

Thirdly, the conception of an overarching cosmopolitan or 'universalist' culture may be heralded as having a potential and inclusive value that transcends or cuts across sovereign territories, as by doing so, it appears to resolve, or at least dissolve, tensions of ownership. In practice however it raises complex issues that relate to belonging and how these are constructed specific to Western notions of ownership. The concept of 'universalist' culture also implies focusing on societies' similarities or commonalities and rejecting bounded differentiations. It could thus be argued that within a framing of 'universal similarities', all visitors to the slavery exhibition (NMG) would empathise more and experience heightened shared affinities and intimacies with each other, than if presented with a framing of culture and history as 'exclusive', divisive or 'separate' (which recalls ethnographic practices in 19th and early 20th centuries, see chapters 1 and 2). Thus Qwaqwe (pers. comm. 03.04.07) emphasized the reconciliatory role of Elmina Castle, and Yao Dzamefe (pers. comm. 15.06.07)

claimed that “global heritage is peace building” (see also UNESCO [2005: 2] and ‘Peace Museums’ in Duffy [1993]). However, in the reinterpretation of transatlantic slavery, repercussions over agency, over what was done “to whom and by whom” (Rowlands 1999: 130) posed particularly acute complexities in ‘peace building’, as historically deplorable acts were committed by a range of groups (including Africans) upon one another. At the time of my research in Ghana, the role of African slave traders was sometimes acknowledged at these cultural heritage sites in guided tours. This makes ‘universalist’ claims to a mutually shared past incompatible or incommensurate to the differently positioned groupings who visit these cultural heritage sites leading to contestation and alienation.

A further narrative in the concept of ‘universal patrimony’ (Chastel 1986: 421 appendix 1:45^{CCXCV}) that underlies notions of the universal museum examines, for example, Napoléon Bonaparte’s conquests and his regime of re-appropriating material culture from overseas in the late 18th century (Chapter 2). Depositing Italian and North African war booty in his museum, Napoléon claimed these works as universal patrimony ‘for France’. The shift towards ‘universal art’ for the benefit of the French public demonstrates firstly how ‘ownership’ became transferred or circulated and secondly, how ultimately at any given time, someone or some organization had to be responsible (through care, display or interpretation) for the works^{CCXCVI}. Singular transnational definitions of ‘ownership’ over tangible material culture are the outcome of these dynamic trajectories two hundred years on. If we now consider hypothetically that Napoléon’s motivating forces were not to deprive defeated nations of their own cultural heritage, or for the wider concept of ‘France only’ to enjoy unlimited

access to the works, but instead, to extend this shared experience of display and discovery to truly universal levels of access through circulation. This approach would correspond more legitimately to 'universalist' claims of cultural heritage. At this stage therefore, according to the above model, current attempts to adopt 'universalist' approaches, particularly in museum contexts have been undermined. Levels of access to global cultural heritage have still not reached universal reciprocal or democratic stages (see case studies in 7.2.2 that deconstruct 'universalist' claims), and this remains despite Simpson's (1996: 1) assertion that museums have been undergoing radical change with regards to dominant and suppressed cultures^{ccxcvii}.

7.3.1 Cross-cultural collaborations

In the light of exploitative legacies between Europe and West Africa (which resurfaced during the bicentenary of the abolition of slavery in 2007 in Ghana), Dzamefe (pers. comm. 15.06.07) believed that international cultural collaborations mediated reconciliatory issues in the postcolonial environment^{ccxcviii}. In response to Cuno (2009), Tiffany Jenkins^{ccxcix} has counter-argued that because museums are about the past, they should not attempt to provide present-day solutions to conflicts. Jenkins accused museums of being politically naïve and of obscuring contemporary factors that lead to conflicts. Her particular interpretation of the museum relies on a definition restricted to artefacts from the past, which rejects the notion that cultural institutions can dismantle assumptions of historical continuity in order to play an important role in local, national and international politics. Yet, museums as established cultural entities can and should be utilized as ongoing critical sites to engage in transnational cooperation and to promote international relations through exchange (and development, see Lord [2006: 2] and see Besterman [2011: 17]). Since taking up the post of director of the BM in 2002, Neil McGregor has worked with British and international governments to forge strategic ties. One example is the Museum's conservation department's involvement in the protection of the National Museum in Baghdad during the Iraqi war (ongoing since 2003) and conservation projects with Nigerian national museums. In this respect, the BM claims 'universality': its website^{ccc} stated in 2009 that the museum is 'in London', 'in the UK' and 'in the World', and that "The British Museum's collection is worldwide in origin and is intended for use by the citizens of the world."

The BM has attempted to establish engaged relationships with non-Western museums and has offered training services and assistance with infrastructure and security (for further examples, see Simpson [1996: 255]). Its website^{ccci} stated that it had set up what it termed a 'memoranda of understanding' with organisations in the following countries in Africa: Kenya, Senegal, Mali, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Ghana and Zimbabwe^{ccci}. In 2006 the BM was involved in an important collaborative exhibition 'Hazina, traditions, trade and transitions in Eastern Africa' at the National Museums of Kenya (NMK). According to Kiprop Lagat (conference *Africa's Fragile Heritage*)^{ccci} curator of the exhibition, curator at the NMK, on secondment to the BM in 2004 (Heywood 2005: 30) and doctoral candidate, the aims of the project were to cement relationships between the two institutions and to implement programmes to enable BM staff to go to Africa to train local staff and to source local materials. Part of the project was to develop legal instruments to facilitate touring exhibitions and to curb illicit antique trafficking. Lagat insisted that effective partnerships and exchanges led to increased access to and sharing of information, collections and research. In preparation for the exhibition, Lagat was the first African curator to be given unlimited access to European museum collections for the first major loan in terms of quantity to an African institution (the NMK) for the exhibition on Swahili cultures (MacGregor and Williams 2005: 58). The project was well received in Nairobi and lasted from March 2006 to March 2007^{ccci}. Lagat concluded that sharing exhibitions promotes an understanding of world cultures. Of these valid points however, Lagat neglected to refer to the hegemonic relations underpinning the project. Anonymous NMK sources (pers. comms. 2007) felt that the standard procedures of high levels of security measures that were demanded by the BM conditions of insurance whilst the

loaned artefacts were in Nairobi had an undermining impact, such as, for example, not permitting NMK staff responsibility for the keys to the exhibit cases outside of opening hours. Lagat also neglected to refer to the infrequency of such projects to date or, to what is the crucial fact that the selected collections encompassed Kenya's regional networks of cultural exchange rather than between, say, Europe and Africa. The project left little room for universal cross-cultural exhibitions or for the 'illumination' of cultures from other parts of the world outside of the region^{CCCV} (see also Curtis 2006: 120) and thereby was implicit in reproducing the format of the postcolonial afro-centric African museum.

In Fombori (Mali) the project coordinator of the CultureBank (pers. comm. Baga Cisse 26.11.06 appendix 1:46) was, despite his personal reservations, in favour of the village being nominated for the World Heritage List as a means of better looking after the site and to protect and valorize it. In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Director of the musée de Lubumbashi stated (2007: 37) that the museum enjoyed support for improving infrastructure, security, exhibitions, personnel, administration and research from the following countries and organizations: Belgium, France, Holland, USA and from the musée de Tervuren, EU, UNDP and UNESCO. Cross-cultural collaborations are not new. The national museum of Mali benefited from cooperation with the musée de Bardo in Tunisia in 1984 and former director Grace Krokroko (the Volta Regional Museum, Ghana, in Chapter 6) twinned her museum with a museum in the United States. SAMP (African-Swedish Museum Network) has also worked to twin exchange programmes between museums in Africa and Sweden and the National Museums of Kenya curated the 'Asian-African Heritage exhibition' in 2000 with assistance from Asian communities in Kenya (Abungu

2005: 152). The NMG^{cccv} received a grant from the Italian government to renew its galleries in 1998 and has since benefited from support from the Swiss Embassy^{cccvii}. One of the most exciting and widely cited collaborations dates to the exhibition *Vallée du Niger* in 1995^{cccviii}. The collaborative exhibition toured to several venues in West Africa, and as such, appeals more succinctly to definitions of 'universalist access' than to hegemonic discourses that underlay the former projects described above. The *Vallée du Niger* exhibition was collaboratively curated by staff from the MNM, the musée national des Arts Africains et Océaniens (Paris), the Philadelphia Museum of Art (USA) and the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde (the Netherlands). According to oral accounts and reports it was an immense success and generated high visitor figures in Bamako. Launched in Paris in 1993, between 1994-96 it toured Bamako, Ouagadougou, Lagos, Niamey, Nouakchott and Conakry (Vansina 1995: 491). During an interview carried out with the person in charge of the African collections at the musée du Quai Branly (MQB), Aurélien Gaborit (09.10.09) stated with regret that the *Vallée du Niger* exhibition was the last successful collaborative museum exhibition that France had been involved with in Africa to date.

Recent links between European museums and institutions in Africa include those forged between the musée du Quai Branly and the 'École du Patrimoine Africain' (EPA) in Porto Novo, Benin. Gaborit (pers. comm. 09.10.09) explained that attempts had been made to coordinate a joint exhibition, yet this had fallen through due to misunderstandings, misconceptions and disagreements. Contrasting views had clashed, for example, over positionings of material culture as either 'idea artefacts' or as 'testimony artefacts'. EPA curators submitted a proposal for an exhibition that followed 'A-Z' themes (A is for

Algeria... M is for Masks... for example), which did not correspond to the musée du Quai Branly curators' visions in Paris. The MQB proposed instead to foster international cooperation by sending by USB, key data regarding all the artefacts in the MQB collections to national museums across Africa^{cccix}. The well-intentioned project recalls Miller's critique (1984: 2) of Western museums' reactions to restitution claims, where "one of the responses of Western Museums' administrators to third world repatriation claims is to send foreign aid – to build and staff museums". Furthermore, MQB narratives deployed terminologies of collaboration that were over-generalised and riddled with clichés, such as "to weave durable ties", "to dialogue between cultures" and "[...] the exchange of questionings, perceptions and perspectives which will enrich our institutions" (le Guevel 2007: 109 appendix 1:47).

Collaborations that indirectly affect the museological field also deserve a mention. Archaeological projects and excavations have benefited from financial support by associating local with foreign researchers (Kense 1990: 152). Cooperation has led to improved facilities for museums and archaeologists, such as the project initiated by Desmond Clarke to establish museum facilities to house archaeological collections from excavations in Ethiopia (Posnansky 1982: 354). According to colleagues in the UK, Mali and Ghana, archaeological collaborations have forged close connections between teams of individuals at universities and other institutions in both locations on the basis of personalised as well as institutional ties. In practical terms, excavations were carried out jointly between international students and students from indigenous universities and colleges. Both were provided with reciprocally beneficial opportunities to work and live together, to share training skills and access to necessary equipment. Well-established and close relationships have grown as a result

over the years between academics inside and outside of Africa (pers. comm. Keïta, Malian archaeologist 22.09.06), of which the research in Uganda funded by the British Institute of East Africa and the UK-Africa Partnership Programme serves as an excellent example (see Ceri Ashley's work at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, pers. comm. Ceri Ashley 24.02.10)^{cccx}.

Increased collaborations between cultural heritage institutions in Europe and Africa are a welcome and necessary positive step. In theory they improve access to knowledge about the past for indigenous communities whose material cultural heritage is displayed abroad in museums, such as, for example, in London or Paris. Training programs benefit students who do not have economic means to travel abroad for their studies, or whose universities do not offer appropriate courses in this field (which is unfortunately the case for many African universities, see Elkins [2007: 6-7] on Art History as a discipline in universities)^{cccxi}. It could also be suggested that assistance in the form of improving infrastructure and providing training have absolved museums in the West from addressing pressing issues of the restitution of artefacts (see Chapter 8). Importantly, the narratives of collaborative projects above have followed largely a 'north-south' trajectory^{cccxii}. Kamwanga (2007: 38) lamented that the majority of cooperation came from the Northern hemisphere and argued that now "black Africa must demonstrate her legendary generosity and solidarity" (see also the 'Brussels Declaration by Artists and Cultural Professionals and Entrepreneurs' 03.04.09). The promotion of good relations between neighbouring African countries through the exchange of cultural heritage projects has remained relatively low on governments' priority lists (in contrast to the promotion of cultural heritage to boost international tourism in Ghana for example, as highlighted at the start of this chapter). There still

remains insufficient recognition of how museums and cultural heritage can contribute to development and how they can promote access to more diversified economies (Fogelman 2008 and pers. comm. George, NMG intern 08.05.07).

To my knowledge there have been no museum exhibitions to date curated by West African museologists that have encompassed non-African cultures. The photography biennale hosted by the MNM ('rencontres de la photographie') that has gained international recognition, invited contemporary artists from six African countries plus one from outside the continent in 2003 but by 2009 no country outside of Africa was being invited^{cccxiii}. Recent debates in the contemporary art field (Tate Modern London symposium *Curating in Africa* 21.10.10) have demonstrated commitment towards more reciprocal and collaborative approaches to curation and display (through artist residencies for example) that has not yet been developed in the ethnographic museum field. The debates led to the Tate Modern temporary exhibition (29.07.11–16.10.11) 'Contested Terrains', co-curated by Kerry Greenberg (Tate Modern) and Jude Anogwih (of the Contemporary Centre for Arts, CCA Lagos). The exhibition involves the work of four artists from or working on the Continent and will tour to the CCA in January 2012. Significantly, it does not include pieces by non-African related artists also working on the topics of 'contested terrains' but non-African artists and curators have been invited to Lagos for example. More examples of contemporary international exhibitions held in Ghana and in Mali are organised and funded by foreign embassies and international bodies, further illustrating the underlying extents of political control and hegemonic relations in these fields (the French Embassy in Bamako and Accra, the Goethe

Institut in Accra and the Institut Français^{cccxiv} in Bamako)^{cccxv}. To a great extent, external financing has been hindered by the limitation of financial costs involved in organising and putting together an exhibition.

Due to a general lack of funding allocated to the cultural sector by national governments in Africa, to the legacies of colonial museums of 'identities' and to new global economic trends, cultural institutions world-wide are embracing increasingly 'universalist' approaches towards collaborative projects of cultural exchange. In order to critique 'universalist' discourses in terms of the hegemonic relations they construct, I advocate a closer inspection of mutual and reciprocal exchanges and projects to be developed (certainly in terms of exploitation and appropriation [Clifford 1997: 194]) in new directions such that the subaltern South becomes the dominant partner in setting agendas.

Localised definitions of museums carried out in visitors' and non-visitors' surveys indicated that they were widely perceived as places where "old things" that were part of the national heritage were kept. Introducing the idea that museums could teach about cultures outside of the national boundaries and outside of Africa were frequently met with quizzical responses, followed by the view that this could be a good thing. Sidibe (conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* 09.09.06) suggested "we need to look outwards" and he also maintained that museology should change every fifteen years. Likewise, a Fombori resident in Mali, Ismael Ongoiba (pers. comm. 27.11.06) declared that it would be interesting to see artefacts from America in the museum — things that he had never seen or even imagined before^{cccxvi}.

Conclusion

“Regarding the capacity to open up the museum to cultures of the world: one appreciates better one’s culture vis à vis or when confronted by those others of the world... but how to do it? Like the museums in Europe – on other cultures!” and “We need to look outwards, which we are not doing, perhaps because we have always been looked at by the others?” (conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* Sidibe 09.09.06^{cccxvii} appendix 1:51)

I have argued that ironically, due to their trajectories, museums across the African continent are already distinctive with respect to their Western counterparts, and that *this* is their colonial legacy (Chapter 3). Largely due to economic circumstances at independence it became clear that to attempt to replicate European ethnographic museums in the field along the model of satellite “mini-British Museums”^{cccxviii} was neither feasible nor desirable from the outset in the new independent states fashioned from the French and British colonial territories. The trajectories, range and construction of museums in West Africa undermine claims of universality of Western museums (as discussed in the first part of this chapter) and at this historical moment, offer new possibilities for African museums. This ties into discussions in the second part of this chapter on new reciprocal relationships and exchanges in the exhibitionary field.

In her work on colonial and world museums, Nelia Dias (2000: 26 appendix 1:48) regretted that the newly formed nation states did not lead to a re-questioning of the museums (see also Abungu [2005: 151]). Apart from name changes that indicated political change^{cccxix} (Robert 2007: 19 and Kamwanga

2007: 19 appendix 1:49), institutions continued to apply the same Western constituted ethnocentric terms of classificatory systems and epistemological developments that were linked to processes of ethnicisation funded by and within these new nation states. In terms of the distinctions between ‘museums of identity’ and ‘encyclopaedic museums’, the modern *African-centric* museums in Mali and Ghana still remained relatively unchanged from their beginnings. The association with ‘identity museums’ (MacKenzie 2009) was sustained during my research by definitions such as sites “to show your things to others” (Boureimi Diamitani, executive director of WAMP, conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* 9.09.06)^{cccxx}. Yamadou Diallo (pers. comm. head of Education MNM 16.09.06) explained the role of the museum as “a space to represent the public” and Dzamefe (pers. comm. 10.03.07) as a place “where I can learn about myself - it’s empowering”. An interpretation of national museums as ‘identity museums’ helps to define cultural institutions in West Africa, enabling our understanding of them as spaces that exist for the preservation of indigenous material culture and as spaces that merely confirm previous knowledges (Aradeon 2002: 136) rather than as spaces for a ‘universalist’ discovery of material cultural heritage. There exist other possibilities for these sites to be further integrated into local practices of everyday life.

Recent projects described in this chapter, such as the Hazina collaborative exhibition, have demonstrated the feasibility of an increase in collaborations in the field of museums, international loans and touring exhibitions to be incorporated into future projects. Significantly, an anonymous British curator (pers. comm. October 2009) could not foresee in theory any logistical

differences between the loan of an artefact of Chinese origin (for example) from departmental collections if similar artefacts of African origins were already being exchanged. I encountered enthusiasm during fieldwork research for the idea of introducing world cultures in museum exhibition displays *in situ*. Indeed, Kwadwo (pers. comm. MPM 13.04.07) claimed that the world would become a “global village” if everyone were able to learn from each other. In order for the museums under discussion to exist truly “for the service of society” (ICOM^{ccccxi}) it is the duty of African curators to request, even demand, touring exhibitions of world cultures to visit their own museums and to participate in the global circulation of artefacts. And it is the duty of curators in the ‘North’ to facilitate these processes if they are to advocate the concept of ‘universalist’ approaches to access^{ccccxii}. Writing on the return of human remains to the Torres Strait in May 2011, Felicity Heywood (2011: 17) observed succinctly that, indeed, “power relationships shift”. As Clifford asserted in 1997 (214), given the history of museums and other cultural institutions to date, my concerns raised thus far may, too, appear utopian. However I also agree with his statement that “it is utopia in a minor key, a vision of uneven emergence and local encounter rather than of global transformation”.

An education about world cultures other than one’s own does not necessarily lead to an erosion of self-identity and through processes of self-regulation it can enable a better understanding of local issues and concerns (Grefe 2001: 28-29 and Sidibe above). It is important to maintain the distinction here between ‘universalist’ approaches in museums and global homogenisation (see Okeke-Agulu 2007: 205-7 on art history in Nigeria and globalisation). Bennett (1988: 76) noted that mid-19th century exhibitions sought to instil among the mass

publics the ability to “know and be known [...] to become [...] both the subjects and the objects of knowledge”. Sylla (pers. comm. deputy director of the Institut de l’Education sociale (IES) in Mali 09.01.07) enthused that in practice, his students as well as himself would be interested in museum exchanges through exhibitions on Chinese culture or thematic exhibitions on trains or shops^{cccxxiii}. This approach within exhibitionary practices does not necessarily lead to global homogenisation, as to argue so disregards the constitution of local modernities by its siting in local, regional and intercontinental networks and the degree of social agency in appropriating and/ or discarding ‘things’ within a globalised world (see Cole and Ross 1977; Mbembe 1985; Latour 1993). I put forward and develop in Chapter 8 that the future museum in Africa can build upon past localised and regional identities *alongside* world identities and that the two compliment each other and appeal simultaneously to overseas and indigenous audiences.

Chapter 8 Democratising representations — conclusion

“The search for a collective identity typical of the nationalism of colonized peoples as compared with the need to justify imperial conquests by displaying (and thereby reducing) the ‘primitive’ culture of the vanquished Others. The anthropology museum is the statement of national maturity: power to minoritize other cultures” (Köngas-Maranda 1979: 187-89).

8.1 The power of culture

West African postcolonial museums emerged out of the legacy of a European model that framed Africa and its material culture in particular colonised ways. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, artefacts were used within the European model to articulate specific relations of power, where racial, regional and ‘ethnic’ ‘differences’ were represented and accentuated through their display. Along with the International Exhibitions these spaces used new discoveries to stimulate development and excitement about ongoing social transformations. Nostalgia for the past was projected onto ‘other’ societies. After the emergence of African nation states, museums in West Africa struggled to find a place among their own localised societies. My research has exposed some of the consequences of such marginalisations in the museum. I have suggested that ways in which publics become distanced (including in terms of local notions of ownership) from museums and collections (physically, administratively, conceptually) can be directly linked to the more hierarchical and top down relations of power exercised in state museums (see Nadel 1951 in Kuper 1996: 127 and Foucault 1980). At the Fombori CultureBank (Mali, see Chapter 6) there existed locally constituted notions of collective ownership at the

community-run museum that could provide a nexus for re-configuring the museum as a local institution. The institution 'belonged' to village members. Power relations were acknowledged, diffused and negotiated between the villagers and the elected members of the local management committee (although this did not prevent certain conflicts arising, page 241). Power relations are less negotiable at national institutions such as the musée national du Mali (MNM) and the National Museum of Ghana (NMG), where wider representations of different culture groups generate genuine concerns over appropriation. Who really owns the information on the artefacts of different culture groups, for example? Who decides what to exhibit in terms of prominence, and how? How are the voices of the 'non-visitors' from different culture groups incorporated? And who has the legitimacy to actively re-interpret those culture groups in their absence? Through direct reference to ownership and appropriation of material culture in the museum, these considerations reflect the concept of 'cultural brokerage', the power relations and the hegemonic systems that have enabled localised cultural knowledges to be appropriated, to be externalised and re-presented within museum environments by the state (see Köngas-Maranda 1979: 187-89 above and for parallel critiques, see O'Hanlon 1993; Clifford 1997; Lidchi 1997).

Maintaining the remit of museums as being '*for the service of society*' (ICOM), the contextual background of this research project has been a consistent focus on and commitment to the categories of the 'non-visitor' as a heuristic device as a means to understanding why national museums in Mali and Ghana continue to be marginalised by certain groupings. The 'non-visitor' was a generic category of groupings that did not frequent the museum. The majority of

informants identified within these groupings were male and female, above primary school age. They were accessible (had time to participate in discussions) and were on the whole actively employed (such as teachers, market traders and taxi drivers). As a non-visible category in the museum, their absence was integral to the research project and provided an original methodological approach, the result of which contradicted notions of 'Western' legacies as the core reason for staying away from the museums. My findings generated a wider range of topics that included for example the display of sensitive indigenous heritage, with the appropriation or glossing over of hidden local histories; representations of ethnicised identities; effects of Islam; outmoded (and unchanging) subject matter and lack of relevance to contemporary audiences (which I shall develop in particular in this Chapter). School children and overseas visitors constituted by far the largest visiting categories to museums in Mali and Ghana. Where school visits may contribute to upholding perceptions of the cultural authority of the museum and to modes of inculcating citizenship (Althusser 1977: 158; Karp and Kratz 2000: 217), school children themselves did not tend to have particularly high expectations. Along with overseas visitors, they constituted a 'guaranteed' public that rarely returned to the museum. My research among museum administrative staff, taxi drivers, women tending stalls in the market, artists, village elders, local businessmen and entrepreneurs for example, elicited a wider variety of responses and demands about the museum. Despite sometimes strong and emotional reservations, it is significant that at no point during my research was it implied or suggested that museums should cease to exist.

This concluding chapter looks at shifting target audiences in Mali and Ghana in order to widen and diversify current definitions of museums (Vergo 1989: 41) beyond concepts of ‘identity museums’ that currently define the afro-centric museums of Mali and Ghana. Through repatriation issues, I consider firstly the legitimacies to represent ‘other people’s pasts’ or the *poetics* of exhibiting (Lidchi 1997: 153). The challenges that arise are positioned within a pragmatic, museological framework to consider how to move forward whilst negotiating the hegemonic concepts of national heritage that are still inherent to museums, i.e. the *politics* of exhibiting (ibid). Building upon qualitative historical narratives and drawing from my own data I offer some careful deliberations in “critical museology” (Shelton 2009: 7-13).

8.1.1 Cultural restitution^{cccxxiv}

Ownership of material culture has shaped or determined the field of museum exhibition practices and the resultant discrepancies that have occurred (see Kaspin 2002: 325). The political histories within which artefacts were looted, stolen, salvaged and purchased across West Africa reflect the dominant positions of explorers, colonial administrators and museum curators or collectors at that time^{cccxxv}. More specifically, such contexts have allowed for a continuation of particular aggregations of authority over the *representation* of indigenous communities in ethnographic exhibitions. It is this conceptual appropriation in the exhibition field that I develop at this stage. The approach does not come into direct conflict with claims for the repatriation of material culture. Rather it attempts to develop contentious issues of ownership in

pragmatic ways that are constructive key considerations for future participants in the international management of material culture.

Asymmetrical claims of ownership in international museum fields are most often associated with the physical acquisition and holding of artefacts and have become increasing sources of contention since the 1960s and 1970s (see Nason 1997: 238). The Parthenon marbles exhibited at the British Museum (BM) and currently the concomitant demand for repatriation by the Greek government is perhaps the most famous and illustrative example of these debates. Further well-known examples are the raid of the Royal Palace in Kumasi in 1874 and the 'Benin Bronzes' taken by force during the British punitive expedition of 1897 and dispersed in their thousands to museums in London, Berlin and around the world (Ben-Amos 1980; Clifford 1988; Mack 1990 and the BBC 'Stolen goods, National treasures' T Robinson (dir.) 2000). In the West, the debates have widened recognitions of alternative relationships with material culture from other parts of the world. In some cases they have sparked major international debates over identity claims. Works that remain in foreign museums have led to accusations that they are denying the restoration and construction of identities elsewhere (see McEvelley 1991; Kaplan 1994). The fact that museum galleries often neglect to acknowledge or refer to the conditions in which works were acquired not only reinforces hegemonic underpinnings but is considered a further affront in calls for their repatriation (Smithsonian Museum for instance, [Karp and Kratz 2000: 198]; the beaded crown worn by the Elepe of Epe confiscated in 1903 now at the BM, [Curtis 2006: 120] and Nok sculptures at the MQB [Opoku 2011]).

The most common argument deployed against the return of artefacts is that more visitors will see them at international museums in Paris, Berlin, London, New York (see MacGregor and Williams 2005; Price 2007; MacGregor and Serota 2009). Large museums are concerned with the gradual depletion (and splitting up) of their collections if repatriation claims become successful as weak collections attract fewer visitors, less funding and a reduced sense of purpose. The KNMP in Accra for instance suffered from having inherited weak collections because Nkrumah's life's works were conserved and displayed at Harvard University (pers. comm. Quaye, KNMP director 23.03.07). Further arguments raise ownership and conservation issues. If Western museums had not collected, housed and conserved artefacts they would not exist today (Bani 2001: 13). Wars and pillage or neglect would apparently have ensured their intentional destruction, as , for example, the Buddha statues that were destroyed by the Taliban (in Afghanistan 2003) and the burning of the tombs of Buganda Kings, Kasubi World Heritage Site, Uganda 16.03.10^{cccxxvi} (but for counter-arguments, see Eyo 1994: 346 and Jones 2010). A final consideration deployed against the return of artefacts is that 'universalist' museum claims seemingly contest the nature of quests to recover tangible heritage that are inextricably associated with the reaffirmation of fixed, delineated (national) boundaries (see Chapter 7).

To date, major museums in the West have been 'protected' from bowing to pressure to repatriate parts of their collections by definitions in accordance with Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs) and legalities in place such as the UNESCO 1970 Convention, the UNIDROIT 1995 convention and the 2003 Declaration on the Importance and Value of Universal Museums. The Declaration was signed

exclusively by major European and North American institutions, revealing some aspects of the hegemonic relations inherent to these debates. Curtis (2006: 120) critiqued the Declaration in part for an essentialist interpretation of material culture as secular and aesthetic art (to which I return below). To support his argument he cited Alfred Gell (1998: 3) who claimed that “the desire to see the art of other cultures aesthetically tells us more about our own ideology and its quasi-religious veneration of art objects as aesthetic talismans, than it does about these other cultures”. Furthermore, non-Western interpretations of material culture were rejected in repatriation claims on behalf of the MQB by Germain Viatte (former director of the National Museum of Modern Art in Paris) who retaliated that France, for example, is “both ‘universalist’ and secular” (in Price 2007: 124). Concepts of humans belonging to *cultures* rather than to *societies* (Strathern 1996: 22) further destabilise formal legislations over securing ownership rights (or IPRs), as do claims that address the ways in which the past has allocated certain rights to particular collective groupings which vary from culture to culture. It is worth noting that constraints over material culture ownership debates also apply to the flow of museum information and knowledge and how it circulates globally between societies with important consequences for the restriction of ethnographic data or “border controls on the form of knowledge” (Brown 1998: 204).

On the other hand in repatriation claims, artefacts are considered within a metaphoric cultural heritage context as active repositories to build identities in the present. In 2002 upon the much-publicised return of the 19th century British-looted Ethiopian ‘Tabot’ to the Ethiopian church, the Ethiopian Minister for Youth, Sports and Culture, Teshome Toga, announced that it was “a historic

day for all Ethiopians^{”CCCCXXVII}, associating its return with the state. The, often sacred, works cultivate a sense of pride and affinity with the societies that produced them and aim to foster an underlying sense of common origins or descent from distant pasts, even if fictitious, and in some instances, *extinct* societies’ pasts (see Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983 and Clifford 1997: 211). These interpretations appeal to a common sense of belonging, of ownership particularly of the pre-colonial past as well as seemingly offering an alternative to the colonial identities imposed from without (for example, in the same case as above, an Ethiopian supporter claimed in a BBC report “It is a victory for the Ethiopians over the British”). Re-interpretations of pre-colonial pasts through material culture have consequentially been key tools in forging the processes of nation building and the construction of national identities (Gore 1997: 54). Negotiations of memories and identities are furthermore, incidentally, centrally located in current museums’ interpretations of the past, drawing upon a consistent, if somewhat nostalgic view of the collective past (Werbner 1996: 4).

8.1.2 Cultural restitution within the context of museums

“What better than the museums could present and organize a common cultural identity, as a catalyst for identity for a nation under construction [...]?” (Negri 2006: 41)

Continuing with narratives of the pre-colonial collective past, the museums that we have looked at in Mali and Ghana presented a national (“uncontaminated” [Karp and Kratz 2000: 215]) identity sustained by nostalgia and the ongoing politics of identity. Key artefacts at the NMG and MNM were displayed as ‘essentially Malian’ or ‘essentially Ghanaian’. The NMG did exhibit and contain

in its collections replicas of artefacts from ancient Rome, Egypt and other archaeological finds from outside the region. However, when displayed, these were at the little-frequented mezzanine level, were poorly labelled and generally more neglected (see also Crinson 2001: 244). Malian and Ghanaian icons tended to centre on interpretations of regional distanced pasts. By consistently rejecting internal social changes or external influences on local society^{cccxxviii} and by embodying dramatic cultural changes in terms of loss, the museum staff projected identities in the galleries that differed from the ways in which informants perceived their contemporary identities outside the museum walls. McLeod (2004: 54), for example, cautioned that collections themselves can risk losing their significances if museums present them in aesthetic ways that do not always correspond to their actual role in society^{cccxxix} (see also Arnoldi's [2002] study on the Bamanan *Sogow* masquerades in Mali and Ben Enwonwu's [n.d.] advocacies in Chapter 3 page 131). As West African ethnographic museum models, the MNM and NMG authenticated but they also romanticised, 'fossilised' (Fabian 1983) and even froze societies in space and time through the ethnographic present (Cohen 1988; Scott 1991; Shelton 1992; Hallam 2000). David Lowenthal (1985: xxiv) has suggested that an expansion of heritage is precipitated by anxieties and rapid social changes in the present, which leads to static interpretations of the past because we are no longer intimate enough to be able to re-visit it "creatively" in the present. The suggestion may not appeal in similar ways to those claiming repatriation by subscribing to the intimacy of the past (albeit framed by ethnographic concepts dependent on a delineated and static interpretation of identity). At the NMG and MNM however, Lowenthal's argument helps to demonstrate how the past was presented in timeless and reductionist interpretations in museums.

On the topic of exhibiting indigenous material culture overseas I encountered relatively little resistance from individuals inside and outside the heritage field during fieldwork. I was informed by both directors (pers. comms. Sidibe 14.01.07 and Maisie 16.03.07) that neither the NMG nor the MNM had submitted significant repatriation claims to overseas museums. There may be political motives to sustain strategic relationships with international funding bodies. Instead there was a heavy impetus on sensitivising projects and extensive efforts in Mali and Ghana to combat the illicit trade of trafficking in antiquities (see African Arts 1995 special edition 'Protecting Mali's Cultural Heritage' and Chapter 5). Informants hoped to forge stronger international relationships by sharing and displaying their own heritage overseas (see also Simpson 1996; Clifford 1997). The display of sensitive artefacts in front of women and the uninitiated (such as the kòmò mask, Chapter 5) was also considered less of a risk overseas than at the national museum^{ccccxxx}. I was made aware of the sense of pride that cultural heritage was able to be appreciated and admired by others (see also Merrill, Ladd and Ferguson 1993: 541). In accordance (and echoing 'universalist' discourses), efforts at the MQB in Paris, for instance, have been to demonstrate that Dogon statues can and should be as well-regarded as the painting of the Mona Lisa by da Vinci (Pierre Hanotaux, Director General of the MQB, 2006)^{ccccxxxi}. Repatriation issues from the viewpoint of certain Europeanist curators, state bodies and particular African constituencies (for example, the Oba of Benin has in the past actively pursued his claims in the UK via the politician Bernie Grant as a public advocate) were not encountered in a similar way during my interviews. Perhaps

this was more a reflection on my own positionings despite assurances that it was not.

The restitution of material culture to societies that made them or previously *owned* them is based on complex and multiple positionings over time that allow for multiple claims on their ownership through the contingencies of their life histories (see Appadurai [1986] for example). Topics of repatriation and the positions of museums evidently generate extensive emotions, research and literature, indeed Clifford (1997: 208)^{cccxixii} has critiqued that when issues of repatriation [...] are raised, “the unanimity can dissolve” (see Eyo 1994; Schmidt and McIntosh 1996; Strathern 1996; Niec 1998 and Opoku 2008 to cite just a few). Arguments on ethnographic collecting and colonialism are not always to be considered wholly negatively. O’Hanlon and Welsch (2000: 4) and Rowlands (2011: S27) described historical instances where artefacts were intentionally discarded (“riddance”) through ritual processes or were commissioned for sale to museums in Germany.

Views on restitution will differ between individuals and communities, their perceived relationships with the works and how they were acquired. They will also differ among museum staff, artists, curators, art historians, archaeologists, anthropologists and other heritage professionals. Moreover, opinions vary according to how the artefact is perceived and what value it is perceived to have dependent upon pre-conceptions: distinctions appear currently irreconcilable between two interpretations of artefacts, having ‘aesthetic’ or ‘artistic’ value (Curtis 2005: 51), and as a marker (MacCannell 1976: 41) of identity, an index of power, a testimonial artefact, sacred or redundant to

society, for instance. Brown (1998: 194) explained these tensions as falling into two classifications which can be termed 'literal' and 'metaphoric'. 'Literal' referred to a set of recognised definitions outlined by Intellectual Property Rights (IPRs), which may be the category supported by museums and state institutions, and a metaphoric ownership, appealing to the moral relationship between a group and their ideas and practices. A closer analysis incorporating what it is that 'non-visitors' want in the construction of identities in present museums and a review that widens cross-cultural relations is needed as outcomes of these dichotomies.

8.2 The "Intercultural encounter" (Brown 1998: 204)

"The flow of our works was not commensurate with the inflow of materials coming into your museums. Yet still I think that photographs of items from other places would be useful. You know, to inform the public about what is elsewhere. So I think that part is not available and I think it would be important to do that." (pers. comm. Yao Dzamafe 19.03.07)

That museological approaches in West Africa differ from European models (see Dzamafe above) and that they need to diversify to accommodate the tastes of non-visitors is not new. Case studies of diversified strategies through innovative outreach projects were explored in Chapter 6 (see also Abungu 2005: 151). Projects such as the 'Jeudis Musicaux' at the MNM (last attended 24.02.11) continue to flourish and attract large local crowds of 'non-visitors'. The MNM botanical gardens inaugurated for the fifty years celebrations of independence have been very well received^{cccxxxiii}. Diverse strategies specifically adapted to target and to be of benefit to 'non-visitors' are efficient ways of appealing to wider ranges of audiences (Brown 2009: 162, see also Simpson 1996: 248)

who are 'pulled' into the museum spaces even if not always into the galleries (see page 264). They act as social bridges between museums and local communities though, admittedly are not all successful. The VRM workshops disintegrated due to lack of funds. The CultureBank in Fombori is looking 'tired' and run down (pers. comms. anonymous, 10.02.10 and 25.11.10). Non-visitors' needs need to be ascertained further through localised dialogues with these categories of publics, by incorporating localised memories and widening contents that correspond more effectively. To avoid further ongoing marginalisation, various and varying categories are important to be addressed with non-visitors.

Despite a general sense of awareness and respect for the past and elders (and ancestors') ways of life, it became apparent during interviews among younger urban museum non-visitors that they rejected the explicit and implicit hierarchies of a more conservative "idyllic" past society (pers. comm. Bato 11.11.06, see also Steiner 1993: 125 and Adande and Arinze 2002). They certainly no longer recognised themselves so much in museum interpretations of their pasts^{cccxxxiv}. This corresponds to A. B. Konare's (2000: 22) remarks on "[...] the hardening of positions around values that are undoubtedly shared but which belong to another era" (see also Martel 1984: 12). A further point is that local museums (including community outreach projects) were anchored in local culture and national museums encompassed diverse communities within the nation state (A. O. Konare 1995a: 7). The Kumasi Fort & Armed Forces Museum covered Ghanaian military history and the Musée Muso Kunda (the 'Women's Museum')^{cccxxxv} in Bamako exhibited exclusively Malian womens' attires and customs. Outside the museums, local and regional learning, or,

learning 'about oneself' was also heavily promoted through state media (television, radio, organised festivals). On learning 'about others' on the other hand, ideological aspirations founded upon distorted imports from abroad were locally believed to encourage younger generations to reject their own cultural heritage(s) (pers. comms.). Oumar Maïga (former employee at the Malian National Education Institute [2002: 38]) expressed his reservations about the lack of control or 'regulation' of representations of the rest of the world in Mali. Popular television series in Mali tended to cover highly stylised love stories imported from Brazil, *Les secrets de l'amour* (see also Marchand 2009: 143) and Ghana imported series from the United States such as *Friends* and *Everybody hates Chris*. The salient interests lie here in the responsibilities of museums to bring less distorted representations of the rest of the world. By broadening understandings of non-regional societies, museums have the potential to intervene "ethically, intellectually and creatively to enrich people's lives" (Shelton 2009: 7). Rowlands (2011: 34) has stated that it is "naïve" to assume that the museum is for many people to visit, yet, as above, museum spaces in Mali and Ghana do have the potential to be utilised in more effective ways for local audiences.

Without turning these narratives into discourses of the 'self' and the 'other', museums' dynamic interventions can help to understand and interpret cultural diversity as important tools for learning about oneself *as well as others* or about oneself *through* others individually and collectively (Karp and Kratz 2000: 195). Ways of 'being in the world' can be positively sustained by museum interpretations of 'alien' or 'foreign' or 'other international' cultures and societies, as a "progressive effect" (Bennett 1995: 48) or an awareness of 'differential

relations', or what Brown (1998: 204) termed "the intercultural encounter", enabling an improved understanding of cultures and societies which includes one's own. In the light of curiosities into overseas' cultures and societies investigated in this research project, new forms of representation of world cultures and societies can be achieved through 'intercultural encounters' that reach beyond regional histories of Mali and Ghana (see also Mew 2011).

8.3 Opening up future dialogues

“A philosophy that underlies all our policies, is that museums aren’t really concerned with objects; the objects really just represent people and relationships between people, past and present” (Chris Anderson, South Australian Museum 1993, cited in Simpson 1996: 265).

This Chapter began with the deployment of material culture in exhibitions and museum displays in West Africa and Europe to reveal the ability to manipulate, distort and construct an image or overview of a culture or society not only nationally but particularly cross-culturally: “the Other” is not just found, but *made* (Fabian 1991: 108 and see Fardon 1985: 8; Karp and Kratz 2000: 207). My final focus is less concerned with the artefact per se (Anderson above) or its circulation or levels of access to it in Mali and Ghana but rather with the relations of power that enabled and can enable appropriating or constructing the representation of a groups of people within new globalised exhibition contents and contexts. Exclusionary regimes that have emerged in this thesis thus necessitate a final review within these contexts that incorporates the needs of the museum ‘non-visitor’. The approach opens up new dialogues for contingent possibilities and directions for exhibition displays within a ‘universalised’ and regionalised museum circuit.

The reciprocal circulation of artefacts across international museums and exhibitions has been addressed according to ‘universalist’ discourses in Chapter 7. The ‘Hazina’ exhibition demonstrated the feasibility of transnational loans from the BM’s collections that have become a welcome reality.

Documented responses from Malians and Ghanaians have demonstrated

genuine interests in exhibitions that exposed foreign cultural heritage and aspirations to be aware of other social worlds (see also Brown 1998: 200). Within a truly reciprocal framework, which is integral to 'universalist' arguments, I put forward that exhibitions be curated by Malian and Ghanaian indigenous curators, students, artists, specialists, individuals (or a combination) in order to constitute their own 'bodies of knowledges' of 'Western' societies according to localised discursive formations (Foucault 1989; Hall 1992: 291). The physical circulation (or return) of artefacts and their authenticity become secondary in this model to the democratic capacities to represent and interpret another group of people or society at exhibitions. The implication widens curatorial authority by seeking to redress and redefine hegemonic relationships.

In terms of curatorial practice I put forward the suggestion that Ghanaian nationals curate exhibitions through a variety of means (replicas, or images [see Dzamefe page 327], or texts) on the royal regalia of Saudi Arabia for example. Exhibition themes may vary to include further ethnographic topics^{cccxxxvi}. This model for the management of exhibitions addresses concepts travelling from North to South; widening curatorial authority and audiences, and diffuses discourses over heritage ownership in the future. Building identities by seeking to resolve historical events that have been committed through reparations, apologies and repatriations focus too heavily upon the past^{cccxxxvii}. Rather, empowerment through a *democratisation of representation*^{cccxxxviii} in exhibition contexts opens up 'encyclopaedic' museums worldwide. Sidibe argued in an interview that "Africa looks too much at its navel, it needs to move forward" (pers. comm. Sidibe 14.01.07). The former Minister for Education in Benin (during an organised debate in Bandiagara, Mali, 09.12.06 appendix 1:53) also

urged a refreshing change in this direction. He questioned whether African philosophers have to constantly repeat what their ancestors believed, or whether they should be “moving onto other things?” Shifting transnational power relations in an intercontinental exhibitionary context is an active process of direct benefit to the diversification of future museum audiences in Mali and Ghana, and fulfils the principles of museums being ‘at the service of society’.

Conclusion

From a background in museum anthropology studies with a particular interest in exhibitionary practices and how the public receive them, my approach to understanding tangible material cultural heritage has primarily viewed artefacts as testimonial palimpsests. My key interests have been in the information that tangible material can yield such as the way in which societies and cultures are constituted through artefacts (see also McLeod and Mack 1985: 6) and how these are shared, received, or not, with a particular focus on the 'non-visitor'. These have been the threads running through my research project on museums and their collections in Britain, France, Mali and Ghana. Because of the shifting social contexts of artefacts (Shelton 2000: 155, 185), they become subjective palimpsests in that they tell multiple stories and have changing roles and significances over time and according to different people. In the same way as entangled memories and divergent histories have caused tensions between the past and the present at heritage sites and in museums (Chapter 7 and Shaw 2010: 252-3), artefacts and the ownership of artefacts have led to ongoing repatriation debates (in this Chapter). A salient consideration is that tangible material culture as well as concepts ought to *travel* between places (Clifford 1997: 213). When they 'travel' between places, people and regimes, they inevitably exchange and even share ownerships. They are redefined and subjected to re-interpretations, which raise issues of agency over representation in terms of 'curatorial' or 'ethnographic authority' (Karp and Kratz 2000: 204). A means of diffusing these issues is by advocating touring exhibitions through the global circulation of artefacts, of loans and collaborations in wider directions as well as through a democratised representation in exhibition contexts.

Several themes emerge from this thesis research. Where access to collections in 19th century Europe enabled learning about the rest of the world, it was also a form of spectacle and making of the citizen through the “centralization of knowledge” (Foucault 1979: 217 and Chapter 2). From the early 20th century the accumulation of ethnographic material from West Africa for European museums was largely enabled by colonial positionings and led to coercive relations of power being carried out across the territories with ‘museums of identity’ being established according to preservationist methods (Chapter 3). Museums in Mali and Ghana found it difficult in the 1960s to embrace new modes of representation in the museum and the making of new publics within emergent expressions of nationalist power. The role of the MNM for example was not perceived as a new public space but as a storehouse for “old things” at the time (page 168) (for interesting counterarguments, see McLeod 1987). Exhibiting or, arguably, *appropriating* indigenous material culture by state employees at national museums undermined local positions of authority and power. The dominant architecture of museums (and other state buildings) in Europe as well as in West Africa has been designed to inflect the power relations between those ‘in control’ and those ‘controlled’ (Chapter 5). Such ‘objectifications of power’ are crucially manifested through allusions of (inclusive or exclusive) ownership of museum collections and their display (on agency, ownership and power, see Niec 1998; Brown 1998; Rowlands 2002: 109; De Jong 2007; Cuno 2009). Inclusive or exclusive ownerships are defined according to the modes of representation employed by institutions and by levels of access to the collections (which are difficult to determine though appear to be stronger at community museums, Chapter 6). These vary according to

museums and their own practices and, I argue, carry significant ramifications for the non-visitor to the museum.

Agency and curatorial intervention are inherent to discourses on representing and displaying indigenous societies. Allowing for and encouraging transparent reciprocal representations of world cultures by indigenous museum staff across West Africa can serve to inflect and reshape intercontinental relations of power. My own contribution to these debates has taken an interdisciplinary approach that argues against the dichotomies of 'African' and 'Western' approaches to heritage (where the former tends to imply for now, a fossilisation, and the latter, a continuous, active use). Rather, as I have argued, I do distinguish between 'identity' museums and 'encyclopaedic museums' (page 135). Museums in Mali and Ghana need to diversify from 'identity museums' and be recognised as able to provide adequate tools for development for the localised 'non-visitor' (opening up knowledges about the world built upon non-restrictive, indigenous interpretations and world-views). Having identified a problem with museum visiting in Mali and Ghana, the purpose of this research project on the roles of national museums has been to revisit discourses on 'what museums are for Africa' through extensive fieldwork inside and outside of museum spaces and has led to re-position these debates within contemporary contexts with the aim of opening up future dialogues on claims to universal heritage by global institutions.

Appendix 1: French text (chapters 1-8)

Chapter One

1 "L'ensemble du corpus décrivait la planète alors connue; mais il ne se confondait plus avec ces compendiums du savoir cosmographique que le moyen âge avait produit." (Defert 1982: 17)

2 "le monde est venu à nous" (Hall 1990: 112)

Chapter Two

3 "...les stratégies des français étaient d'acculturation et de détruire les tissus sociales" (pers. comm. Sada Samake 10.02.10)

4 "Les fonctionnaires qui sont depuis quelques temps dans la colonie, en connaissent très bien les principaux types artistiques et prévenus à temps, peuvent se le procurer sans peine." (Gouverneur van Vollenhoven 1918: 3)

5 "[...] Il est bon d'enregistrer sans retard des traditions qui ne sont pas encore tout à fait dénaturés dans les pays déjà islamisés et qui, dans les régions encore intactes, ont conservé – ou peu s'en faut – leur pureté. (Equilbecq 1913: 12)

6 "Pour but: Sauvegarder les manifestations typique de l'art indigene soudanais; fournir des inspirations à l'industrie européenne; faciliter les envoies aux expositions coloniales en Europe" (Equilbecq 1916)

7 "Leurs confreres anglais créent des modèles copiant plus ou moins les types indigenes, mais les avantages de ces innovations ne sautent pas aux yeux" (Gouverneur van Vollenhoven 1918: U31)

8 "Son but est non seulement de former des ethnographes specialisés, mais encore de dispenser à de futurs fonctionnaires les connaissances ethnologiques dont ils auront besoin aux colonies, d'organiser et d'appuyer les missions d'étude et de centraliser les enquêtes et les travaux" (Mission Dakar-Djibouti 1931: 6 see also Conklin 1997: 196)

9 "Il a inventé une museologie d'avant-garde, puritaine, avec une elegance raffinée, où l'objet parlait pour lui-même et par lui-même"
(www.quaibrantly.fr/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=1369 accessed October 2007)

10 "Jusqu'à alors entreprise par des professeurs (Émile Durkheim, Marcel Mauss, Lucien Lévy-Bruhl) qui connurent ce paradoxe de la fonder et de l'enrichir sans pratiquement jamais quitter leurs chaires, cette recherche, à des rares exceptions près [...] restait coupée du terrain" (Jamin in Leiris, et al. 1996: 14).

11 "un instrument de propagande culturelle et coloniale [et] pour les futurs coloniaux ou pour les coloniaux tout court, un centre précieux et indispensable de documentation sur les populations qu'ils sont appelés à administrer." (in Leiris, et al. 1996: 26)

12 "Affreux chantage!" (Leiris, et al. 1996: 194)

13 "[...] les méthodes de collecte des objets sont neuf fois sur dix des méthodes d'achat forcé, pour ne pas dire de requisition. Tout cela jette une certaine ombre sur ma vie et je n'ai la conscience qu'à demi-tranquille." (diary extract 18th September 1931 (Leiris, et al. 1996: 204)

14 "L'objet n'est pas autre chose qu'un 'témoin' qui doit être envisagé en fonction des renseignements qu'il apporte sur une civilisation donnée, et non d'après sa valeur

esthétique [...] Même marqué par l'influence européenne un objet indigène doit être récolté [...] En fouillant un tas d'ordure, on peut reconstituer toute la vie d'une société" (Mission Dakar-Djibouti 1931: 9)

15 "... intérêt touristique; liaison avec les milieux scientifiques; intérêt politique et général de l'organisation; diffusion de la connaissance des questions africaines." (1936)

Chapter 4

16 "pour nous, l'intégration, c'est dans l'unité de la diversité" (pers. comm. Sylla 11.01.07)

17 "Modibo a dit: prend ce qu'on a... les outils etcetera... pour faire la construction de la nation" (pers. comm. Samake 10.02.10)

18 "L'essence d'une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de choses en commun, et aussi que tous aient oublié bien des choses." (Renan 1882: 55 cited in van Liempd 2002: 58)

Chapter 5

19 "les Dogons sont les amis du musée" (pers. comm. Jacques 27.10.06)

20 "Sous le régime des PAS, que nous avons subi de plein fouet à l'époque, notre pays, comme le Mali des années 1990 sous celui des Cadres Stratégiques de Lutte contre La Pauvreté (CSLP) et l'initiative Pays Pauvres Très Endettés (PPTÉ), avait dû, prétendument pour recevoir des partenaires internationaux l'aide au développement dont il avait besoin – mais en réalité pour payer la dette contractée auprès d'eux –, passer par les fourches caudines et les "conditionnalités" que nous imposaient la Banque mondiale et le FMI" (Kane 2008: 15)

21 "Nous ne sommes, théoriquement, plus des colonies, mais nos pays sont soumis à des réformes économiques et structurelles draconiennes que nous n'avons pas demandées à propos des-quelles la majorité de la population n'est pas consultée et qui, de surcroît, appauvrissent et assujettissent." (Traore 1999: 12)

22 "Combien des écoles vont au musée? Liberté peut être, deux ou trois autres... mais est ce que ça c'est quoi par rapport aux nombres à Bamako?" (pers. comm. Sanogo 19.01.07)

23 "L'architecture est plus appréciée par les étrangers" (Suteau 1995: 24)

24 "... il y a aussi le public qui voyage, l'élite, qui regarde la télé etc, qui sont conscient de leur culture, ils sont d'ici mais pas d'ici – ce public aurait besoin d'apprendre leur culture, quand ils sont à Paris, ce serait bien qu'ils en parlent avec leurs amis de leur culture." (pers. comm. Sidibe 14.01.07)

25 "Le public malien, dont un pourcentage conséquent vient pour la première fois, ne sait pas comment se comporter et, de peur de paraître ridicule, n'ose pas toujours prendre les renseignements dont il aura besoin pour satisfaire sa visite." (Suteau 1995: 26)

26 "La solidarité: on ne peut et on ne doit apprécier l'action d'un homme isolé de la vie et des aspirations de la société dont issue et au sein de laquelle il vit d'où résulte l'obligation des entre-aides." (transcription from Year 9 schoolbook, Abass Ongoiba, Lycée de Douentza)

27 “Le musée est partout. Au lieu d’aller dans un bâtiment, il faut prendre le car et aller au village. Les familles gardent les objets. Il faut aller dans les zones, ça c’est le musée.” (pers. comm. Sylla 9.01.07)

28 “Si je veux apprendre sur les Miniankas, je vais aller avec un ami Minianka dans son village pour une semaine. C’est vivant!” (pers. comm. Sylla 9.01.07)

29 “J’ai vu le Kòmò exposé à tous: hommes, femmes et enfants!” (Diallo 2000: 38)

30 “On a besoin de beaucoup de musées dans un seul musée... peut être qu’on essaie de trop faire?” (pers. comm. Sidibe 14.01.07)

Chapter 6

31 “Le futur des musées est dans les musées communautaires” (audience’ response, conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* Bamako 09.09.06)

32 “[...] Seulement, lorsqu’elle était partie elle avec l’équipe là que j’ai dit là (elle n’était pas la seule quand même) mais lorsqu’elle est partie à Bandiagara, ce qu’elle a vu au préalable d’elle pour voir le jardin, en même temps, après la visite du jardin ce qu’elles ont vu par hasard une équipe équivaut à vingt touristes qui venaient dans un camping dans un campement à Bandiagara où il y avait quelques objets d’art et tous sont venus, ils sont rentré, ils ont mangé d’abord, après avoir mangé, ils ont visité et ils ont donné de l’argent et quand ils ont donné de l’argent, ils ont vu qu’ils avaient acheté les objets. Tu as compris? C’est comme ça qu’elles se sont dit que “ah mais ça là, c’est un moyen d’avoir de l’argent” - les autres sont venues, ils ont mangés ils se sont arrêté dans la galerie d’art et ils ont payé de l’argent à ces objets là et voilà que ces gens ont assez d’argent. Là maintenant ils ont pu juger nécessaire que quand elles reviennent elles vont chercher à faire la même chose parce qu’elles sont capables parce qu’elles ont beaucoup d’objets d’art aussi. Maintenant quand elles sont venues, elles ont commencé à faire ceci ici dans le village. La Mariam Oulogem, qui nous a conduit là bas, quand elle a vu qu’elles étaient en train de faire ça, maintenant elle en complicité avec les volontaires de la Corps de la Paix – elle a même cité Abdoulaye [Todd Vincent Crosby] et Felix Cross (bon elle a un peu oublié...) maintenant en complicité avec les volontaires de la Corps de la Paix, elles ont dit que maintenant au lieu de faire des centres féminins comme ça, essayer de regrouper tous les objets qui sont dans les centres et on va faire un seul centre unique où vous pouvez faire tout ce que vous avez besoin et Todd Vincent Crosby leur a promis que ça ne serait pas volé et que même si c’est volé c’est lui qui sera le garant, que même si c’est volé, c’est lui qui va payer – pour pas qu’elles aient peur.” (transcription, Aissatou Ongoiba, 27.11.06 translated by Baga Cisse 14:46, 49mins)

33 “Si réellement l’africain se sent impliqué dans le musée, le développement durable pourra venir” (conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* Bamako 09.09.06, Bundjoko 2006 and see also Bundjoko n/d)

34 “[...] les langues vernaculaires avec un différent lexique du patrimoine – pour rapprocher les populations et rapprocher les populations aux musées” (Robert 2007)

35 “Ça c’est les leçons, ce n’est pas bien de vendre parce que l’argent qui vient d’avoir vendu - tu vas voir - tu va manger et ça a fini. Pendant que tu as peu d’argent et que ça fini vite et que tu as vendu ton bien, ton patrimoine.” (transcription, Aissatou Ongoiba, 27.11.06 translated by Baga Cisse 14:46, 49mins)

36 “Que Dieu t’accompagne à ton aller et revenu que Dieu te preserve du malheur invisible, que Dieu te rammène dans la paix” (debate *Etonnants Voyageurs* Bandiagara 09.12.06)

37 “Les nobles, castes et captifs sont des couches très importantes – ce monde est bouleversé, tout ça est dû à la situation économique. Plus personne ne sait qui ils sont, par exemple un noble en train de faire de l’indigo...” (pers. comm. Baga 27.11.06)

38 “[...] qui rendent parfois la prise de décisions et la position difficile, et la position institutionnelle des musées assez inconfortable. [...] Mais quand on va en région, les institutions de toute commissions regional de la culture, ou autoterritoriale, ca rend encore plus evanescente qu’elles ne peuvent l’être à Accra. Donc ce n’est pas du tout facile.” (Director of Cultural and Cooperation Services at the French Embassy in Accra, pers. comm. Francine Meyer 17.05.07)

39 “On sent moins la peseur institutional en province – c’est plus petit, on arrive mieux à plus faire.” (pers. comm. Francine Meyer 17.05.07)

Chapter 7

40 “là où dialoguent les cultures” (<http://www.quaibrantly.fr/> accessed 17.07.10)

41 “Si dans nos sociétés traditionnelles, l’idée de musée, au sens propre, est relativement récente, il n’en est pas de meme de la notion de collection. En effet, les populations de l’Afrique noire conservaient d’importantes collections d’objets matériels qui remplissaient diverses fonctions dans les différents secteurs de la vie des communautés: équipement de production, instruments d’échanges, symbole de pouvoir, materiel rituel, etc.” (Lema 1991: 81)

42 “[...] Mais le sens du patrimoine, c’est à dire d’un heritage Artistique et monumental où l’on peut se reconnaître, était toujours loin de se définir dans la société française.” (Chastel 1986: 420)

43 “[...] absolument, c’est vrai que c’est très flatteur” (pers. comm. Francine Meyer 17.05.07)

44 “Je veux que le Blanc me reconnaisse comme un frère, pas comme un ancien esclave. Si je devais choisir un musée à construire, ce serait celui des tirailleurs Sénégalais, pas celui de l’esclavage. Je ne veux pas qu’on me rappelle toujours mon infériorité.” (Kelman 2005: 25)

45 “[...] et le Louvre rénové re-ouvert durablement le 14 juillet 1800, c’est-à-dire dans un monde tout nouveau. On était entré en effet dans l’ère expansionniste de la République conquérante. Loin d’être conçu comme le reliquaire de l’art français et des collection accumulées par la monarchie [...] la Galerie du Louvre devenait le gigantesque conservatoire de l’art universel.” (Chastel 1986: 421)

46 “nous sommes pas contre la modernisation, c’est un moyen de garder mieux le site, proteger, valoriser” (pers. comm. Baga 26.11.06)

47 “Se tisser des liens durables”, “le dialogue entre les cultures”, “l’échange des questionnements, des regards et des perspectives qui enrichira nos institutions” (le Guevel 2007: 109)

48 “[...] pour ce qui est des musées ethnographiques et des musées créés dans les anciennes colonies, force est de constater que la disparition du colonialisme, en tant que système politique n’a pas entraîné la mise en question des musées fondés sous ce système.” (Dias 2000: 26)

49 “Le passage du musée colonial au musée postcolonial s’est marqué par un changement d’appellation [...], mais guère par une evolution des concepts

taxinomiques [...]. La decolonisation correspond donc à un changement politique, mais pas à une evolution épistémologique.” (Kamwanga 2007: 19)

50 “Un musée est une institution permanente, sans but lucrative, *au service de la société* et de son developpement. (Il est ouvert au public et fait des recherches sur les témoignages materiels relatifs à l’homme et à son environnement, les acquiert, les conserve, les communique et notamment les expose à des fins d’étude, d’éducation et d’agrément”. (ICOM annexe 1 <http://icom.museum/definition.html> accessed 23.12.09)

51 “[...] la capacité d’ouvrir le musée aux cultures du monde: on aprecie mieux sa culture envers ou confronté à celles d’autres du monde. Mais comment faire? Comme les musées en Europe, sur d’autres cultures! [...] On a besoin de regarder vers l’exterieure, ce qu’on ne fait pas, peut être parce qu’on a toujours été regardé par les autres?” (conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* Bamako Sidibe 09.09.06)

Chapter 8

52 “à quinze ans, on n’a pas envie d’aller trouver son identité là où le musée nous projette une identité qu’on ne reconnait pas du tout” (conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* Bamako Mirette 09.09.06)

53 “Pour les philosophes Africains... est-ce-qu’ils doivent penser et répéter tout le temps ‘nos ancêtres ont pensés... ou est-ce-qu’ils doivent penser à autre chose?” (debate *Etonnants Voyageurs* Bandiagara, ex-Minister for Education, Benin 09.12.06)

Appendix 2 Personal communications referred to in the thesis (in chronological order)

Gaoussou, Education dept. MNM (Bamako), 2003-4
Yamadou Diallo, head of Education MNM (Bamako) 16.09.06
Daouda Keïta, Malian archaeologist (Bamako) 22.09.06
Salia Malé, historian MNM (Bamako) 04.10.06
Yousouf Haidara, Ministry of Education 12.04.06)
Anonymous (Bamako) 19.10.06
Yamadou Diallo, head of Education MNM (Bamako) 24.10.06
Intern at the Babemba cinema (Bamako) 26.10.06
Jacques, street vendor and informant (Bamako) 27.10.06
Koné, street vendor and informant (Bamako) 27.10.06
Bouba, waiter and informant (Bamako) 07.11.06
Bato, tailor and informant (Bamako) 11.11.06
Haoua Ongoïba, Fombori resident and informant (Fombori) 25.11.06
Ismael Ongoïba, Fombori resident and informant (Fombori) 25.11.06
Baga Cisse, project coordinator of the CultureBank (Fombori) 26.11.06
Aissata Ongoïba, Fombori resident and informant (Fombori) 27.11.06
Ismael Ongoïba, Fombori resident and informant (Fombori) 27.11.06
Baga Cisse, project coordinator of the CultureBank (Fombori) 27.11.06
Djadjie Ongoïba, Fombori resident and informant (Fombori) 28.11.06
Haoua Ongoïba, Fombori resident and informant (Fombori) 30.11.06
Amadou Aya, President of the managing committee, Culture Bank (Fombori) 02.12.06
Aldiouma Yattara, co-President of the CultureBank (Gao) 06.12.06
Salia Malé, historian MNM (Bamako) 28.12.06
Samuel Sidibe, MNM director (Bamako) 28.12.06
Igo Diarra, director of the PR company *Balanise* (Bamako) 04.01.06
Daouda Keïta, Malian archaeologist (Bamako) 04.01.07
Sylla, deputy director of the Institut de l'Education sociale (IES) (Bamako) 09.01.07
Abdoullaye Sylla, former deputy director MNM (Bamako) 11.01.07
Samuel Sidibe, MNM director (Bamako) 14.01.07
Sanogo, director general of the Direction National des Arts et Cultures DNAC (Bamako) 19.01.07
The son of a local Imam (Bamako) 22.01.07
Seydou Koumare, blacksmith (Bamako) 23.01.07
Mary Jo Arnoldi, anthropologist (Bamako) 24.01.07
Gymfri, Education Officer NMG (Accra) 08.03.07
Yao Dzamafe, director of Culture, Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture, Ghana and ex-director of the NMG (Accra) 10.03.07
Naana Ocran, head of Education NMG (Accra) 12.03.07
Gloria, PA to the Director NMG (Accra) 16.03.07
Maisie, director NMG (Accra) 16.03.07
Yao Dzamafe, director of Culture, Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture, Ghana and ex-director of the NMG (Accra) 19.03.07
Isaac Debrah, former NMG director (Accra) 20.03.07
Kodzo Gavua, Head of Archaeology, University of Legon (Accra) 22.03.07
Asante policeman informant MPM (Kumasi) 23.03.07
Quaye, director KNMP (Accra) 23.03.07
John, puppeteer KNMP (Accra) 30.03.07)

Eddie, head of Education KNMP (Accra) 23.03.07
Maisie, director NMG (Accra) 23.03.07
Taxi drivers (Accra) March 2007
Eddie, head of Education KNMP (Accra) 30.03.07
Qwaqwe, director Elmina Castle (Elmina) 03.04.07
Safu, local taxi driver (Elmina) 03.04.07
Pat, tour guide, Prempeh II Jubilee Museum, National Cultural Centre (Kumasi)
10.04.07
Antwi-Poakwa, deputy director MPM (Kumasi) 13.04.07
Kwadwo, director MPM (Kumasi) 13.04.07
David, student and informant (Kumasi) 16.04.07
Okpei, Director VRM (Ho) 27.04.07
Kjedje, head of Education VRM (Ho) 27.04.07
George, intern NMG (Accra) 08.05.07
Taxi driver and informant (Accra) 16.05.07
Kodzo Gavua, Head of Archaeology, University of Legon (Accra) 17.05.07
Francine Meyer, Director of Cultural and Cooperation Services, French
Embassy (Accra) 17.05.07
Charles, hotel receptionist and informant (Accra) 25.05.07
Yao Dzamafe, director of Culture, Ministry of Chieftaincy and Culture, Ghana
and ex-director of the NMG (Accra) 15.06.07
Anonymous sources NMK 2007
Aurelien Gaborit, head of African collections MQB (Paris) 09.10.09
Anonymous British curator (UK) October 2009
Anonymous Malian (London) 24.04.09
Informants in Bamako February 2010
Sada Samake, retired youth inspector (Bamako) 10.02.10
Anonymous sources (Bamako) 10.02.10 and 25.11.10
Abdoullaye Sylla, former deputy director MNM (Bamako) 12.02.07
Claude Ardouin, former director MNM 18.02.10
Ceri Ashley, British Academy Post-Doctoral Fellow (London) 24.02.10

Appendix 3 Notes on International Exhibitions in Paris and London 1850-1900

Dates <small>cccxix</small> and titles	Statistics	Exhibitors, Objects and key characteristics	Exhibition contents	Significant historical events	Literature sources
1 May – 15 Oct 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition, London	6 million visitors; 13,937 exhibitors; 100,000 objects; 19 acres; 170 medals	Thirty nations participated including the commonwealth nations of India, Australia, New Zealand.	Technological discoveries ^{cccxl} (barometers, Jacquard loom, firearms). Mixed assortment (motors, flowers, pottery, dogs) and fine arts (for the first time).	Britain was one of the leading nations in industry, trade, economy, colonial expansion and military prowess. The Exhibition was designed to demonstrate its industrialised lead to other nations.	Smith 1990 Benedict 1983
1855 International Exhibition, Paris	Just over 5 million	5,000 works (of which 3,634 were French) This period of Parisian history has often been referred to as 'La Belle Epoque' with its plethora of cafés, department stores (encouraging mass consumption) and attractive boulevards.	French Arts (Eugène Delacroix, Jean Ingres). Thematic and topical approaches to contents. Reconstructions, dioramas, 'mock' villages, houses, with people brought over to be part of the display. Agricultural and mineral products from French and British colonies	1851 French Coup d'Etat. 1852 Napoléon III declared himself Emperor of France. 1855 forty years' of peace in Europe since the battle of Waterloo.	Ratcliffe 1990 Coombes 1994
1862 onwards Jardins d'Acclimatation ^{cccxli}	n/a	Botany, zoology, ethnography. Tensions between representatives of the government, the whims of the general public and the scientific community.			Prasch 1990
1862	6,211,103	Deliberately more	Guided tours	1853-56	Prasch

International Exhibition, London		serious and sparked stronger national rivalries. Dichotomies between leisure (the 'flâneur') and educational pursuits.	derived from Social Darwinism. Heavy focus on typology, order and patterning	Crimean war 1857 mutiny in India 1861-65 US civil war 1861 Prince Albert 1859 <i>On the Origins of Species</i> Darwin 1864 <i>Principles of Biology</i> Spencer	1990 Clark 1984 D'Souza and McDonough 2006 Karp and Kratz 2000 Sheets-Pysonson 1987
1867 International Exhibition, Paris	Over 7 million	5,000 archaeological objects. Organised according to 'nature' and 'nation'.	The displays contained maps, diagrams, photographs and accompanying texts. Access was via a park, there were freak shows, bars, and cheap entertainment.	Parisians had a shorter week (half day on Saturday), which allowed time for leisure pursuits. 1876 Broca's Paris Anthropological society founded.	Chandler 1990 Giebelhausen 2003 Debord 1967
1878 International Exhibition, Paris		Intense geopolitical rivalries to secure overseas trade ^{cccxlii} . New phase of colonialism ^{cccxlili} .	Lectures, events at a concert hall, twenty-two statues representing the main world Powers. Celebrations of French engineering (water features and a miniature underground railroad). Reconstructions of buildings in a 'Street of Nations'. The Trocadéro Palace was commissioned.	1870 France lost Alsace-Lorraine (Franco-Prussian War). 1874 Britain declared the Gold Coast as their colony. 1874 British raids on the Asante Kingdom. 1877-81 French explorations and military campaigns in the upper Niger region (Joseph Simon Gallieni). 1878	Stengers 1962 Chandler 1990 Dias 1991 Price 2007 Baumgart 1982

					<p>Congress of Berlin 1881 French occupied Tunisia. 1882 British seized Egypt. 1884-5 Berlin Treaty (redefined colonial territories across Africa) 1884 Germany had protectorates as East Africa, Cameroon, Togo Land, South West Africa</p>	
1886	5 million visitors	<p>The last in a series of four thematic exhibitions (fisheries, health, music, colonial and Indian).</p> <p>For support for imperial expansion, visitors' interest in overseas was encouraged through overseas goods and demonstrations of moral achievements.</p>	<p>Restaurant serving colonial cuisine. Market selling indigenous fruit and vegetables. Focus on education, heritage, history, political, social and cultural life and ethnography</p>	<p>Natural History Museum re-opened (1883) Pitt Rivers' Museum (Oxford 1884) Cambridge Museum of General and Local Archaeology and Ethnology. Ashanti exhibition (1887), <i>Jardins d'Acclimatation</i> Paris. 1888 notable collections were acquired from Africa for the BM</p>	<p>Schneider 1982 Steffel 1990 Walsh 1992 Bennett 1988</p>	
1886	Colonial and Indian Exhibition, London					
1889	32 million visitors 61,722 exhibitors 228 acres	<p>Balance between instruction and entertainment. Four topics singled out for West Africa: "common language, freedom, social equality, and liberal justice"</p> <p>Boosting national pride. Speeches</p>	<p>The Eiffel Tower (2 million visitors). Military parades. Industrial machinery, fine arts and liberal arts. Wild West shows, musicals, 'Cairo Street', model villages and temples and markets from Senegal,</p>	<p>France had acquired substantial debts, an influx of foreign workers and high levels of crime. 1887 defeat of the Tukolor Empire</p>	<p>Silverman 1977; Hall 1990; Barthes 1979; (Conklin 1997)</p>	
1889	International Exhibition, Paris					

		called for peace. Coincided with the centenary of the French Revolution, 1789.	Indochina, Gabon, Tahiti ^{cccxliv} .		
1900 April - November	50 million	The French Republic entered a period of intellectual disillusionment and social unrest. The mood at the last of the big five International Expositions in Paris turned nostalgic for the past.	City tours rose, with a focus on the realism of the working environment (tours of the sewers, morgues, factories and visit the stock exchange). Colonial life: reconstructions of native life, local arts and crafts and shows at the Palais du Trocadéro and the Pont d'Iéna	First Franco-Dahomean war (1890) <i>La Société Africaine de France</i> ^{cccxliv} (1891) Second Franco-Dahomean war (1892-94) Dreyfus affair in France (1890-1900) British Punitive Expedition in Benin (1897) French cut off all state subsidies to the colonies (1900) French introduced unpopular household tax into West Africa (1900) London: first Pan-African and anti-slavery congresses (1900) <i>Heart of Darkness</i> J Conrad ^{cccxli} (1902)	Conklin 1997 MacCannell 1976 Brown 1990

Appendix 4: Major ethnographic exhibitions in Paris 1887-1896 (copied from Schneider [1982: 137])

Year	Exhibition	Attendance	Notes
1887	*Ashantis	699,905 (total at J.A.)	
1888	Hottentots Cossacks		
1889	Lapps Senegalese, et al.* (World's Fair)	854,459 (total year)	
1890	Somalis	645,607 (total year)	
1891	*Dahomeans Egyptians	959,430 (total year)	
1892	Carabs	679,750 (total year)	
1893	*Pai-Pi-Bris *Dahomeans (Champs-de-Mars)	2,700,000c	225,060 frs. gross receipts
1894	*Tuaregs (Champs-de-Mars)		closed due to fraud charges
1895	*Sudanese (Champs-de-Mars)		372,000 frs. gross receipts
1896	Madagascar (Champs-de-Mars)		

*Exhibitions from West Africa

Appendix 5 IFAN guidelines

http://ifan.e-ucad.sn/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=31&Itemid=68 (accessed February 2009, see also Adedze 2002: 50)

At its inception, the Institute's key missions:

"1 - to carry out, to create and to promote scientific work relative to Sub-Saharan Africa in general and to West Africa in particular;

2 - to ensure the publication of and the diffusion of scientific studies relating to IFAN's mission;

3 - to collate the scientific collections and documentation necessary for the generating knowledge of issues relative to *Afrique Noire* across IFAN museums, archives and libraries;

4 - to participate in the application of laws over the classification of historical monuments, excavations, the exploration of ethnographic objects or African art, the protection of natural sites, of fauna and flora;

5 - to collaborate in the organisation of conferences and international conferences and in the cooperation of exchange with national and international institutions;

6 - to participate in the cultural renaissance of Africa and in the africanisation of education programmes, notably by diffusing through all means (conferences, publications, seminars etc), the results of one's research."

Appendix 6 Memorandum on Museums (Enwonwu n.d.)

Kew Archives/ Correspondence
REF: CO/927/31/4 (28040/9/)

My dear Sir,

I am sending the Memorandum but I have not included the Museums. I feel that as Mr Maxwell-Fry is back in England nothing more could be done about suggestions and replanning. I thought that the sort of Museums for West Africa should be very big houses which take after the style and shape of the old shrines. The interior should be gloomy and at some dark in order to revise that ghostly atmosphere in which the old works dwelled but adapted to a modern society by building such structures with cement and concrete, tiles, etc – anything in the way of European building material which are more durable.

I thought that some structure like Rudolf Steiner's Goetheanum would lend more to the spiritual quality of the old art objects which the Nigerian Government wishes to preserve. I think they look dead in foreign Museums not because they are miles away from their native land – because now even in their native land their houses have almost completely decayed – but because they are placed in the wrong atmosphere, in which they are exposed to the ordinary eyes of men and women. Their powers of mystery and ritual things have been cut off. It is like stripping off the mask-wearer and exposing him to the spectators – men and women. I think the old works are ashamed in foreign museums. Some of them are weeping; the others shed tears and look shy against mauve background and glass cases. They were not made for glass cases. They feel that they are buried in such places.

... calabar museum: should be housed in the cross river and calabar juju houses (not anything – the old works won't have any meaning for us; the African politician will begin to question this attitude, and students of art and anthropology... the old works themselves will have been twice shamed to death, the contrast will become so vivid that Africans will even misunderstand the intention of the government to preserve the old work, more than we do today, and saying "ah, they are only making a fool of us"... "Whenever the educated African looks at these things and compares the position of the art student with that of the science student, he has no other alternative than to disbelieve in what the government says about African art, African culture. Even those in the government do not seem to believe in their efforts 0 hence their efforts are half-hearted.

Ben Enwonwu

Appendix 7 Report on the Preservation of Antiquities and on the establishment of Museums in British West Africa (Braunholtz 1948a)

Kew Archives/ Correspondence
REF: CO/927/31/4 (28040/9/47)
1st March 1948

(b) Building of Museums and Storehouses.

1. Museums are required to house and exhibit all removable antiquities, whether found by excavation or otherwise, and comprehensive ethnographical collections.
2. Each museum should be in the charge of a qualified curator (initially a European), with at least one assistant.
3. Museums should be of permanent fireproof construction and provided with adequate storage space, workshops and offices; also, in some cases, with a reference library and a student's room. They should be so designed as to permit of future expansion. If possible some air-conditioning should be provided, and in all cases special attentions should be paid to ventilation, equability of temperature, and diffused lighting. Dustproof exhibition cases and store cupboards are essential.
4. As a temporary measure, pending the completion of museums, spacious weather proof and fireproof storehouses should be provided, to each of which a caretaker should be attached. Such storehouses might well be planned as an integral part of the future museum buildings, and should have a well lit room or section in which exhibitions of selected objects could be held, so as to encourage donors by giving some publicity to their gifts.

Small local storehouses are also required in places where there are objects to be conserved which cannot be removed on account of local sentiment or for other reasons.

The need for storehouses is most urgent, and they should have a high priority in the antiquities programme.

C) An essential item of the policy will be the training of Africans for their future duties as museum assistants and ultimately for the higher responsibility of curatorship. Suitable men should be sent to England for technical courses and practical experience in established museums.

Nigeria [...] and has in general preserved its traditional culture and craftwork in greater abundance and perfection than the others.

Appendix 8 National Museum of Ghana visitor statistics, November 2006

SITE NAME: NATIONAL MUSEUMS
 MONTH: NOVEMBER 2006

ARRIVALS BY NATIONALITY					ARRIVALS BY COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE					ARRIVALS BY TOWN/DISTRICT (RESIDENTS ONLY)					REVENUE BY SERVICES/ACTIVITIES	
Nationality	Arrivals				Country of Residence	Arrivals				Town / District	Arrivals				Services Provided	Amount ₵
	Adults	Stds /Chn	M	F		Adults	Stds /Chn	M	F		Adults	Stds /Chn	M	F		
AMERICANS	122	50	94	78					ACCRA	89	31	71	99			
DUTCH	9	6	11	4												
GERMANS	11	2	6	7					ACCRA		48	20	28			
BRITISH	7	5	3	9												
AUSTRALIANS	6	1	5	2					ACCRA		57	24	33			
AFRICANS	13	4	9	8												
JAPANESE	14	3	11	6					TEMA		71	38	33			
BELGIANS	4	3	5	2												
CANADIANS	8	7	10	5					ACCRA		90	53	37			
NORWEGIANS	4	4	5	3												
ITALIANS	16	12	20	8												
FRENCH	18	3	14	7												
Total	232	100							Total	89	347	Total				

= 332

= 436

Total = 768

Appendix 9 Questionnaire sample MNM, circulated between November 2006 – January 2007

Merci de mettre un cercle autour de vos réponses ou d'écrire sur les pointillées.

1. Age 2. Masculin/ Feminin 3. Nationalité

4. Groupe ethnique 5. Profession

6. Avez vous déjà participé aux Jeudis Musicaux?

OUI - Est ce que vous allez revenir? OUI pourquoi?

.....
NON pourquoi?

NON - Est ce que vous allez revenir? OUI pourquoi?

.....
NON pourquoi?

.....

7. Avez vous déjà visité les salles d'expositions?

NON - Pensez vous un jour visiter les expositions?

NON pourquoi?

OUI pourquoi?

OUI - Combien de fois?

- Qu'est ce que vous avez préféré au musée? (*Choisir un seulement*)

le jardin de la préhistoire salle textile le café/ restaurant

salle d'archéologie salle d'objets rituels la boutique

la documentation l'accueil le calme

- Avec qui avez-vous visité? école/ lycée OUI/ NON

famille OUI/ NON

amis OUI/ NON

seul/e OUI/ NON

autre OUI/ NON

avez vous pris un guide? OUI/ NON

- Allez vous revenir?

NON pourquoi?

OUI pourquoi?

8. Vous aimez: la danse? beaucoup un peu non
 les griots? beaucoup un peu non
 les masques? beaucoup un peu non
 les ateliers? beaucoup un peu non

9. L'histoire vous interesse?	beaucoup	un peu	non
L'histoire de votre ethnie vous interesse?	beaucoup	un peu	non
L'histoire du Mali vous interesse?	beaucoup	un peu	non
L'hitoire d'autres pays vous interesse?	beaucoup	un peu	non

10. Est ce que le musée doit être un lieu pour: (*Choisir un seulement*)

Apprendre? S'amuser? Apprendre et s'amuser? Autre

11. Quels sont ceux qui viennent pour les Jeudis Musicaux?

Les Maliens? Les étrangers? Tout le monde?

12. Quels sont ceux qui viennent pour le musée national?

Les Maliens? Les étrangers? Tout le monde?

13. Si vous organisez une exposition, ce serait sur quel sujet?

.....

14. Si vous organisez une exposition sur le mali, quels objets vous mettriez dedans?

.....

.....

.....

15. Citez un objet du passé que vous aimez

.....

Appendix 10 Questionnaire sample NMG, circulated between February – May 2007

PLEASE CIRCLE YOUR CHOICE

Name:

Age:

Occupation:

Address:

Is this your first time to the National Museum? Yes / No

If no, how many times have you been here?

Why did you return?

Who did you come with today?

Do you think that you have learnt something new? Yes / No

If yes, what?

Will you come again? Yes / No This month? This year?

Do you think that the museum is boring, fun, educational?

What DID you like about the Museum?

What DIDN'T you like about the museum?

What 3 things would YOU put in a National Museum for GHANA?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Do you think Ghana's past is important to learn about? Yes / No

Why?

Do you like other people's history Yes / No

Why?

Do you associate museums with schools, churches OR libraries?

Why?

If you could make an exhibition on ANYTHING you like, what subject would you choose? And why?

And what would you put inside it?

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.

Appendix 11 Fiche de Catalogue (Fombori CultureBank)

Village :.....
Numéro de prêt :.....

Fiche de Catalogue

Nom de l'objet :.....

Classification: Objet religieux, Objet utilitaire, Bijouterie, Instrument de musique, Arme de guerre, Jeu, Objet décoratif, vêtement.

Description détaillée :.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Lieu d'origine :

Groupe ethnique ou culturelle :.....

Matière :.....

Propriété de :.....

Artiste :.....

Etat de conservation :.....

Mesures de restauration déjà prises :.....

Date de collecte :.....

Date de prêt :.....

Mode de collection :.....

Dessin/ Photo de l'objet

Signature du Gérant :
Signature du propriétaire :

Appendix 12 Fiche Historique (Fombori CultureBank)

Village :

Numéro de prêt :

Fiche Historique

I. Question primordiale : (48%)

Qu'est ce que cet objet? :-----

II. Question de base : (4% chacune)

Qui a fabriqué cet objet? :-----

A quoi sert ce objet? :-----

Pourquoi se sert-on de cet objet? :-----

A qui a-t-il appartenu? :-----

A qui appartient-il présentement? :-----

Quand (quelle année) a-il été confectionné? :-----

Quand l'avez-vous eu? :-----

Où a-t-il été fabriqué? :-----

Où a-t-il été utilisé? :-----

Où l'avez-vous trouvé? :-----

Pourquoi cet objet vous intéresse-t-il? :-----

Comment l'avez-vous eu? :-----

Comment est-il utilisé? :-----

III. Question supplémentaire (Bonus) : (500 FCFA chacune)

Savez-vous des histoires ou des légendes à propos de cet objet ou ce type d'objet?

Que signifient les symboles sur cet objet?

Quelle a été la procédure utilisée pour fabriquer cet objet?

Appendix 13 Demande/ Accord de prêt (Fombori CultureBank)

Village :.....

Numéro de prêt :.....

**Musée Dogon de Fombori
Demande/ Accord de prêt**

Date :-----

Nom :-----

Prénom :-----

Nom du père :-----

Nom du chef de village :-----

Date de Naissance :-----

Lieu de Naissance :-----

Profession :-----

Objectif du prêt :-----

Montant proposé (par le musée) :-----

Garantie proposée (par le propriétaire) :-----

Si le prêt n'est pas remboursé , la garantie devient la propriété du Musée Dogon de Fombori jusqu'au remboursement total du prêt.

Durée du prêt :-----

Mode de paiement :-----

Date du premier paiement :-----

Une pénalité de 250 FCFA par mois est payée sur tous les prêts qui ne sont pas remboursés à la date prévue.

Les crédits sont accordés sur la base d'un intérêt de 3% par mois.

Total de l'intérêt :-----

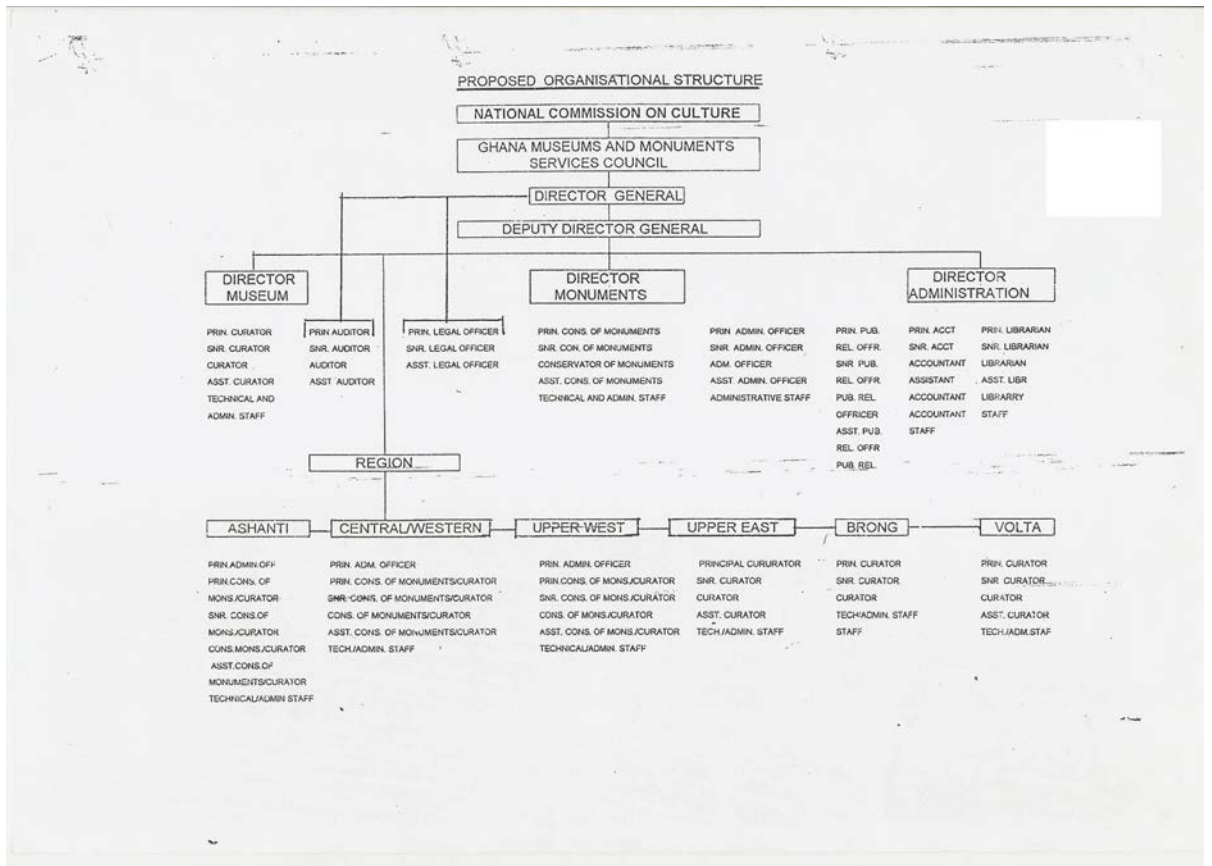
Signature de l'emprunteur :-----

Signature d'un témoin du village de Fombori :-----

Signature des membres du Comité de Gestion :

Signature de gérant :-----

Appendix 14 Proposed Organisational structure for Culture, Ghana (1980s)



Appendix 15 Visitor statistics 2006, KNMP (National Tourist Office, Ghana)

ASSIN MANSO

MONTH	RESIDENTS	NON-RESIDENTS	TOTAL ARRIVALS
JANUARY			
FEBRUARY			
MARCH	71	116	187
APRIL	83	57	140
MAY	8	200	208
JUNE	50	80	130
JULY	87	247	334
AUGUST	41	112	153
SEPTEMBER	102	73	175
OCTOBER			
NOVEMBER			
DECEMBER			
TOTAL	442	885	1,327

ASSIN MANSO

MONTH	TOTAL REVENUE
JANUARY	
FEBRUARY	
MARCH	
APRIL	
MAY	
JUNE	
JULY	
AUGUST	
SEPTEMBER	
OCTOBER	
NOVEMBER	
DECEMBER	
TOTAL	

KAKUM NATIONAL PARK

MONTH	RESIDENTS	NON-RESIDENTS	TOTAL ARRIVALS
JANUARY	4063	2061	6124
FEBRUARY	3292	1566	4858
MARCH	7,320	2,592	9,912
APRIL	4,942	2,672	7,614
MAY	3,672	1,539	5,211
JUNE	5,053	1,892	6,945
JULY			
AUGUST			
SEPTEMBER			
OCTOBER			
NOVEMBER			
DECEMBER			
TOTAL	28,342	12,322	40,664

KAKUM NATIONAL PARK

MONTH	TOTAL REVENUE
JANUARY	
FEBRUARY	
MARCH	
APRIL	
MAY	
JUNE	
JULY	
AUGUST	
SEPTEMBER	
OCTOBER	
NOVEMBER	
DECEMBER	
TOTAL	

KWAME NKURUMAH MEMORIAL PARK

MONTH	RESIDENTS	NON-RESIDENTS	TOTAL ARRIVALS
JANUARY	4104	1038	5142
FEBRUARY	2567	970	3537
MARCH	5,339	1,237	6,576
APRIL	2,222	1,167	3,389
MAY	2,158	1,042	3,200
JUNE	2,216	1,844	4,060
JULY	4,876	2,010	6,886
AUGUST	3692	3234	6926
SEPTEMBER	1,818	1,386	3,204
OCTOBER	2,187	1,134	3,321
NOVEMBER	2,814	1,009	3,823
DECEMBER	3,363	1,552	4,915
TOTAL	37,356	17,623	54,979

KWAME NKURUMAH MEMORIAL PAR

MONTH	TOTAL REVENUE
JANUARY	
FEBRUARY	
MARCH	
APRIL	
MAY	
JUNE	
JULY	
AUGUST	
SEPTEMBER	
OCTOBER	
NOVEMBER	
DECEMBER	
TOTAL	

Appendix 16 Tourism statistical fact sheet on Ghana 2000-04 (National Tourist Office, Ghana)

TOURISM STATISTICAL FACT SHEET
ON GHANA

GHANA: INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS AND RECEIPTS

YEAR	ARRIVALS	RECEIPTS (US \$ 'M)
1991	172,464	117.70
1992	213,316	166.90
1993	256,680	205.62
1994	271,310	227.60
1995	286,000	233.20
1996	304,860	248.80
1997	325,438	265.59
1998	347,952	283.96
1999	372,653	304.12
2000	399,000	386.00
2001	438,833	447.83
2002	482,643	519.57
2003	530,827	602.80
2004	583,821	649.37
2007**	1,062,000	1,562

* Provisional Estimates

** Projections

INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS FROM THIRTEEN GENERATING MARKETS

COUNTRY	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
USA	26317	28945	31834	35013	38508
UK	34546	37994	41787	45959	50547
Germany	19251	21173	23286	25611	28168
France	14418	15857	17440	19181	21096
Netherlands	9659	10623	11684	12850	14133
Canada	5361	5896	6485	7132	7844
Switzerland	3784	4162	4577	5034	5537
Scandinavia	5325	5857	6442	7085	7792
Italy	4845	5328	5860	6445	7089
Overseas Ghanaians	108609	119451	131376	144492	158917
Cote D'Ivoire	19183	21098	23204	25521	28069
Nigeria	54764	60231	66244	72857	80131
Togo	11941	13133	14444	15886	17472

IMPACT OF TOURISM ON THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

- Contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) = 4.9% in 2004
- Gross Foreign Exchange Earnings = US \$ 603m in 2003
- Net Foreign Exchange Earnings = US \$ 483m in 2003
- Multiplier Effect on Employment = 3.5
- Multiplier Effect on Income = 3.4
- Direct Employment = 46,502 in 2004
- Indirect & Induced Employment = 115,015 in 2004

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: GHANA TOURIST BOARD
TEL:(233)(021)-222153/244794 E-MAIL:gtb@africonline.com.gh
FAX:(233)(021)-244611 INTERNET ADDRESS: www.ghanatourism.gov.gh

PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF TOURIST EXPENDITURE (AVERAGE) – 1996 – 2002

ITEM	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Local Transportation (taxi, local flights, car rentals etc)	9	11	8	8	9	9	9
Shopping at Formal Markets (gifts, stores etc)	9	9	10	10	10	10	10
Shopping at Informal Markets (market, wayside areas)	9	10	8	10	9	9	9
Food and Beverage	13	15	15	16	15	15	15
Accommodation	29	31	33	31	31	32	32
Entertainment and Recreation	25	16	16	16	18	17	17
Other Expenditure	6	8	10	9	8	9	9

NUMBER OF HOTELS, ROOMS AND BEDS 1992-2006

YEAR	HOTELS		
	NUMBER	ROOMS	BEDS
1992	509	7666	10902
1993	587	8569	12112
1994	624	8857	12393
1995	580	8518	11938
1996	703	10232	13791
1997	751	10921	14164
1998	730	10879	14299
1999	834	11384	16184
2000	992	13641	17558
2001	1053	15453	19648
2002	1169	16180	21442
2003	1250	17352	22909
2004	1315	18079	23538
2005	1344	18632	23915
2006	1405	19967	28006

HOTEL OCCUPANCY RATES

HOTEL CATEGORY	ROOM OCCUPANCY (%)					
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005**
5-Star	77.8	72.1	73.4	74.2	74	79.0
4-Star	71.4	76	80.6	76.1	78.5	77.3
3-Star	64.1	62.4	65	63.1	66.5	66.1
2-Star	60	55.8	64	62.4	64.5	78.0

**JAN-SEPT

Appendix 17 Tourism statistical fact sheet on Ghana 2005 (National Tourist Office, Ghana)

TOURISM STATISTICAL FACT SHEET **ON GHANA**

GHANA: INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS AND RECEIPTS

YEAR	ARRIVALS	RECEIPTS (US \$ 'M)
2005	428,533	836.09
2006*	497,129	986, 80

* Provisional Estimates

INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS FROM TWENTY GENERATING MARKETS -2005

COUNTRY	COUNTRY OF RESIDENCE	NATIONALITY
USA	60,592	50,475
UK	60,897	36,747
Germany	17,679	14,094
France	8,296	10,089
Netherlands	14,871	13,663
Canada	9,283	8,951
Switzerland	3,559	2,391
Italy	9,307	3,955
Scandinavia	6,959	6,996
Overseas Ghanaians	-	59,821
Cote D'Ivoire	33,028	25,155
Nigeria	46,155	47,983
Togo	20,609	11,888
Burkina Faso	12,085	10,544
Liberia	17,896	14,472
Sierra Leone	8,172	6,433
South Africa	10,855	8,348
India	6,855	10,900
China	4,684	5,572
Lebanon	4,022	8,325

INTERNATIONAL TOURIST ARRIVALS BY PURPOSE OF VISIT- 2005

Business	- 92,840 (22.1%)
Conference/Meetings	- 36,687 (8.6%)
Study/Training	- 28,707 (6.6%)
VFR	- 113,839 (26.5%)
Medicals	- 4,308 (1%)
Holiday	- 83,030 (19%)
Transit	- 48,662 (11.4%)
Others	- 20,460 (4.8%)

DOMESTIC TOURISM 2006

SUMMARY OF 30 TOURIST SITES 2006(PROVISIONAL FIGURES)

MONTH	RESIDENTS	NON-RESIDENTS	TOTAL ARRIVALS
JANUARY	25,527	20,158	45,685
FEBRUARY	23,428	4,706	28,134
MARCH	50,787	9,045	60,712
APRIL	45,062	11,539	56,601
MAY	23,661	7,221	30,882
JUNE	30,584	7,803	38,387
JULY	35,289	6,145	41,414
AUGUST	28,984	7,229	36,213
SEPTEMBER	3,646	2,803	6,449
OCTOBER	10,081	3,508	13,589
NOVEMBER	10,388	2,504	12,902
DECEMBER	11,459	2,275	13,734
TOTAL	298,866	85,836	384,702

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: GHANA TOURIST BOARD
TEL:(233)021-222153/244794 E-MAIL:gtb@africaonline.com.gh
FAX:(233)021- 244611 INTERNET ADDRESS: www.ghanatourism.gov.gh

TOURIST EXPENDITURE

AVERAGE EXPENDITURE (US\$)	YEAR						
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
	*	*	1,125	1,344	1,711	1,950	1,985

LENGTH OF STAY

AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY	YEAR						
	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
	9.51	9.9	10	10.11	10.58	10.67	

PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF TOURIST EXPENDITURE (AVERAGE) - 1996 - 2002

ITEM	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
Local Transportation (taxi, local flights, car rentals etc)	9	11	8	8	9	9	9
Shopping at Formal Markets (gift stores etc)	9	9	10	10	10	10	10
Shopping at Informal Markets (market, wayside areas)	9	10	8	10	9	9	9
Food and Beverage	13	15	15	16	15	15	15
Accommodation	29	31	33	31	31	32	32
Entertainment and Recreation	25	16	16	16	18	17	17
Other Expenditure	6	8	10	9	8	9	9

NUMBER OF HOTELS, ROOMS AND BEDS 1995-2006

YEAR	HOTELS		
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1998	730	10879	14299
1999	834	11384	16184
2000	992	13641	17558
2001	1053	15453	19648
2002	1169	16180	21442
2003	1250	17352	22909
2004	1315	18079	23538
2005	1344	18632	23915
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HOTEL CATEGORY	ROOM OCCUPANCY (%)				
	2001	2002	2003	2004	2006**
5-Star	72.1	73.4	74.2	74	79.0
4-Star	76	80.6	76.1	78.5	81.3
3-Star	2.4	65	63.1	66.5	68.2
2-Star	55.8	64	62.4	64.5	78.0

**JAN-OCT

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ⁱ www.memorialmodibokeita.org (accessed 16.11.10)

ⁱⁱ There are particular references throughout the thesis where comparative discussions appear, such as, for example in Chapter Three, which is drawn largely from colonial archive records. It has been my intention however, to consider each institution within its own context and not to draw upon too many parallels especially within contemporary settings for the reasons cited.

ⁱⁱⁱ It is with regret that this thesis is not accessible to non-English speaking colleagues

^{iv} On the ethics of using visitors' books to avoid identification I omitted full names with addresses (see also Macdonald 2006: 124)

^v I attended relevant workshops: *La Culture Visuelle dans le milieu urbain Africain* ('Point Sud', 05.03.07), *Etonnants Voyageurs: le tourisme au pays Dogon* (CNA, CCF 09.12.06). I presented my work: EHESS (Paris, 2005), UCL department workshop (2006), National Museum of Ghana (2006), Royal Tropical Institute (Amsterdam, 2008), SOAS dept conference (2009), ASA 52nd Annual conference, New Orleans (2009), VAD *Continuities and Dislocations*, Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz (2010), Co-Reach & UCL *Cultural heritage in China* (2010), UCL seminar: Material Culture and Social Anthropology (2010)

^{vi} Some difficulties in conducting these questionnaires included unaccustomed publics, illiterate and shy members of the audience or misunderstanding the questions. Students tended to copy responses so we went through questions together. The overall willingness to complete the questionnaires depended largely upon one or two individuals' initiatives and their colleagues followed suit. On several occasions the questionnaires were very popular and I ran out of forms.

^{vii} This included urban and rural individuals from a wide range of backgrounds. I investigated the role of 'associations' or 'clubs' based upon ethnic ties that link village migrants with extended family members in cities. Whilst this is a fascinating area in migration studies, I was repeatedly told that the organisations dealt with economics and events served primarily a financial purpose rather than cultural.

^{viii} The 'verbalisation' of 'heritage' was encountered during the closed workshop organised by Co-Reach & UCL *Cultural heritage in China* (2010)

^{ix} It is worth noting the extraordinary move to teach positive aspects of French colonialism in public schools following the amendment 59 of article 4 of the decree in France (23.02.05) (Ferro 2005: 22)

^x (<http://www.infoplease.com/atlas/country/mali.html> (accessed 03.10.11)

^{xi} <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ml.html> (updated 24 June 2010 accessed 09.07.10)

^{xii} <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ml.html> (updated 24 June 2010 accessed 22.07.10)

^{xiii} http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1021454.stm (updated 24 June 2010 accessed 09.07.10)

^{xiv} http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1021454.stm (updated 24 June 2010 accessed 09.07.10)

^{xv} http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1021454.stm (updated 24 June 2010 accessed 09.07.10)

^{xvi}

<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/MALIEXTN/0,,menuPK:362193~pagePK:141132~piPK:141107~theSitePK:362183,00.html> (accessed 10.07.10)

^{xvii} Data collected from a national household survey (UNDP 2009: 179)

^{xviii} “UNESCO Institute for statistics estimates based on its Global Age-specific Literacy Projections model, April 2009” (UNDP 2009: 179)

^{xix} <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html> (updated 27 September 2011 accessed 03.10.11).

^{xx} <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ml.html> (updated 27 September 2011 accessed 03.10.11). In explaining this source, I quote from the website: “This entry gives the number of deaths of infants under one year old in a given year per 1,000 live births in the same year; included is the total death rate, and deaths by sex, *male* and *female*. This rate is often used as an indicator of the level of health in a country.”

^{xxi} According to the Presidents’ speech at the anniversary of 50 years of independence <http://www.malijet.com/index.php?news=27706> (accessed 15.11.10)

^{xxii} <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/GHANAEXTN/> (accessed 03.10.11)

^{xxiii} <http://www.ghanaweb.com/GhanaHomePage/NewsArchive/artikel.php?ID=180265> (accessed 24.11.11)

^{xxiv} <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/GHANAEXTN/> (accessed 03.10.11)

^{xxv} <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/mobile/world-africa-15877709> (accessed 24.11.11)

^{xxvi} <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/sub-saharan-africa/mali> (updated 4 November 2010. Accessed 15.11.10)

^{xxvii} <http://www.fco.gov.uk/en/travel-and-living-abroad/travel-advice-by-country/sub-saharan-africa/mali> (ongoing, latest accessed 03.10.11)

^{xxviii} http://www.malijet.com/a_la_une_du_mali/tourisme_combattre_l_insecurite.html (accessed 16.11.10)

^{xxix} <http://www.ghanareview.com/gifs/ghanamap.jpg> (accessed 03.10.11)

^{xxx} <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html> (updated 24 June 2010. Accessed 09.07.10)

^{xxxi} http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/africa/country_profiles/1021454.stm (updated 24 June 2010 accessed 09.07.10)

^{xxxii} <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html> (updated 24 June 2010. Accessed 09.07.10)

^{xxxiii} <http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/AFRICAEXT/MALIEXTN/0,,menuPK:362193~pagePK:141132~piPK:141107~theSitePK:362183,00.html> (accessed 10.07.10)

^{xxxiv} <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html> (accessed 03.10.11)

^{xxxv} <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/gh.html> (updated 24 June 2010. Accessed 09.07.10)

^{xxxvi} <http://www.maliba.8m.com/Musee/collecti.htm> (accessed 30.11.10)

^{xxxvii} *Bogolan* is an indigenous form of cloth dyeing and a unique manifestation of Mande culture. 10cm wide strips of cotton soaked for up to a week in *ngalama* leaves are woven together. Motifs of iron-rich mud from the Niger banks are applied to the cloth with instruments or by hand. It was (and in some cases still is) prepared by women for hunters. Its rural associations represent ‘the bush’. Inscriptions and amulets attached to the shirts protect hunters from the revenge of animals killed (see Fagg 1970: 15, Duponchel unpublished thesis, 1997, Imperato and Traoré, 2006, and Olesen, unpublished thesis, 2007).

^{xxxviii} The *Tellem* name was given to the Dogon predecessors from the 11- 16th centuries (Sidibé, et al. 2006: 50)

^{xxxix} The poro (Senoufo) is largely found in the Ivory Coast. It controls the morality of the village. The kono mask (Soninke) is found in the Segou and Sikasso regions. They serve as ‘marriages’ between individuals and as consolidating village ties. The boli (Minianka) is a generic name given to fetish works, not masks.

^{xl} For an interesting review of the real story, visit

<http://www.liberation.fr/culture/0101200336-jacques-chirac-et-le-belier-vole-le-cadeau-d-anniversaire-du-president-provient-d-un-pillage-archeologique-au-mali> (accessed 23.06.12)

^{xli} Further visitors’ comments (2005-06) included: “Nice display. Is it possible to add some dates here and there” (E Wubbe 14.08.05); “It’s a very interesting exhibition but I miss the dates of the objects” (Monika Waps Insoll, Germany 17.04.06) “No lights in the display about slavery and it is hidden away no dates on a lot of your displays” (Vincent Larida, London 01.08.06)

^{xlii} Also used to refer to cabinets of wonder/ curiosity/ rarity

^{xliii} Laurencich-Minelli (1985) cited Aldrovandi’s birth date as 1522; Murray (1904) referred to 1527 and Kim Sloan and Andrew Burnett (2003: 35) provided his death date as 1607.

^{xliv} The collections weren’t donated to the Ufizzi Palace until 1743

^{xlv} In 1657, another collection was added by Marchese Ferdinando Cospi

^{xlvi} The collections were later acquired by the British Museum (BM), then the British Library

^{xlvii} On the continent, the botanical garden at University of Padua (1545); Botanical garden at University of Bologna (1567); Botanical garden at University of Leiden (1587); Botanical garden at Heidelberg and Montpellier Universities (1593)

^{xlviii} Letter to Edward Nicholas (Secretary to the Navy) in Buckingham’s name by Tradescant (1625)

^{xlix} “For the materials themselves I reduce them into two sorts; one *Naturall* (birds, four-footed beasts, fishes...) [...] The other sort is *Artificialls* (habits, instruments, rare curiosities of art...)” (Tradescant and Hollar 1656: preface)

^l Ashmole was a founding member of the Royal Society in 1660

^{li} Hubert’s cabinet did not share the Tradescant’s levels of commitment to public access. His prestigious donations were displayed in a house near St Paul’s Cathedral in 1664. Privileged visitors could see rarities for a fee. The Royal Society purchased it in 1666, and eventually, the BM in the 1750s.

^{lii} “The whole of the cabinets described the planet as it was known until then; but it was no longer confused with those cosmological learnings, characteristic of the Middle Ages. (Defert 1982: 17)

^{liii} On the continent, the first University museum had opened in Basel in 1671

^{liv} “In the early 1700s, the Anatomy School at Oxford for example held over 400 items in its’ collection, thereby constituting quite a serious museum” (Hunter 1985: 161)

^{lv} “[...] its English equivalent ‘Repository’, [...] were sometimes used, but gradually the word *museum* came to be adopted as the technical term for a collection of objects of art, of monuments of antiquity or of specimens of natural history, mineralogy, and the like and generally of what were known as ‘rarities’ and ‘curiosities’. In the language of Dr. Johnson a museum was ‘a repository of learned curiosities’ [...]” (Miller 1974: 35-36)

^{lvi} The most intensive period of the slave trade was from 1650 to 1850 (Curtin, et al. 1978: 213)

^{lvii} In 1500, European states had political control over 7% of the land; by 1800 they had 35% (Headrick 1981: 3 in Tilly 1990: 183)

^{lviii} This period is referred to as lasting from 1680-1820 but was “a long 18th century” (pers. comm. Jill Cook, deputy keeper of Pre-history and Early Europe at the BM 17.12.08)

^{lix} Rivalries were further tested by religious differences: the state and ruling parties in France belonged to the Catholic faith where Britain had remained predominantly Protestant since King Henry VIII.

^{lx} By the early 19th century, Thomas Cook led the world’s first package tour, see also www.guardian.co.uk/travel/2009/oct/30/top-10-victorian-travel-destinations?page=all (accessed 20.05.10)

^{lxi} See for instance, T E Bowdich’s historic ‘Mission to Ashantee’ in 1817 and the ill-fated Niger expedition in 1843

^{lxii} Founded upon a group of science-minded men who formed an “Association for promoting the discovery of interior parts of Africa” in 1788 (Davidson and Neverson 1984: 41)

^{lxiii} In Paris, the Ethnological Society was founded in 1838 and the American Ethnological Society in 1842 (Sturtevant 1969: 622)

^{lxiv} When Napoleon was defeated in 1815, French museums were forced to give up a total of 2,065 pictures and 130 sculptures to their former owners (Alexander 1979: 27)

^{lxv} Together they created the Egyptian Institute in Cairo (Conklin 1997: 18)

^{lxvi} The entrance fees of 5 shillings to the 1851 Exhibition brought the nation £186,000 in profit (Smith 1990) and this was in turn, spent on the foundation of public works for the Royal Albert Hall, the Science Museum, Natural History Museum and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

^{lxvii} Altick (1978: 467) stated that visits to the BM increased from 720,643 in 1850 to 2,230,242 in 1851

^{lxviii} In 1886 the Colonial and Indian Exhibition (London) was part of a series of four annual thematic exhibitions and the first devoted solely to imperial themes (highlighting the period of intense colonial rivalry).

^{lxix} The adventures of General Gordon and his military feats overseas for example were retold in articles for young boys praising militaristic patriotism that evolved alongside Imperialist propaganda (MacKenzie 1984: 18).

^{lxx} Clark (1984: 3-5) conferred with the assertion made by Schapiro (‘Nature of Abstract Art’, 1937) that the 1860s and 1870s were the beginnings of “bourgeois recreation” (which provided a context for the Impressionist art movement).

^{lxxi} Street names included *l’avenue du Gabon* or *le passage de Tonkin*. 182 people from Asia and Africa were brought to Paris that year (Silverman 1977: 77, Bennett 1988: 96)

^{lxxii} Museologists in the 1980s have tended to advocate an analyst approach and the dichotomy continues to provide ongoing debates (see Ettema 1987; Pearce 1992; Kavanagh 1996; Moore 1997).

^{lxxiii} The 1898 Fashoda crisis characterised one of the final confrontations between Britain and France. Both nations sought a geopolitical link of occupation from North to South Africa and from West to East Africa. Two ‘red lines’ converged at Fashoda, a town in modern day Sudan. Although the French arrived first (and carrying an entire steamship across the Sahara), the British fleet was stronger (Britain had reached its ‘zenith of imperialism by 1897) and the French were defeated. The Fashoda crisis laid the grounds for the Entente Cordial between the two nations in 1904.

^{lxxiv} In 1890, the Liverpool Mayer Museum opened (the year after the Museums Association was set up, Shelton 2000: 167). Within five years, the director already noted the rise in popularity of ethnographic exhibitions (Coombes 1994: 140)

^{lxxv} E B Tylor (1832-1917) and Frazer (1854-1941)

^{lxxvi} According to Shelton (2000: 175), the publication of *The Andaman Islanders* in 1922 marked the break between British anthropology and museums. Malinowski's donations to the BM were in 1922 for instance (see Chapter 2).

^{lxxvii} In 1895, the Colonial Ministry in Paris established the Government General in Dakar to oversee all of l'Afrique Occidentale Française (AOF)

^{lxxviii} After the Second World War, Evans-Pritchard, Nadel and Audrey Richards were drafted as British colonial administrators (Kuper 1996: 115)

^{lxxix} For chronological periods preceding independence in West Africa, see Roberts (1986) or Cooper (2002)

^{lxxx} The Colony went through several name changes and was known as Upper River (1880-1890), French Sudan (1890-1899), Upper Senegal-Middle Niger (1899-1902), Senegambia-Niger (1902-1904), Upper Senegal-Niger (1904-1920) and French Sudan (1920-1958) (Henige 1970: 31). For clarification purposes, I employ the name French Sudan (or Soudan Français) consistently.

^{lxxxi} Or 'le musée Soudanais de Bamako' (Sidibe 1991: 174)

^{lxxxii} The AOF territories comprised modern day Mauritania, Senegal, Ivory Coast, Guinea, Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Benin.

^{lxxxiii} Clifford explained: "Ethnography's disappearing object is, then, in significant degree, a rhetorical construct legitimating a representational practice: 'salve' ethnography in its widest sense. The other is lost, in disintegrating time and space, but saved in the text"

^{lxxxiv} By 1930 cocoa made up nearly 80% of all exports from the colony (Hopkins 1973: 174; Szereszewski 1965)

^{lxxxv} Budget reporter, Hubert, argued (February 1920 in Roberts 1929) that for 30 years, the most important colonial debate was on imports that should go to France. Until then 90% of all exports from French territories went to the rest of the world (Roberts 1929: 611). From 1930-60, approximately 75% of the total trade of French West Africa went to France (Hopkins 1973: 174).

^{lxxxvi} In part due to her recovery from the Franco-Prussian war (1870)

^{lxxxvii} Including the Ecole William Ponty (1903) near Dakar, the Dakar Medical School, Lycée Faidherbe and the Lycée Van Vollenhoven (between 1910 and 1920)

^{lxxxviii} And High Commissioner for the Recruitment of Troops in 1918 and later Under-Secretary for Colonies (Crowder 1978 : 13)

^{lxxxix} Retired youth inspector Sada Samake referred to the French strategies "of acculturation in order to destroy the social systems that were in place" (pers. comm. 10.02.10 appendix 1:3)

^{xc} Similar to *la Réunion* today, as a 'domtom' (département d'Outre Mer) of France.

^{xci} Roberts 1929: 645 (in *La Quinzaine Coloniale* 25/5/99 p298) remarked that there were three times more commandants in 1900 in Senegal than there were district officers in 'British Sudan'.

^{xcii} This contrasted clearly with van Vollenhoven's promotion of a colonial career (see Cohen 1971: 52)

^{xciii} Renamed the Ecole National de la France d'Outre-Mer, ENFOM in 1934 (Crowder 1978: 125)

^{xciv} In Nigeria, until 1925 the Lieutenant Governor Temple had encouraged District Officers to collect historical and ethnographic information — this changed under Lieutenant Governor Palmer who preferred to work with officers who had received training in anthropology (Ballard 1972: 9)

^{xcv} The earliest attempt to create a museum in the French Sudan was in Kayes in 1900 (Adedze 2002: 54).

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- ^{xcvi} Several years' before, Delafosse for example, had criticised Governor-General William Ponty's (1908-16) views of indigenous societies as overly static: "Ponty never knew, never wanted to know, societies that wanted to change" (Conklin 1998: 67)
- ^{xcvii} *Fondation du Comité. Circulaire du 11 décembre 1915* (Bulletin du Comité d'études historiques et scientifiques de l'Afrique occidentale française 1916 p7)
- ^{xcviii} R. S. Rattray (1881-1938) was special commissioner and head of the Anthropology Department in Ashanti. He was made 'government anthropologist' in 1921.
- ^{xcix} In Nigeria, the one-time jewel in the crown of the British territories, it would have been relatively easier to establish a form of control than in the vast areas occupied by the supposedly more stateless societies of French West Africa.
- ^c The missionary system was not as developed across French West Africa. Kilson (1969: 353) noted that by the 1920s only 5,000 pupils attended Catholic or Protestant mission schools, contrasted with over 20,000 mission school students in the Gold Coast.
- ^{ci} Bitter experiences in Nigeria, for example had included the public stoning of the governor of Lagos, encouraged by "well educated Natives, English trained and clothed" (Colonial Office 1909)
- ^{cii} The British West African colonial army was created in July 1897 (Flint 1978: 295 and 307)
- ^{ciii} Following a gradual economic recovery after the post-war depression in Europe, opportunities though had not increased for the Gold Coast elite and there were strikes in the railways and mining industries, discontent and a growth in trade union organisations.
- ^{civ} Edwin Smith (1926: 198-9) blamed traders for the destruction of local arts and crafts, citing imported goods and the decline in copper goods (the mines were controlled by Europeans). He referred to the case of the Ibibios whom he claimed had replaced their masks that were used to cover the dead with "a flimsy fifth of November caricature introduced by some enterprising trader". Smith did not associate these changes with the effects of European collecting missions. Rather, he asserted that a visit to the British Museum in London demonstrated indigenous talent that needed to be encouraged.
- ^{cv} www.britishmuseum.org/the_museum/departments/africa_oceania_americas/history_of_the_collection.aspx (accessed 27.10.11)
- ^{cvi} Michel Leiris, employed as 'secretary-archivist' for the Dakar-Djibouti mission became increasingly uncomfortable with his role with state-sponsored missions and exhibitions.
- ^{cvii} The mission also raised 101 350f from activities including an important gala publicising the mission in Paris (Jamin in Leiris, Jamin and Mercier 1996: 28)
- ^{cviii} Collections from both of these regions feature extensively at the musée du Quai Branly in Paris
- ^{cix} 14th December 1931, archives du musée de l'Homme
- ^{cx} Levels of violence employed during acquisitions were not new: Cornelia Essner records Richard Kandt's correspondence on 'Ruanda' (1897) with the Deputy Director of the Ethnology Museum in Berlin: "It is especially difficult to procure an object without at least employing some force. I believe that half of your museum consists of stolen objects." (Cornelia Essner 1986 Cited in Kwame Opoku www.africavenir.org/uploads/media/Opoku_BeninBerlin_03.pdf accessed 22.03.10)
- ^{cxii} Important African collections arrived at the British Museum following the Asante wars in 1896 and 1900, and after the British punitive expedition to Benin in 1897, from Nigeria in 1905, 1914 and 1916 (from Amory Talbot) and from Emil Torday, directly commissioned by the Museum (see Ardouin 2009: 225 and Mack 1990)
- ^{cxiii} The guidelines were conceived by Griaule and edited by Leiris (Doquet 1999: 618)

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- ^{cxiii} The visitor figures are high, but in Allwood's appendix (2, page 179), he stated: "The following list is not complete. The discrepancies to be found in the records of such events makes a final definitive listing all but impossible. However, the list is based on a considerable amount of research around the world and can certainly be taken as the most accurate one available to facilitate comparison between the various international exhibitions of the past". He continues by referencing his sources (see Allwood 1977: 179 for further details)
- ^{cxiv} As early as 1897 the musée d'ethnographie et de zoologie was founded in Madagascar (Dulucq 2009: 80)
- ^{cxv} www.bnrm.ma (accessed 15.04.10)
- ^{cxvi} George Henri Rivière also compiled the inventories for the collections and documents for the Dakar-Djibouti mission (www.quaibrantly.fr/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=1369 accessed October 2007)
- ^{cxvii} Brevié studied Islamic institutions in West Africa, had previously been administrator in Niger (where native authorities were still strong). He knew Lévy-Bruhl, and Delafosse wrote an introduction to his publication in 1923 (Conklin 1997: 313nn72). Cohen (1978: 36) remarked that he was respectful and sensitive to traditional rule when he became Governor-General.
- ^{cxviii} His son, Alexis Adande later became head of the Ethnography department and then Executive Director of the West Africa Museums Program (WAMP) (Chapter 5)
- ^{cxix} Mauny's IFAN duties included the protection of monuments and sites, public education, coordinating conferences, articles and museum displays. In 1961 he published the *Tableau Géographique de l'Ouest Africain au Moyen Age*
- ^{cxx} Huxley added, with evident admiration, that, apparently, Monod "enjoyed nothing better than travelling across the Sahara on camelback, with plenty of books in his saddle-bags." (Huxley 1970: 279)
- ^{cxxi} On the concept, or terminology of 'high culture', see Rowlands (2002: 108)
- ^{cxxii} <http://ifan.ucad.sn> (accessed 12.10.11)
- ^{cxxiii} Currently the Ecole Nationale d'Ingénieurs (ENI)
- ^{cxxiv} <http://maliba.8m.com/Musee/collecti.htm> (accessed 24.08.11)
- ^{cxxv} Pleas for anthropological training for colonial officers were made by members of the India Civil Service (ICS) in 1876, 1910 and 1913 and by 1913 the first courses were offered with Radcliffe-Brown teaching at the University of Birmingham, but until 1924, these courses were not entirely taken seriously. (Kuklick 1992: 196)
- ^{cxxvi} Enwonwu was also appointed Art advisor to the Nigerian Information Office in 1959 (<http://benenwonwufoundation.org>)
- ^{cxxvii} Director of the British Museum, Neil Macgregor's comments may be worth referring to here: "Here again, the fact that we are the British Museum, and not a French one, is significant. Implicit within French museum theory is the notion that sacred objects entering museum collections must be entirely divorced from their religious context and function and take their place exclusively within a secular human history [...]" (MacGregor 2004b)
- ^{cxxviii} The University of Ibadan was built by Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry for example (Huxley 1973: 204)
- ^{cxxix} "The 'social context' in which archaeologists operate" is borrowed from Trigger's analysis (1984: 357) of nationalist, colonialist and imperialist archaeology. I found the utilisation of the term 'archaeologist' interchangeable here with 'museologist'
- ^{cxxxi} In practice, during 1945-51, £140 million was extracted from the Colonies with only £40 million re-invested under the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund (Iliffe 1995: 221)
- ^{cxl} The YP later became a major source of contention among the general population

^{cxxxii} These are not to be confused with *grins* (youth clubs)

^{cxxxiii} <http://mali50.wordpress.com/2010/09/26/peres-de-1%E2%80%99independance-la-rehabilitation-de-fily-dabo-sissoko/> (accessed 25.08.11)

^{cxxxiv} This date, rather than the 22nd September is also sometimes referred to as the date for Mali's independence.

^{cxxxv} Coe (2005: 202, footnote ii in Chapter 3) wrote "I am indebted to Catherine Newling for the felicitous phrase "buffet of culture".

^{cxxxvi} The full title of the Bill is "An Act to prohibit organisations using or engaging in racial or religious propaganda to the detriment of any other racial or religious community, or securing the elections of persons on account of their racial or religious affiliations, or for other purposes in connection therewith" (Nkrumah 1963: 74 in Hagan 1993: 14)

^{cxxxvii} This is not a reference to Asafo flags.

^{cxxxviii} Fathia Nkrumah, Kwame Nkrumah's wife was Egyptian and some of her Egyptian collections were donated at the NMG for example.

^{cxxxix} The collections are poor according to Sackey (current director of the MST, pers. comm. 18.05.07) because "science and technology is not as advanced as in Europe". In 2007 the institution had experienced problems with squatters and was closed to the public.

^{cxl} Crinson (2001: 240) has suggested that Nkrumah may have also regarded the museum with equivocation due to the involvement of his major opponent, Prof Kofi Busia (National Liberation Movement) who was close to the archaeologist A. W. Lawrence (see Chapter 3 page 119), director of the NMG in the late 1950s.

^{cxli} In his speech delivered to the National Assembly, Modibo Keita (June 30 1962: 128) explained: "My dear colleagues, however far back into time we may delve, history teaches us that political power is always and of necessity accompanied by the sovereign right to mint money, that monetary power is inseparable from national sovereignty and that it is an essential attribute of the latter and its indispensable complement."

^{cxlii} According to Benthall's report on Islam in Northern Mali, patriotism was still well preserved: "Patriotism is strongly promoted by the state — in every school, the national flag is ceremoniously raised and lowered and the beginning and end of the day, while the national anthem is sung [...]" (Benthall 2006: 6)

^{cxliii} www.memorialmodibokeyita.org (accessed 16.11.10)

^{cxliv} Nkrumah (1961: 48) too challenged the denial of the African past, stating that "We were taught to regard our culture and traditions as barbarous and primitive. Our textbooks, telling us about English history, English geography, English ways of living, English customs, English ideas, English weather. Many of these manuals had not been altered since 1895"

^{cxlv} The 'maison des artisans' was set up under French rule with the purpose of attracting tourists, urban elite and as a space to train up young apprentices as weavers, dyers, embroiders, blacksmiths, jewellers, sculptors, potters and leather workers. The market in the centre of Bamako is popular today amongst tourists and localised publics.

^{cxlvi} At the time, these were Kayes, Bamako, Sikasso, Mopti, Segou and Gao. Now there are eight (the above and Koulikoro and Kidal).

^{cxlvii} I carried out an interview with Sada Samake at his home in Bamako. He had participated in the first ever semaine and helped to coordinate all the successive events.

^{cxlviii} 'les boîtes de Baguinda' was a state-sponsored factory for canning vegetable products that opened in Mali on 21st February 1964

^{cxlix} According to Samake (pers. comm. 10.02.10) by 1968 (the last semaine), there were a staggering 25,000 participants with over 5,000 staged performers.

^{cl} Generally they consist of music concerts, activities and a demonstration of looted artefacts that are brought to the Minister of Culture. All is diffused on national television. Ministers and directors compile and provide their own cultural programme for the population (Cisse, accountable for heritage sites at the Direction National du Patrimoine Culturelle (DNPC), pers. comm. 11.01.07)

^{cli} www.maliba.8m.com/Musee/collecti.htm (accessed 30.11.10)

^{clii} *Continuities, Dislocations and Transformations: reflections of 50 years of African independence*

^{cliii} Samake (pers. comm. 10.02.10) reflected upon the important points surrounding the role of the youth in secularising the artefacts and cultures from the rural parts of the country by bringing works into the capital for public display.

^{cliv} Artefacts requested included a gold sword used in the installation of sub chiefs, seven gold masks, gold nuggets and beaded jewellery (Eyo 1994: 334).

^{clv} NMG staff (in Hudson 1977: 5) provided the museum definition at the time as: “A museum is an institution which acquires, preserves and presents material to the public, not for profit, but for their information and enjoyment. The museum should take the interest of all sections of its community into consideration; it should highlight some of the current topical subjects in the community, such as agriculture, health and politics. It should not acquire everything, but should encourage the community to cherish its culture.”

^{clvi} Barber (2007: 153) on the other hand cited missionaries’ efforts to use vernacular languages in printed press.

^{clvii} A O Konare was also Professor of History and Archaeology at the Université du Mali, and President of the country 1992-2002 and Chairperson of the African Union (2003-08).

^{clviii} Eddie did not provide me with his second name and I did not ask him for it.

^{clix} Jacques did not provide me with his second name and I did not ask him for it.

^{clx} The ethnic groupings that are largely represented are the Bamanan, Dogon and Senoufo (<http://www.maliba.8m.com/Musee/collecti.htm> accessed 30.11.10). At the NMG the Asante culture has threatened to dominate the displays (see Crinson 2001: 244-5).

^{clxi} In addition, Mali had not fully recovered from the effects of two long term periods of drought in 1973 and 1984, with dreadful consequences on agricultural production and cattle (Brenner 2000: 175).

^{clxii} Cheikh Hamadou Kane (2008: 15 appendix 1:20) compared the past years to the Mali of the 1990s whereby international partnerships for aid and development had to be established out of need, but really, to pay off the countries’ debts. In order to receive these finances, ‘conditionalities’ were imposed by the World Bank and the IMF.

^{clxiii} In 2009, WAMP moved head offices to Niamey (Niger).

^{clxiv} In a contemporary context, AFRICOM is an arena for the role of South Africa (particularly with regards to museum consultancy work) in Africa.

^{clxv} At the National Museum in Makurdi (Nigeria) Panaki (1995: 104) advocated progression from the concept of the museum as “only a repository of objects” towards more emphasis on social and educational responsibilities, that would ensure their utility.

^{clxvi} PREMA is organised from ICCROM with courses on conservation, curatorship and collection management held in Africa (McLeod 2004: 53 footnote 1).

^{clxvii} 232 adults and 100 students.

^{clxviii} In Mali, Sanogo (pers. comm. 19.01.07, appendix 1:22) even questioned realistically, how many schools went to the MNM? He implied that the wealthy private schools attended, but “what’s that in comparison to the number of schools in Bamako?”

^{clxix} Gloria did not provide me with her second name and I did not ask for it.

^{clxx} The questionnaires did not ask why the visitor had come to the museum in the first place. I did not feel that this would yield sufficiently relevant information (and from prior discussions, responses tend to be very general). Furthermore, my interests addressed return visits as a means of ascertaining if the museum visit had been appealing or not.

^{clxxi} With Doris (age 14), Eunice (age 13), Frank (age 13), Prince (age 15) and Stella (age 16).

^{clxxii} Sidibe expressed concern (pers. comm. 14.01.07) over the implication of ‘old things’ being also perceived as “useless things” for example.

^{clxxiii} The 19th c British MP William Ewart exclaimed “Do you not think that in a splendid gallery... all the adjacent and circumjacent parts of that building should... have a regard for the arts... with fountains, statues, and other objects of interest calculated to prepare [visitors’] minds before entering the building, and lead them the better to appreciate the works of art [...]?” (*Report from the Select Committee on the National Gallery in House of Commons Reports* vol. xxxv 1853 p505 in Duncan 1995: 11)

^{clxxiv} State gifts that were offered to Ghanaian ex-President Jerry Rawlings during his tenancy (1993-2001) were donated to, conserved, and shown to me in the storerooms of the NMG.

^{clxxv} Ampratwum (2001: 13), on the Manhyia Palace Museum in Kumasi instructed: “Security of any museum premises is absolutely paramount [...]. Traditionally, museums have, in the past, only relied on attendants and wardens. In such cases it may be important to design each gallery for maximum visual coverage from the wardens’ position.”

^{clxxvi} The same year Mali reaffirmed its role in the valorisation and protection of heritage (pers. comm. Malé 19.10.06).

^{clxxvii} Pivin (1992: 331) argued that “[...] to be politically and economically profitable, the heritage institution must know how to communicate with its public”.

^{clxxviii} “Traditional mud-brick architecture was adopted into stabilised mud brick and stone buildings using local materials. This was a conscious effort to refer to Mali’s long tradition of vernacular architecture” (Joy 2008: 126-7). The style has been re-visited in bureaucratic workplaces of Malians (de Jorio 2006: 85).

^{clxxix} “[...] the colonial cities maintained durable characteristics: a strict division of the urban space between the European and African neighbourhoods [...] the Europeans settled on the plateaus and well-ventilated areas deemed healthy.” (M’Bokolo 2002: 93)

^{clxxx} To my knowledge the only other public water feature was in the city centre next to the cathedral and it has been dried up in disrepair since before 2003.

^{clxxxi} MNM Entrance fees: 2,500fcfa for foreigners; 500fcfa for Malian nationals and CDEAO (Economic Community of West African States); 200fcfa for school children and students; 3,000 fcfa for guides for foreigners; 500 for guides for Malian nationals and CDEAO. 1,000 fcfa was £1.34 (www.xe.com accessed 23.07.11)

^{clxxxii} The museum director was (unusually for Mali) well known for his insistence on cleanliness in the museum grounds. At the end of the day, he often collected rubbish left by visitors on his way home — a commendable gesture that puzzled many of his staff colleagues.

^{clxxxiii} On the occasion of Mali’s fiftieth anniversary since independence (2010), new botanical gardens have been constructed with assistance from the Aga Khan Foundation that surrounds the museum’s grounds.

^{clxxxiv} “There’s also the public who travel, the elite, who watch telly etcetera, who are aware of their culture, they’re from here but not from here — this public would need to

learn their culture, when they are in Paris, it would be good that they could speak to their friends about their culture.” (pers. comm. Sidibe 14.01.07 appendix 1:24)

^{clxxxv} Of course, this is conceptualised in Eurocentric terms but the underlying comparison is valid for my analysis.

^{clxxxvi} According to Crinson’s paper (2001: 246) at the time of his visit the chairs were safely roped off.

^{clxxxvii} The NMG galleries were equipped with ventilators that seldom worked due to frequent power cuts in Ghana (the museum had an emergency generator though).

^{clxxxviii} *La Culture Visuelle dans le milieu urbain africain* Conference organised by Point Sud, Bamako 05.03.07

^{clxxxix} 20,000CFA franc de la Communauté financière de l’Afrique was £24.24 (www.xe.com accessed 12.08.08). The legal monthly minimum wage is 28,460CFA <http://www.socialsecurity.gov/policy/docs/progdesc/ssptw/2008-2009/africa/mali.html>

(accessed 17.03.10)

^{cx} According to statistics produced by UNICEF (2004-08) literacy rates are much lower in Mali than Ghana particularly among young people aged 15-24. In Mali these rates are at 47% for male youths and 31% for female youths.

http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/mali_statistics.html (accessed 26.08.11). See also Chapter 1, page 35 and Hallam (2000: 270)

^{cxci} In years’ 10 and 11 according to the ECM national curriculum (Institut d’Education Sociale 2007: 2) schoolchildren are expected to learn: the positive values of traditional Malian and African cultures; the universal moral, liberal and judiciary principles; fundamental human rights and about key national institutions.

^{cxcii} International conference hosted by the MNM in 2006, for publications of the proceedings see Bouttiaux (2007)

^{cxciiii} Sidibe (1991: 175) for example, explained that some artefacts inherited by the MNM came from Burkina Faso, Guinea and Sierra Leone.

^{cxciiv} It might be helpful if museums displayed an introductory text panel explaining their own trajectories, with images and timelines for instance (see also Wright 1989: 136).

^{cxci v} McLeod’s (1987: 27) paper on the Asante Palace Museum (Kumasi) epitomised this argument: “Many Asante and other Ghanaians, of course, often see such things [gold regalia, gold-decorated swords, sandals, head bands and staffs] as part of their everyday life and, apart from being rather surprised at seeing them in a glass-fronted case, would show less interest in them than tourists [...]” (see also Chapter 8 page 315)

^{cxci vi} The Deputy Director of the NMG explained that Chiefs retained artefacts within their own possession, but that there was an understanding with the Museum, with details concerning the artefacts shared, so that the Museum kept a list of artefacts in Chiefs ‘collections’ (Mr Agbo pers. comm. 07.08.12)

^{cxci vii} Parallels can be drawn here where informants explained that they enjoyed seeing their villages on national television, but not their initiation ceremonies.

^{cxci viii} *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* Bamako 09.09.06

^{cxci ix} AFRICOM is currently working with WAMP to update the ‘Directory of Museum Professionals in Africa’ (Abungu 2005: 153)

^{cc} Some institutions’ had very limited access to energy resources. Because of power cuts, the NMG staff rarely had internet access.

^{cci} Hirsch and Stewart (2005) have referred to the terms *history* and *historicity* in interplay between history and memory as they argue that the categories are not as distinctive as Halbwachs (1980) and Nora (1989) have suggested.

^{ccii} Daouda Keita provided the full translation (email 13.05.10) with thanks.

^{cciii} <http://www.acdivoca.org/site/ID/mali-FFP/> (accessed 28.06.11)

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- ^{cciv} Haoua Ongoïba herself was co-president of one of the two Fombori Women's Association
- ^{ccv} The Toguna is a sheltered structure supported by wooden pillars that are sometimes decorated (and have subsequently entered the international antiques market). The thick roof made of millet stalks is low to keep the space cool from the sun and obliges members to sit down when they are discussing their affairs.
- ^{ccvi} www.xe.com (accessed 17.02.07)
- ^{ccvii} Law No. 85-40/AN-RM of 26 July 1985, the "Protection and Enhancement of the National Cultural Patrimony", www.ifar.org (accessed 29.07.11)
- ^{ccviii} "Law no. 86-61/AN-RM of July 26, 1986, the "profession of the traders in cultural possessions", Decree no. 999/PG-RM of September 19, 1986: the "commercialisation of cultural possessions" (Sidibe 1996: 84)
- ^{ccix} Mariam Ouologem worked for the Canadian NGO Unitarian Service Committee (USC) in Douentza (Gueye 2002: 6)
- ^{ccx} According to accounts, Felix was female, despite the name usually being given to a male.
- ^{ccxi} In 1992 an artisan centre was set up with assistance from a Canadian NGO based in Douentza but Fombori was not yet on the 'Dogon circuit' and the project failed.
- ^{ccxii} The CultureBank received \$391 from USAID and \$4,000 from the West Africa Museums Programme (WAMP) in 1997 and by 1999 was financially sustainable. In 2001 the African Cultural Conservation Fund (ACCF) provided \$210,000 to set up two more CultureBanks in Mali (Deubel and Baro 2002: 8).
- ^{ccxiii} A small museum opened in 1996 but closed after 5 months and the artefacts were evacuated (Gueye 2002: 6). The CultureBank was officially inaugurated in 1997.
- ^{ccxiv} Three types of loans: 5 – 20,000 CFA (for individuals), 20 – 40,000 (for collectives, families/ groups of friends/ colleagues), 20 – 60,000 (works with considerable historical value)
- ^{ccxv} Despite the differing notions of ownership (constituted as shared ownerships at the CultureBank), the CultureBank could still be determined or defined as a 'village museum'. At the time of my research, it was open to the public, had a pedagogical direction and preserved material culture on display.
- ^{ccxvi} The statistics for preferences for these classes were: soap (20%), literacy (17%), *bogolan* (10%), knitting (7%), gardening (7%), embroidery (3%) (Deubel and Baro 2002: 14)
- ^{ccxvii} Amadou Aya was President of the managing committee.
- ^{ccxviii} The recent CultureBank in Dégnekoro in 2004-05 contains a secret room ('case secrète') for these artefacts. Only designated officials have the key (pers. comm. Daouda Keita 22.09.06)
- ^{ccxix} The 'Desert Zebra' initiative instigated by the National Museum of Botswana has been a successful example in bringing the museum to rural areas (see Abungu 2005: 153)
- ^{ccxx} I encountered reluctance to admit to selling artefacts in the past. Deubel and Baro also noted embarrassment of revealing this information (2002: 20).
- ^{ccxxi} Debate hosted by Bandiagara secondary school, organised by the Cinema Numérique Ambulant (CNA) and le Centre Culturel Français (CCF): *Etonnants Voyageurs: le tourisme au pays Dogon* 09.12.06
- ^{ccxxii} "May God accompany your departure and your return, may God protect you from invisible harm, may God bring you back in peace" (29.11.06 appendix 1:36)
- ^{ccxxiii} Research workshop coordinated by Co-Reach and hosted by UCL *Cultural Heritage in China: Changing Trajectories, Changing Tasks* 06.05.10

^{ccxxiv} Gueye (2002: 16) recommended the CultureBank be more accountable to the state (the DNPC). Khandker (1998: 145) suggested caution with this regard: “[...] sustainable financial institutions may be possible to develop in a rural setting if certain conditions are met: - The government does not see financial institutions as public transfer mechanisms or interfere with them in any way except to provide prudent regulation and supervision.”

^{ccxxv} I prefer to keep her name anonymous.

^{ccxxvi} Further research might examine how ‘ownership’ is experienced with regards to loan circulation between institutions at transnational levels.

^{ccxxvii} The first regional museum in Mali (Le Musée du Sahel) was inaugurated in 1980 in Gao.

^{ccxxviii} In 2006 the museum served as a polling station for regional elections.

^{ccxxix} The non-use of vernacular languages in this case reinforced the museums’ status as a national institution.

^{ccxxx} According to wikipedia records, in 2005 \$1 was 8900-9500 cedis

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghanaian_cedi#Second_cedi_.28GHC.29.2C_1967.E2.80.932007 (accessed 19.07.10)

^{ccxxxix} “9.3.1 The National Commission on Culture shall recognise all traditional regalia and cultural artifacts, sacred stools, jewellery, religious relics, stool houses, graveyards, mausolia and sacred groves associated with chieftaincy as national treasures.

9.3.2 The National Commission on Culture shall:

a. establish museums as repositories of our past and contemporary achievements as sources of inspiration to the present generation.

b. promote the accessibility of museum objects to the populace through the operation of mobile museums.

c. ensure that museums are promoted as part of community life and as invaluable resource for the teaching of social and cultural history, as well as the arts and sciences.” (National Commission on Culture 2004: 33-34)

^{ccxxxii} The practice at Ghanaian private museums is to employ recent graduates from tourism studies as a cheaper option. I was explained that higher management in the private sector tended to belittle their staff and therefore, not only due to financial constraints, chose to employ young tourism graduates.

^{ccxxxiii} A series of workshops were also set up in 1998, but I could not locate their source of funding.

^{ccxxxiv} By not committing to a financial ‘label’ to exhibitions can have the adverse effect of underestimating its worth by potential audiences, who may subscribe to the concept that ‘if it is free, it’s probably not worth it’.

^{ccxxxv} Former director of the Museum, Ardouin organised series of workshop activities, since discontinued (various sources, 2006).

^{ccxxxvi} At the time of my visit to the museum in February 2011 the museum had begun to screen free films on Friday afternoons. They were very popular with local school children and street children.

^{ccxxxvii} Perhaps the decision was taken following the untimely death of Goita, head of the education dept. According to personal communications, the decision upset museum members of staff at the beginning though when they saw the success of the events and with time, tensions waned.

^{ccxxxviii} Diarra (pers. comm. 04.01.07) explained that initially, they sought to avoid employing the word ‘*musée*’, concerned that it might discourage some categories of visitors. I think this has now been dropped.

^{ccxxxix} There were no official records kept of the numbers of attendees.

^{ccxl} This had ceased by 2010. It was reported to me that in 2010 the *animateur* had placed the ‘monthly artefact’ on a loudspeaker but the music vibrations had caused the piece to roll off the speaker and break.

^{ccxli} In general terms, *Chaîne 2* targets a young and trendy audience; *Kledou* is aimed more at intellectual audiences and *Bamanankan* is a popular, general local radio station.

^{ccxlii} Le Carrefour des jeunes is a popular youth centre where concerts and drumming, dancing and acting classes take place.

^{ccxliii} See also the District Six Museum in Cape Town, South Africa for example <http://www.districtsix.co.za/> (accessed 26.08.11)

^{ccxliv} *Africa's Fragile Heritage: Future Challenges* was organised by the African Archaeology Group (AAG), Cambridge University (02.10.09)

^{ccxlv} <http://www.quaibranly.fr/> (accessed 17.07.10)

^{ccxlvii} ‘Illuminating world cultures’ was a BM slogan in 2000 (no longer used) implemented by marketing consultants (Mack in Kingston 2003: 17).

^{ccxlviii} A useful analogy lies between the official title of the first director of the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers in Paris (1799) as a *démonstrateur*, rather than a *conservateur* (Robert 2007: 15).

^{ccxlix} The first museums began in Kumasi in the 1820s in terms of collecting and preserving material culture but not as public spaces (pers. comm. Kwadwo 13.04.07).

^{cccl} In the Kumasi ‘Stone Palace’ discovered in 1874 were stored foreign gifts to the Asantehene that were ‘un-absorbable’ into Asante social life. McLeod’s paper (1987) debated the storehouse as a ‘palace of culture’ or as a ‘museum’. At the Stone Palace therefore the items were not classified and had not been made available for public display.

^{cccli} Sidibe (pers. comm. 14.01.07) claimed that museums “have to be about national things because of their name”

^{ccclii} Unfortunately in this case, an informant (pers. comm. Charles 25.05.07) found the NMG disappointingly small for a representation of all Ghanaian cultures.

^{cccliii} However neither Mali nor Ghana was unique in this respect, as Chastel (1986: 420 appendix 1:42) commented, for example, that in the 1830s, heritage was never really at the core of French society.

^{cccliv} Despite statistics indicating that 83.6% of women in Bamako watch television at least 1/week (World Bank report, 2001)

^{ccclv} After ‘africa95’ Chris Spring (1996: 49) suggested “perhaps museums do not have to do just one thing”.

^{ccclvi} School visits were not recorded as a separate category.

^{ccclvii} John did not provide me with his second name and I did not ask for it.

^{ccclviii} The MPM was inaugurated (among other festivities) on the occasion of the silver jubilee of the Asantehene Otumfuo Opoku Ware II and opened by the vice-president of Ghana (12th August 1995).

^{ccclix} King Prempeh II reigned 1931–1970.

^{ccclx} Among the Queen Mothers’ houses, servants quarters, land secretariat, archives, police station, prison quarters, present Durbar Grounds and the new Palace and offices for the present King (see also Schildkrout 1999: 14)

^{ccclxi} Correspondence on the effigies commissioned in the UK and transported to Ghana was consulted at Manhyia Palace Archives – courtesy of the archival staff, for whose assistance I am grateful.

^{ccclxii} The MPM is considered part of the ‘nation building’ of the ideology of the ‘Asante nation’ but not of the state of Ghana.

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- ^{cclxii} Entrance fees in April 2007: Ghanaian adults: 10,000 cedis, Ghanaian tertiary students: 5,000 c, Ghanaian second cycle students: 3,000 c, Ghanaian children: 2,000 c, Foreign children: 30,000 c, Foreign adults: 40,000 c
- ^{cclxiii} Sales from the MPM DVD brought in revenues of 2m cedis, with profits directly to the museum (pers. comm. Kwadwo 13.04.07).
- ^{cclxiv} www.manhyiapalacemuseum.org (accessed 26.07.11)
- ^{cclxv} 25-27 March 2007 I met the MPM Director to seek permission to conduct fieldwork research. Kwadwo encouraged my study and assured me that I could take photographs.
- ^{cclxvi} 38 questionnaires were distributed and completed in Kumasi.
- ^{cclxvii} Figures were provided by the MPM director – the MPM is a private institution so statistics were not accessible elsewhere.
- ^{cclxviii} Cape Coast Castle was originally built as a trade lodge in 1555 (Portuguese), became a permanent fort in 1653 (Swedish) and was English occupied from approximately 1664 until the late 19th century (Anquandah 1999: 46)
- ^{cclxix} Originally founded by the Portuguese in 1482 (completed in 1486), Elmina Castle was called ‘Sao Jorge da Mina’. The Dutch took it in 1637 – 1872 and in 1872 the British captured the Castle (Anquandah 1999: 59-60)
- ^{cclxx} Repeated attempts for visa exemptions to diaspora visitors had not been implemented.
- ^{cclxxi} The hyphenation has been employed by Appadurai (1993: 424)
- ^{cclxxii} Teresa did not provide me with her second name and I did not ask for it.
- ^{cclxxiii} For example, a Palace member instructed that at the MPM the visitor “must have acquired a deep sense of respect for the Asante and a good understanding of how the Asante people have created one of the world’s most remarkable and distinctive cultures” (in Ampratwum 2001: 3).
- ^{cclxxiv} Holsey (2008: 200) has described diaspora visitors as more than tourists or pilgrims, rather, as *witnesses* who narrate their own experiences with others ‘back home’.
- ^{cclxxv} See also distinctions between museums in Nora’s study, where active memory *works* (1989: x), Bataille’s (in Vidler 2003: 177) interpretation of museums as memory *machines* and Forty’s (1999: 2) views of museums as memory *monuments*.
- ^{cclxxvi} Pre-colonial pasts were positively championed in Mali under the regimes of Modibo Keita and Moussa Traore. Alpha Oumar Konaré advocated more ‘realistic’ and less ‘victimised’ memories (2006: 83, 85 and Konare 2000: 17).
- ^{cclxxvii} The first schools at the Castles dated from 15th to the 17th centuries. Since independence, Elmina Castle served as the Ghana Police Recruit Training Centre, the Edinamen Secondary School, the office of the District Assembly and the Ghana Education Service (Anquandah 1999: 18, 50, 61). An important Cape Coast deity’s shrine was located on the land of the castle too (Kreamer 2004: 82)
- ^{cclxxviii} Organised by the African Archaeology Group (AAG), Cambridge University
02.10.09
- ^{cclxxix} The GMMB was initially established under the Ministry of Education in 1957 (Gavua n.d: 14)
- ^{cclxxx} Kwesi Owusu (pers. comm. National Tourist Office employee, Kumasi 10.04.07) regretted that heritage sites were not the responsibility of the Ministry of Tourism and Diasporan affairs as he did not have sufficient access to knowledge to market museums effectively for tourists. His comments suggest a lack of coordination and sharing of information (or *power*) between the Ministries. The involvement of the Ministry of Education would constitute a further dimension in objective intellectual authority to link up university research and promote school curriculums (see also Acheampong 2006: 50)

^{cclxxxix} Outside of Ghana, Elmina was redisplayed by the Smithsonian Museum in America. There was also a publication and an exhibition in Washington, providing a re-focus for African Americans.

^{cclxxxix} Marketing heritage for outside audiences is not new. In 1960 an appeal was made to all chiefs in Ghana to donate artefacts to the National Museum as a means of “selling Ghana to the outside world” (Naana Kwafu Akoto II reported in *The n.a.* 1960: 3)

^{cclxxxix} Eddie (pers. comm. KNMP 30.03.07) also stated that foreign students asked most questions.

^{cclxxxix} http://www.unesco.org/africa/portal/culteng_4.html (accessed 23.06.12)

^{cclxxxix} www.unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0014/001473/147352e.pdf (accessed 02.06.10)

and UNESCO 2005

^{cclxxxix} Charles did not provide me with his second name and I did not ask for it.

^{cclxxxix} Oral traditions became the primary sources for post-independence Malian historians (de Jorio 2006: 84)

^{cclxxxix} Sourced from exhibition text panel (Convention Centre, Accra 2007) at the documentary film launch on Busia’s life, produced and directed by his daughter.

^{cclxxxix} International travel and restricted access to the internet were acquiesced in MacGregor and Williams (2005: 58)

^{cclxxxix} UNESCO world heritage lists <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list> (accessed 28.05.10)

^{cclxxxix} <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/stat> (accessed 06.08.11)

^{cclxxxix} I shall return to these issues of ‘ownership’ and ‘universalist’ discourse in the cultural rights argument in Chapter 8.

^{cclxxxix} Organized by the AAG at Cambridge University 02.10.09

^{cclxxxix} The Taino piece is in the Vatican and was part of the exhibition ‘Taino – Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean’ curated by Kerchache (*le Petit Palais*, Paris, 1994) (pers. comm. John Mack 26.05.10).

^{cclxxxix} “[...] the renovated Louvre re-opened its doors on the 14th July 1800, i.e. to a new world. We, indeed, entered the expansionist era of the conquering Republic. Far from being considered a reliquary of French art and of collections accumulated by the monarch [...] the Louvre Gallery became the gigantic conservatory of universal art.” (Chastel 1986: 421 appendix 1:45)

^{cclxxxix} From here emerge our understanding of notions of *trusteeship* in modern museums.

^{cclxxxix} As an example, in 1997 the NMG hosted a touring exhibition ‘Museum Meets Museum’ where fifty posters rather than actual works depicted famous artefacts from around the world www.eda.admin.ch/accra_emb/e/home/culedu.html (accessed 03.10.07)

^{cclxxxix} Dzamefe positively cited governmental cooperation between Ghana and America and the Netherlands and Britain.

^{cclxxxix} http://www.spiked-online.com/index.php?site/reviewofbooks_article/6900/ (accessed 23.11.10)

^{cclxxxix} http://www.britishmuseum.org/the_museum/museum_in_the_world.aspx (accessed 29.10.09)

^{cclxxxix} http://www.britishmuseum.org/the_museum/museum_in_the_world.aspx (accessed 29.10.09)

^{cclxxxix} Organisations included: NMK, WAMP, Ministry of Culture (Mali), Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture and the National Museum of Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, Ministry of Education and Culture (Mozambique), University of Ghana at Legon, Ministry of Culture (Ghana (Aug 2006), Golden Stool (Asantehene) (Kumasi, Ghana), Institute of Ethiopian Studies in Addis Ababa. At the National Museums of Zimbabwe (NMZ) in Harare “all activity is postponed”

http://www.britishmuseum.org/the_museum/museum_in_the_world/memoranda_of_understanding.aspx (accessed 29.10.09)

^{ccciii} Conference *Africa's Fragile Heritage: Future Challenges* organized by the AAG at Cambridge University 02.10.09

http://www.britishmuseum.org/the_museum/museum_in_the_world/africa_programme.aspx (accessed 19.11.10)

^{ccciv} Artefacts were selected from Somalia, Burundi, the Kenyan Coast, Southern Sudan, Northern Kenya, Swahili cultures, and Islamic cultures, the Indian Ocean and with links to Madagascar, Mauritius and the Gulf.

^{cccvi} See Fogelman 2008 for a list of temporary exhibitions held at the NMG; A report submitted to WAMP (NMG 2006) tracked activities at the NMG:

- established museums/ exhibitions: KNMP (Accra), WEB Dubois Centre for Pan Africanism (Accra), MPM (Kumasi)
- the promotion of Ghanaian and foreign artists, foreign missions and embassies to exhibit at the National Museum
- jointly organised WAMP workshop (1996)
- mounted and hosted WAMP exhibition (1996), 'the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Ghana' exhibition sponsored by UNESCO (2000), 'Treasures of the Gold Coast' with donations from the Davids' Exhibition (2003), 'Ghana's Historic Slave Traffic exhibition' (2003), retouched Ghana's Historic Slave Traffic exhibition (2004)

^{cccvii} I attended a ceremony to thank the Swiss Embassy (20.03.07) for renovating the external walls of the museum.

^{cccviii} The exhibition received 31,600 visitors in Bamako (pers. comm. Y Diallo 20.06.06). It also raised the value and interest in archaeology from the Niger region, leading to extensive pillaging and illegal trafficking (Herzberg 2009: 14)

^{cccix} Digitalising collections is a redundant tool for museums such as the NMG that do not have regular access due to energy crises.

^{cccix} See <http://www.britac.ac.uk/funding/awards/intl/africapartnerships.cfm> (accessed 19.11.10)

^{cccxi} See BM coordinated workshops with the University of Ghana, Legon and Cape Coast Castle [University of Ghana 2010: 245].

^{cccxi} On 19th century conventions on restitution of cultural property, Hall remarked (1982: 37) "it appears to apply only to the European theatre of war, and not to colonial wars."

^{cccxiii} European curators and organisers are extensively involved in the biennale — eliciting widespread criticism from local communities (pers. comms. September 2011)

^{cccxiv} In 2011 the Centre Culturel Français (CCF) changed its name to the Institut Français.

^{cccxv} The first Moroccan Cultural Centres overseas has been inaugurated in Brussels (2009), further centres are due to open in Montreal (end 2011), Tunis, Tripoli, Amsterdam, Barcelona and Mantes-la-Jolie

(<http://www.africultures.com/php/index.php?nav=murmure&no=7660> accessed 05.08.11). The Brazilian Embassy organised Kenya's first Brazilian film festival at the NMK (18-20.11.11)

^{cccxvi} He was not able to precise what specifically he wanted to see, but just that it should be something new and foreign.

^{cccxvii} Conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* Bamako 09.09.06

^{cccxviii} The term is borrowed from the historian, John MacKenzie's keynote speech (29.10.09) at the BM book launch *Museums and Empire* 2009 (see

http://www.britishmuseum.org/whats_on/events_calendar/october/museums_and_empir_e.aspx, accessed 28.05.10)

^{cccxi} For example, from ‘musée Ethnographique et Archéologique du Soudan’ to ‘musée national du Mali’

^{cccxx} Boureimi explained how he described a museum to local publics (creating a Senoufo Museum in Bobo Diolasso, Burkina Faso).

^{cccxxi} “A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.” (AFRICOM, ICOM, <http://icom.museum/definition.html> accessed 23.12.09 appendix 1:50)

^{cccxxii} Beyond the barriers of the obviously complex logistics of conditions, insurance, costs and hegemonic relations that underpin most museum exhibitions.

^{cccxxiii} During the course of my studies I have been referred to a very popular temporary exhibition on bicycles in Ouagadougou. It was funded and curated by WAMP. Following research and email correspondence with Diamitani (director of WAMP) in 2007, I was unable to uncover more information about this project.

^{cccxxiv} Repatriation: “the return of an object of cultural patrimony from a museum collection, to a party found to be the true owner or traditional guardian, or their heirs and descendants” (www.unesco.org accessed 2003)

^{cccxxv} Panella (2002) argued that imbalanced relationships of power continue to be reflected today in the antiquities market. Such relationships have emerged from histories termed “the West and the Rest” (Hall 1992) as well as from ‘internal’ national stakeholders.

^{cccxxvi} http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=40647&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html (accessed 16.06.10)

^{cccxxvii} <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/1811267.stm> (accessed 23.12.09)

^{cccxxviii} In describing the projects of Fon Palace Museums in Cameroon, Rowlands (2011: S28) noted that the curator responsible for selecting the artefacts (JP Notue, a “traditional art historian”) rejected pieces that included modern materials such as “plastic beads or buttons”.

^{cccxxix} The Textiles exhibition (MNM) displayed embroidered and dyed ‘boubous’ in glass cases that did not reflect how these clothes became outfits for example.

^{cccxxx} The Komo mask displayed at the MQB for example has been hidden in a separate (and dark) space, with a caution sign at the entrance. This, perhaps over-sensitive act has been lightly ridiculed in discussions with Malian colleagues (arguing that it is in a Western museum space and therefore unnecessary) (pers. comms. 2007)

^{cccxxxi} Further different and differentiating exhibition display strategies include lighting and gallery floor levels. It is striking to note that the Mona Lisa portrait was displayed in full natural light, where the MQB African collections were exhibited in semi-darkness in the gallery space (site visits 10.10.09).

^{cccxxxii} On the exhibition ‘Spirit Sings’ (Calgary, 1988)

^{cccxxxiii} According to park keeper I Diallo (pers. comm. 20.11.10) it attracted crowds of up to 4,000 visitors after the celebrations of Eid 17.11.10.

^{cccxxxiv} French education director, Mirette Sene (Musée d’Amiens) pointed out “when you are fifteen years’ old, you don’t want to find your own identity in a museum which projects an identity that you don’t recognise.” (conference *Afrique: musées et patrimoines pour quels publics?* Bamako 09.09.06, appendix 1:52)

^{cccxxxv} The Musée Muso Kunda for example provided no space for learning about the societies and cultures of women from Brazil, Italy, or Japan for instance. Foreign

embassies and cultural organisations (see Chapter 7) were active in launching and curating cultural exhibitions (with increased access to funds), though these tended to address contemporary art projects and were rarely ethnographic in nature.

^{cccxxxvi} Concerns may be raised over misrepresentations of world cultures due to insufficient access to knowledge of non-indigenous societies and reduced access to original collections. Museum collections or exhibitions are consistently subject to processes of interpretation, or *translation* (whether misguided or not, see Chapters 1, 2 and Monti's comment (1987: 70) regarding visitors to Uganda in 1890: "Africa was perceived fundamentally as his/ her own culture made him see it", see also Pearce 1992: 255). It is ethically important to recognise – and to allow the emergence of reciprocal representations. McLeod (2004: 61) also cautioned 'outsiders' of dismissing new ways to "preserve and explain [aspects of their] culture [...]". Discussions on new collaborative approaches are circulating between cultural practitioners in the UK, Europe and Africa. Lack of funding is integral in shaping cultural arts projects – as was raised by a member of the audience at the event *Voicing Africa: New Collaborations* (organised by Visiting Arts at the International Network for Contemporary Performing Arts, www.ietm.org Glasgow 05.11.10). He questioned whether new projects were 'cultural cooperation' or 'cultural colonisation'.

^{cccxxxvii} Vidler (2003: 161) drew upon the modernist Marinetti's work (1972: 42) to further that the museum, combined with the anxiety of change, enacted as a deterrent to progress ("a poison")

^{cccxxxviii} An analogy here lies in Kaspin's description (2002: 331) of the Nigerian cartoonist (Lasekan) who pitted Nigerian nationalism as muscular and strong against European colonialism (as "flabby, weak, immorally dependent"). Kaspin asserted that Lasekan found an icon for Nigerian nationalism by giving the "uncivilized African a positive inflection" in contrast to the European colonialist regime

^{cccxxxix} The Expos in London and Paris usually took place every 11 years respectively

^{cccxl} It was here that Augustus Henry Lane Fox (who later adopted the name Pitt Rivers and founded the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, 1884) was first inspired to collect ethnographic objects. In 1888, Pitt Rivers organised his collection of firearms into sequences as he noticed their "continuity observable and the slow progression over time" (Pitt Rivers: 1888: 826 in Chapman 1985)

^{cccxli} Between 1871-74 annual exhibitions were also held in the Royal Horticultural Gardens in London (Shelton 2000: 164)

^{cccxlii} 1877 Belgian King Léopold cautioned his diplomat "We must at the same time be prudent and clever and act quickly [in order to] secure for ourselves a part of that magnificent cake" (Stengers 1962: 490)

^{cccxliii} The French General Archinard and his contemporary, Binger, represented "the type of the *officier soudanais* who acquired both Sahara desert strips and West African jungle tracts, one after the other, without the knowledge or against the wishes of the French Foreign Ministry..." (Baumgart 1982: 18 and see Conklin 1997)

^{cccxliv} Street names included *l'avenue du Gabon* or *le passage de Tonkin*. 182 people from Asia and Africa were brought to Paris that year (Silverman 1977: 77, Bennett 1988: 96)

^{cccxlv} "The group was founded in 1891 by a handful of successful entrepreneurs who had thought that some specialised knowledge of the terrain would be useful. For the ethnographers, it soon became evident that the impetus was more on gaining economic expertise for profiteering in the colonies than on a genuine commitment to academic research." (Sibeud 2001: 158)

^{cccxlvi} Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* first appeared as a three part series in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1899.