

考試科目	民族學理論 總方法	所別	民族學系	考試時間	5月10日(六)第 / 節
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本卷共回答四題，每題 25 分，請依序答寫，橫直寫均可，不必抄題

一、2014 年台灣人類學與民族學學會年會的主題是〈當代人類(學)處境〉(Contemporary Human Conditions and Anthropologies)；而同一年日本文化人類學學會的年會主題是 The Future with/of Anthropologies。

1. 請分別解讀這兩個主題對於理解當代人類學發展有那些啟發性 (15 分)
2. 如果你(妳)參與這兩個會議，有那些研究趨勢與發現，是最想在會中看到的內容？(10 分)

二、何謂應用人類學 (applied anthropology)？在當前人文社會學科都在強調其應用性時，該如何來凸顯人類學或民族學的應用性特色及其價值？(25 分)

三、當前民族學與人類學的研究很容易碰到殖民主義及其影響所產生的結果，而且多少都會使研究者從許多不同的立場、情感與學理來進行分析或批判。請從文化變遷、歷史情境與族群認同這三種現象來舉例說明。(25 分)

四、用主題公園 (theme park) 來推展族群文化或在地特色，及其引發當代再現與互動的意義，是現代人類學與民族學關注的方向之一。請就三個國內外以族群文化或在地特色為重點的主題公園的例子，用人類學與民族學的視野，來分析其“成功”或“失敗”的內容。(25 分)

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請閱讀以下文章，並回答下列問題：

1. 填空題：請在答案紙上填寫下列空白處合適的英文單字（每格2分，20格，共計40分）
2. 問答題：請用摘要的方式回答以下問題（用英文作答，勿節錄，勿條列式。每題字數限制250字，每題20分，3題，共計60分。）

- 1) Where are 'ethnographic museum'?
- 2) What is in an 'ethnographic museum'?
- 3) Who goes to an 'ethnographic museum'?

The future of the ethnographic museum

Clare Harris & Michael O'Hanlon

Let us begin with a provocation: the ethnographic museum is dead. It has outlived its usefulness and has nothing more to offer in pursuance of its historic mandate as a location for the representation of 'other' cultures.

Although there are some in anthropological and political circles who may well concur with this view, it seems that hundreds of thousands of others do not. For example, at the museum in Oxford where we are employed – the Pitt Rivers Museum – visitor numbers have trebled in the last two decades and the museum is a more vibrant space than it has ever been in the past.

And yet, in academic and public discourse during the same period, there has been an increasing level of unease about what an ethnographic museum might be for, whom it might serve, and what it should contain. These and other topics, have been the foci of international symposia held in university departments, think tanks, and museums around the world. In Europe, many of the most recent gatherings of this sort have been convened under the auspices of the 'Ethnography Museums and World Cultures' project – a collaboration (1)_____ ten ethnographic museums that has been funded by the European Commission. The project's mission statement prompted ethnographic museums to 'redefine their priorities' in response (2)_____ 'an ever more globalizing and multicultural world' and, over the five years of its duration (2008-2013), has driven the creation of exhibitions, publications, websites and workshops. It culminates in a major conference to be held in Oxford in July 2013.

At that event, a fundamental question that has underpinned discussion over the course of the project will be addressed: what is the future of ethnographic museums in Europe? In order to tackle this issue we have invited some of the leading figures in the study of museums to speak in Oxford, with James Clifford as the keynote lecturer. Of course the question we have posed them is not a simple one. In what follows, we would therefore like to briefly outline some of the additional quandaries that arise when considering the past, present, and especially the future of ethnographic museums. We believe that these issues are not just of interest to museum curators and anthropologists. (Nor are they solely of relevance to ethnographic museums, as similar questions could also be asked of academic anthropology itself.) But we hope that this short survey and especially the conference in July, will spark debate within the wider community of academics, policy makers and museum audience

Ethnographic museums: A very short introduction

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Ethnographic museums have a long and distinguished history. As teaching establishments and the institutional homes of some of the leading figures in the early phases of anthropology – the American Museum of Natural History for Franz Boas and the Pitt Rivers Museum for Edward Tylor, among others – they can be said to have helped lay the foundations of the discipline. They have also been sites for all sorts of other kinds of pedagogy, as (3) _____ as places where, in the era before television, film, mass tourism and the Internet, the general public could encounter the material evidence of anthropological research in person. In the nineteenth century, for those who did not (or could not) read ethnographic literature, the museum provided a window onto the discipline and a space where the tangible forms of the societies studied by anthropologists could be displayed. Until at least the middle of the twentieth century, displays in ethnographic museums were therefore the product of a rather simple equation: objects stood metonymically for the distant ‘others’ and distant places experienced and analyzed by anthropologists. However as Johannes Fabian (1983) famously put it, one effect of such elisions was to deny agency and coequality to those who were the subject of anthropology. Along with the charge that they fixed objects within racist evolutionary hierarchies or paraded the trophies of colonial pillage, the ethnographic museum has thus frequently been accused of pickling both people and things in aspic. In fact, when the curator of North American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution, William Sturtevant, published an essay under the title ‘Does anthropology need museums?’ in 1969, he concluded his survey of ethnographic museums by stating

that they were ‘petrified institutions’ with a reputation as shabby as a ‘bordello’.

In the decades since that damning judgement, however, pressure from (4) _____ external and internal sources has pushed ethnographic museums (as well as anthropology of course) in new directions and seems to have revived their fortunes. Along with the impact of post-colonial politics and post-structuralist reflexivity, the material turn in anthropology has been particularly influential. It has asserted that objects (like persons) can have agency and are resistant to the kind of timeless representations that museums have tended to force upon them. Ever since the publication of Appadurai’s *Social life of things* in 1986, the notion that objects possess the capacity to convey ‘meaning’ in any controllable or singular sense (as had previously been assumed by the museum model) has rightly been abandoned in preference for conceptual schema that emphasize their mobility, multivocality and malleability. In addition, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991) has argued with specific reference to the ‘objects of ethnography’ curated by museums, the classifications imposed (5) _____ them have increasingly been interrogated and viewed as context dependent, relational or even redundant. It is now quite clear that Sturtevant’s comparison between an ossified museum and a house of ill repute can be overturned. Or at the very least, that it is the artefacts contained within ethnographic museums which can, in their many and various interpretive registers, be construed as promiscuous.

Let us now turn to a (6) _____ of questions about ethnographic museums in Europe in the twenty-first century and ask what they are, where they are located (not just physically but within intellectual and discursive settings), what they should contain, and what they might do both for future generations of anthropologists and for their visitors of all descriptions.

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What is an 'ethnographic museum'?

There are a number of devices that frame an ethnographic museum and introduce it to its public, from the signage at its entrance to the architectural style of the building that houses its collections. But how are these structures to be defined and what is actually inscribed over their front doors today? What is immediately noteworthy is the self re-classification that ethnographic museums have carried (7)_____ in the last few decades. Under the influence of post-colonial studies and feminism (among other things), museums of 'mankind' (as the British Museum's ethnographic collection was called when it was located in Piccadilly) or of 'Man' (such as the 'Musée de l'Homme' in Paris) were renamed as they were transferred to new premises. More recently, while the words 'ethnographic' or 'völkerkunde' (ethnology) have been retained by some museums in Europe, others have chosen to call themselves museums of 'World Culture'. But what does this semantic shift to 'world' museum indicate: that such museums have global coverage in terms of their collections and that they seek to speak to a global constituency of visitors? Or is the term 'World Culture' flagging up a more egalitarian model that allows all 'cultures' to be accommodated within the museum?

Even if it is intended to subvert the hierarchies of the past, there remains a risk that, like 'World Art' and 'World Music', 'World Culture' actually refers to those 'cultures' that can be most readily accommodated into the long established paradigms of the West. We might also wonder about the similarities between the 'World Culture' concept and the 'universal museum'. With its roots in the Enlightenment, the principles of the latter have been revived of late by several of the most significant museums in Europe and North America including the British Museum, the Louvre and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. In their 2002 'Declaration on the importance and value of universal museums' representatives of those museums argued that the retention of material accumulated from other countries was of 'universal' rather than of solely national benefit. Given the chequered history of acquisition at ethnographic museums in the colonial period, the 'World Culture' concept could smack of a similar attempt at rebranding. There is undoubtedly some uncertainty at present about what to call the museums that were, or still are, associated (8)_____ anthropology, underscoring the extent to which the ethnographic museum has been undergoing an identity crisis.

Where are 'ethnographic museums'?

The fact that there have been changes in vocabulary over the many decades since the creation of the first 'ethnographic' museums in the early nineteenth century is hardly surprising. In parallel with this, they have also undergone – and continue to undergo – substantial physical transformations. Across Europe 'ethnographic' museums have been abandoned or abolished, reinvented and redesigned. As noted earlier, the British Museum in London no longer has a separate outstation for the display of its ethnographic collections, since the Museum of Mankind in Piccadilly closed to the public in 1997. In continental Europe, at Vienna and Leiden (for example) the original edifices which used to house their museums of völkerkunde have been saved, but their interiors have been totally remodelled and new styles of display have been introduced. In fact only a few ethnographic museums in Europe remain unaltered. Even the Pitt Rivers Museum, with its apparently unchanging displays organized by type rather than region, has in fact been in a constant process of gradual mutation and has recently

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received the attention of architects. A new annexe has been added to its historic 'court' and an improved entrance area created to allow easier access for visitors. At the other end of the spectrum, in Paris in 2006, the collections of the former Musée de l'Homme and the Musée National des Arts d'Afrique et d'Océanie were combined in the entirely new Musée du Quai Branly commissioned by Jacques Chirac as testimony to his embrace of the arts primitifs.⁸ By rehousing these collections in a statement building designed by the acclaimed modernist architect Jean Nouvel, the Musée du Quai Branly has put 'indigenous' art firmly on the tourist map of Paris and created a must-see venue in a capital already renowned for its profusion of great museums. Similarly, in 2011, a stunning building was completed in Antwerp for the Museum Aan de Stroom. This new institution brings together the collections of Antwerp's 'folklore', ethnographic and maritime museums, and has had a reviving effect on the area of the city where it is located.

This points to another question for the future of ethnographic museums: how will they define themselves and carve out a distinct identity in the face of competition from other kinds of exhibitionary institutions such as art galleries, art/historical museums, heritage sites and the fairs and biennales of the art world? The question is especially acute, as all of these forums have to some extent absorbed both the ideas and objects that were previously promoted by ethnographic museums.

As Susan Vogel (1989), Sally Price (1989) and others first observed in the 1980s, ethnographic artefacts can be readily construed as 'art' according (9) _____ criteria determined by people who are neither their makers nor anthropologists. But since funds generated by tourism and leisure activities are often vital for the financial health of ethnographic museums, there must be at least a theoretical risk that such museums will be driven to enhance the visual appeal of 'ethnographic' objects in (10) _____ to capture the public's attention. Of course this raises the potential hazard that in creating a spectacle – in the selection of 'outstanding' objects, the manner in which they are displayed, and the forms of the architecture that surrounds them – ethnographic museums will then stand accused of simply reinforcing the very perceptions of exoticism and 'otherness' that academic anthropology has repeatedly sought to defuse. There is also some anxiety that they might become more susceptible to the agendas of the art market (11) _____ a period when some commentators suggest that we are witnessing a return to the nineteenth century World's Fair archetype in which ethnographica was viewed as an art-like commodity whose value only increased according to the degree of exoticism it evoked.

Should the ethnographic museum therefore concentrate (12) _____ the more prosaic products that people consume every day rather than the rarefied pieces favoured by art connoisseurs? Even if this were a desirable ambition, it would still not obviate the need for selection and judgement. As Miller (1994: 396) has cogently argued: 'Some things, such as houses and ships, are too big, some things, such as candy floss and daisy chains, too ephemeral. ... Do we ... include every brand of car door mirrors and shampoo, and if a company proclaims a change in the product is this a new artefact or not? What about self-made artefacts, those that children have made at school, or that individuals have knitted on the bus?' Moreover, there are already a number of specialist museums that collect the evidence of contemporary consumption. In fact one example of this phenomenon, the Museum of Failed Products in Michigan, could be viewed as a reincarnation of the early ethnographic museums

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because, rather like the salvage ethnographers of the early twentieth century, it too collects the redundant and defunct. This brings us to the next question in our brief survey of the topic.

What is in an 'ethnographic museum'?

In the last few years a number of ethnographic museums in Europe have chosen to remove much of their historical material from display in preference for newly acquired objects and for exhibitions that focus (13)_____ topics of contemporary socio-political relevance. A recent example of an establishment that has attempted a change of this sort is the Museum of World Cultures in Göteborg, Sweden. They cleared their old galleries and embarked on a series of shows that engaged with current issues, as in their 2004 exhibition AIDS in the age of globalization.

Meanwhile other museums have continued to capitalize on the strengths of material amassed long ago by keeping it available to the viewing public whilst also conducting research on the histories of their collections and the relationships that created them. At the Pitt Rivers Museum the Relational Museum project drew upon ideas from Actor Network Theory in order to study the sets of relationships that had contributed (14)_____ the creation of the museum's collection in the nineteenth and early twentieth century (Gosden & Larson 2007). This is just one case where advances in the theoretical analysis of material culture have impinged positively on the inner workings of ethnographic museums.

Lack of space precludes us from describing other research projects such as those inspired (15)_____ the 'biographical' methods advanced by the likes of Kopytoff (1986) and Hoskins (1998), or the attempts made to chart the 'afterlives' of museum objects by authors such as Coombes (1997) and Davis (1999), or which investigate the 'entangled' nature of colonial relations through things as first developed by Nicholas Thomas (1991). All of these approaches have allowed ethnographic museum collections to be reconceived as major resources for the interrogation of colonialism and/or for engaging with indigenous people and other audiences.

But to return to the question of what should be in ethnographic museums: if fidelity to the contemporary requires a focus on today's material culture, but collecting its totality is plainly impossible, might acquiring contemporary artworks be an alternative way of evidencing an engagement with that problematic term 'modernity'? And if so, should the artists who create those works be integrated into the ethnographic museum project as mediators or as critics? Once again, the boundary lines are difficult to draw as the so-called ethnographic turn in contemporary art has generated artworks that critique museums along with others that appear to celebrate them, such as artist Richard Wilson's 'Museum of Jurassic Technology' in Los Angeles which emulates the immediate precursor of ethnographic museums: the cabinet of curiosity. Classificatory boundaries are also challenged by the artworks created by artists based in the rising powerhouses of the contemporary art world (such as India, Australia, Nigeria and so on) and whether they should be exhibited in modern art galleries rather than in ethnographic museums.

Of course for many ethnographic museums, the main debating point in the last thirty years has not been about which things they should acquire, but rather what they should or should not retain. Campaigns driven by indigenous groups and activists both within and (16)_____ anthropology have brought arguments about the

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politics of possession to their doorsteps. This has led to some cases of successful repatriation (and some unsuccessful ones), the drafting of new museum policies, and to legislation that upholds the interests of the original owners or 'source communities' from whom many of the objects in museums were derived (most notably the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in the US).

Museum anthropologists and curators have increasingly attempted to rethink the museum as a 'contact zone' (Clifford 1997), a space in which past histories and disparities of power are acknowledged, and a fresh moral relationship negotiated. By facilitating interaction between representatives of originating communities and those who work within museums, creating easier access to collections and consulting more sensitively about the histories and on-going potency of museum objects, ethnographic museums have been substantially improved and perhaps some old wounds have begun to be healed.

Yet certain stubborn facts remain. Since many of the collections now held in European ethnographic museums were accumulated during the colonial period, the legacy of that time can still be said to shape their present form and, just as 'colonialism and its forms of knowledge' (Cohn 1996) varied from nation to nation in the past, so too do contemporary attitudes to that past. While some institutions have tried to erase the colonial context of their collections by abandoning the edifices that originally housed them (as in Paris) and/or re-designating them as 'World Art', the majority still prefer (17) _____ exhibit objects from their historic collections as representative of other 'cultures' but with more 'modern' narratives attached to them. Usually this is done without reference to the troubled histories of their acquisition.

Perhaps the ferocious reception that greeted long-past exhibitions such as *The spirit sings* (1988) or *Into the heart of Africa* (1989), has been sufficiently enduring to disincline curators to attempt similar exercises that recall the involvement of museums with the colonial project. Or maybe there is just fatigue at the repeated suggestion that if ethnographic museums were one of the 'handmaidens of colonialism', they have still not gone far enough in critiquing themselves. However, behind the scenes in many ethnographic museums, a post-colonial intellectual refurbishment has in fact often already been conducted, even if it may not be fully apparent to the public.

But there is a sticking point in making such renovations visible, and it is an obdurate one, arising from the nature of collections. If ethnographic museums are to 'redefine their priorities' in response to 'an ever more globalizing and multicultural world' (as the rubric of the Ethnography Museums and World Cultures project suggests and as governments, local authorities and other funding bodies frequently insist) then museum objects and exhibitions will need to address multicultural audiences and reflect the material (and social) manifestations of global flows.

However, this is something that the museums' existing holdings cannot always readily support. Let us consider a purely hypothetical example. A contemporary European ethnographic museum might have an extremely strong collection from the Arctic, but little from – say – Afghanistan, and yet global migration patterns may mean that far more of its visitors in the future will have Asian rather than Arctic roots. In brief, the historic shape of ethnographic collections does not easily match that of the contemporary world because they usually

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either map the contours of colonialism or concur with the pre-established disciplinary boundaries of anthropology in their emphasis on particular regions and the construction of indigeneity.

How can this mismatch between the demographics of contemporary Europe and the collections accumulated in the past be resolved? Should the old collections be de-accessioned or just reoriented to suit the new cartographies of migration? At a point in time when bodies outside the museum are demanding a closer mirroring between the ethnicity of their audiences and the objects selected for display, one of the classic rationales behind the establishment of ethnographic museums – of displaying difference rather than confirming similarity – is potentially being undermined. Whereas in the past, curators might have confidently assumed that a show about the lives of distant ‘others’ could be of interest to all, some of them are now under pressure to prioritize the representation of those in their immediate vicinity. The very concept of a museum’s ‘community’ or audience thus also needs problematizing.

Who goes to an ‘ethnographic museum’?

Underlying everything we have said so far, is the assumption that museums have audiences. Those audiences are made up of actual visitors, along with growing numbers of virtual visitors (see below). On-site visitors may come from the local population or they may have travelled some distance to reach the museum. Their backgrounds are highly diverse and what they expect from the museum as tourists, researchers, members of ‘source communities’, students and so on, varies enormously. Ethnographic collections need to meet the needs of these constituencies, but they are also tasked with fulfilling the requirements of funders – whether national governments, universities or regional or local bodies. Here, as with repatriation issues, wider political agendas are intrinsic to the operation of ethnographic museums. They may even be required to instantiate a national (even a nationalistic) narrative and to conform to politicized directives. But how should they react, for example, to requirements from their local funding body to concentrate on the region where they are located, rather than on distant countries and different peoples? Or to the idea that ethnographic museums offer a perfect setting for the enactment of key terms in the vocabulary of liberal governments such as social inclusion, multiculturalism and diversity? This is undoubtedly what a number of museum theorists and anthropologists have recently advocated: that museums can be therapeutic institutions and places where communities that have previously been excluded can gain recognition through representation. At a time when Islamophobia and extreme nationalist parties are on the rise across Europe, it may also be the duty of ethnographic museums to articulate an alternative kind of politics. But if so, how effective can they be in countering prejudice and stereotyping? Will the existing contents of those museums suffice for telling the sorts of stories that contemporary communities want to relate and hear, or should ethnographic museums reorient themselves towards addressing traumatic events in European history (such as the Holocaust) or the commemoration of more positive developments such as the abolition of slavery? For a group of museums that were founded through contact with communities and countries far beyond Europe, might it not be better to avoid Eurocentrism and xenophobia by privileging global interconnectedness and cosmopolitanism? Perhaps this is where the new technologies may be able to assist.

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Since the turn of the millennium the development of virtual versions of museums has enabled many people to make their first 'visit' to an ethnographic museum via the Internet. In fact, online visitors now outnumber on-site visitors for many museums around the world. Rather than seeing the popularity of digital avatars of museums as a threat, a growing number of ethnographic museums have seen the potential to use the new technologies as a means for disseminating knowledge about their collections globally and improving access to them in a democratizing vein. They may even consider such activities as a type of 'virtual' repatriation. Although worries remain about the lack of control over digitized museum objects and the uneven availability of computers or Internet access around the world, in general the 'digitally distributed museum' has huge potential for facilitating the sharing of ethnographic museum resources (Harris forthcoming). In fact it is the Internet that may allow ethnographic museums to overcome some of the limitations we spoke of earlier. As a technology that facilitates communication (18)_____ national boundaries, it allows diasporic communities to be reconnected with the artefactual diaspora that can be found in European museums (Basu 2011). In so doing, it may also help us to answer the question of how ethnographic museums should respond to globalization. Most contemporary theorists do not believe that globalization inevitably leads to homogenization, or that the impact of the 'global' corporations and their goods automatically eclipses the 'local'. As anthropologists know only too well, it is the relationship between the two – the local and the global – that generates frictions of both a positive and (19)_____ kind. If ethnographic museums could be reconfigured (both physically and virtually) to take account of the unprecedented movement of people and their products in the twenty-first century, and if they adopted more dynamic conceptions of the relationships between people and things than was the case in the past, then perhaps we could be confident about their future prospects.

Who needs an 'ethnographic museum'?

Although the digital may substantially augment access to ethnographic museums in the future, there is (20)_____ doubt that actual visitors still delight in the somatic experience of encountering objects in person. Additionally, as Nicholas Thomas (2010) reminds us, tangible things can forge readings of history that are significantly different from those derived purely from textual sources and can generate commentaries on colonialism (such as his own) that are less hegemonic and one-sided than earlier accounts. But above all, it is the material complexity, technological creativeness, visual appeal, and sheer unfamiliarity of the contents of ethnographic museums that remain a powerful attraction for millions of people. Ethnographic museums can be places for discovery and dreaming, for memories and meetings: sites where the freedom to wonder at the variety and ingenuity of man-made things is not yet dead. We look forward to hearing whether speakers and delegates at the conference in July will agree that the ethnographic museum still has a life.

Article from: ANTHROPOLOGY TODAY VOL 29 NO 1 PAGE 8-12, FEBRUARY 2013

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