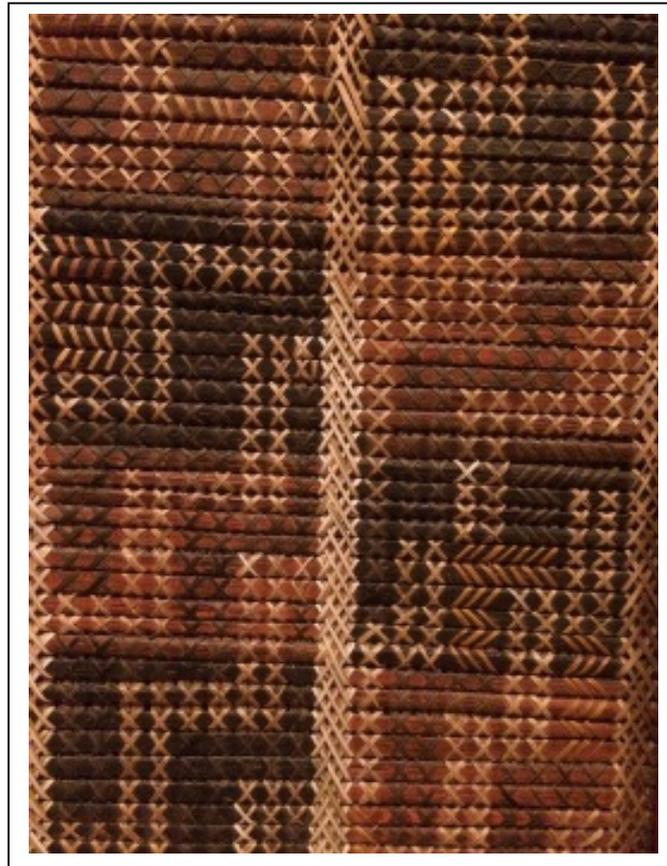




DEPARTMENT OF CONSERVATION

Preserving Value, Enabling Continuity –

Cultural Heritage Conservation and Co-curation with Indigenous Source
Communities in a Contemporary Cultural Context



Sara Gainsford

Degree project for Master of Science with a major in Conservation
2018, 30 HEC
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Photo: By Sara Gainsford, restored tukutuku panel, Hotunui

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ABSTRACT

Conservation is part of a large historical and contemporary context in which cultural heritage is made. Cultural heritage preservation includes a multifaceted field including museology, archaeology, and social studies, amongst others. The research for this thesis is based in the segment of objects conservation traditionally called *ethnographic conservation*. Tangible objects are one of the significant evidences of past times and events, around which institutions and research has evolved. These objects have been de-contextualised and resides in collections with very little of their intangible values intact. For the objects to remain relevant they need be allowed to participate in people's lives and current debates. They need to have meaning added to their biography and to be allowed cultural continuity. The conservator's role in this context is profound and generally undefined, nationally and internationally. There is need to acknowledge the impact of conservation actions and the adhering responsibilities. Through a minor survey along with a comparison of cultural heritage management, including conservation, regarding the Sámi and Māori cultural heritage I have explored the underlying post-colonial structure, still affecting how these collections are perceived and managed today. The survey was based on a formalised questionnaire which was sent out to eight institutions housing Sámi objects collections. It included three national museums, two regional museums, two self-governed museums and one Sámi governed museum. The responses affirmed the findings of the literature review, that there is lack of positioning and structure in Swedish cultural heritage management regarding the Sámi cultural heritage, Sámi objects and potential Sámi claims. The reluctance to define and acknowledge the Sámi community, to grant a higher degree of self-determination has been noted on all levels of Swedish political and cultural structure. As remedial conservation, predominantly, has become more of a commodity there is a risk that these adaptations within conservation towards the contemporary context of a free market system moves the profession further away from the core objectives, preservation of value and significance. A defined national ethical position among conservators I feel would strengthen the sector and enable a more open and including practice. The profession need to revisit core questions like for *whom* we conserve, what is the purpose and our contribution to the underlying structures involving cultural heritage making and *whose* voice is being heard. This research is exploring the contemporary challenges of cultural heritage preservation. The literature review and presented cases in section 6 shows that there is an alternative way to look at cultural heritage and the role of conservation.

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FOREWORD

Writing this thesis was a journey, not always a pleasant one. It has at times been difficult to grasp how imbued one is of one's own cultural and social context. I know I have reexamined my professional as well as my personal position.

I was lucky to be introduced to my supervisor and mentor Diana Walter for the writing of this thesis. She has guided me without altering my voice, she has seen through my short cuts and told me to do better, she has pushed when needed and she has above all encouraged me. Her in-depth knowledge in the academic world alongside her professional position within cultural heritage and its social and political structures has enriched this thesis.

My family has been very supportive, this thesis came about at a time when we all had a lot going on.

Love you; Matthew, Elin and Frans

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1. Introduction

This research is exploring the contemporary challenges of cultural heritage objects preservation. More specifically the segment often referred to as *ethnographic conservation* and its intertwined relation with indigenous source communities. Conservation is, knowingly and unknowingly, participating in a larger historical and contemporary context in which cultural heritage is made. With this role there arises a need to acknowledge the impact of our actions and the responsibilities that comes with them. The multifaceted field of cultural heritage includes, amongst others, museology, archaeology, social studies, historical studies and natural history. The foundation of these humanistic and scientific fields lies in the evidence of past times and events. There is a belief in the objects inherent value as carriers of information, not just about morphology and function but also as a portal providing a symbolism and meaning which can connect the past with the present – and with the future. Traditional conservation has focused on retaining the material, the raw data which these objects contains. *"The purpose of conservation is to study, record, retain and restore the culturally significant qualities of the object with the least possible intervention"*¹ However, in an evolving society there is a call for relevance and the traditional ways in which culture is preserved and presented is increasingly challenged. There is a need for conservators to position themselves, to define the resources that conservation can provide in the organic arena which can be concluded as heritage preservation. The role of conservation becomes very visual in relation to objects in collections which has been collected within an imperial/colonial system. These objects have been de-contextualised and often reside in institutions with very little of their intangible values intact. Rather than retaining physical features, which conservators undoubtedly are experts of, we need to address the important role of these objects as carriers of a multitude of values. Many of which cannot be extracted solely through a professional conduct but in a relevant context where the act of preservation is inclusive and open. For the objects to remain relevant they need to be allowed to participate in people's lives and current debates, they need to have meaning added to their biography and to be allowed continuity. To understand the context in which conservation sits I have incorporated academic fields as well as social/local and personal views on the contemporary relevance and preservation of cultural heritage related to indigenous source communities. To illustrate and to compare and to discuss different approaches on cultural heritage management, regarding contemporary indigenous source communities, I have used examples from my own country Sweden and my second country New Zealand. As I am married to a *kiwi* (a person from New Zealand) I have had an insight and interest to consider and compare the two nations and their use and management of cultural artefacts. The two countries have similarities in that that both nations consist of a multicultural population in which there is an indigenous one which has suffered the consequences of structures related to colonisation and imperialism. In Sweden we have a Swede – Sámi relationship and in New Zealand a European (pakeha) – Māori one. This relationship has a historical as well as present impact on social structures that is relatable to preservation processes. It is this aspect of conservation practice that this thesis explores. To summarise I cite N. Kaufman who I think highlights an important and challenging positioning for conservators;

*"Preservationists have opportunities beyond historians, we can be actors as well as chroniclers of history."*²

¹ IIC-CG and CAPC 1989: 18

² Kaufman, N. (2004) p.325

1.1 Background

When studying conservation and working as a conservator, primarily with Swedish archaeological artefacts and sites, I have seldom discussed or thought about the objects/sites in a relation to living cultures or cultural heritage entangled with a disputed heritage. The ethical frameworks and codes of conduct structuring the profession and education in Sweden have, in my opinion, dealt more with preservation of the tangible object and the need for conservation to assume business models adopted in a free market economy. For me professionally, having started my academic and professional training in archaeology and thereby working with conservation as an integral part of science-based research, it has always been a priority to use conservation as continued archaeological excavation and documentation. Here the approach has been to apply remedial and preventive actions to expose and preserve the tangible material and to ensure its function and accessibility to present and future research. For the last seven years I have worked with conservation of archaeological material at *Studio Västsvensk Konservering*³ (SVK). SVK is a conservation studio incorporating a wide range of conservators trained and specialised in a multitude of fields within conservation. The studio is an example of a business-like model where conservation is separated from institutions housing the material and general collections management.

In 2014 archaeologist Marie Louise Stig Sørensen gave a talk at Gothenburg University on *The role of cultural heritage in war and during the building of peace*. Marie Louise Stig Sørensen talked about the use of cultural heritage in violent political conflicts such as World War II and more recently in former Yugoslavia. She was exploring how preservation and restoration, or just as important the lack of these actions, of tangible cultural heritage could validate certain aspects of a conflict. Intervention becomes tangible evidence, with the power of erasing, enhancing or celebrating the rights and wrongs conducted or inflicted by the opposing parties. The case studies presented and the discussions addressing the actions taken in these projects raised a lot of relevant questions and thoughts that stuck and followed me into my *day to day* work. It made me reevaluate the hows and whys and added a new critical layer to the ethical aspect of my profession. How and for whom is cultural heritage created and why and how material is selected and preserved is a topic that has been explored within conservation. During the last decades there have been several attempts to explore a contemporary positioning for conservation⁴. It took some extreme examples though to make me really realise the impact that my action has on cultural heritage structures and objects. Cultural heritage material is holding tangible and intangible values that are relevant enough today to become targets in conflict. Here citing the UNESCO director general I. Bokova; *“Culture is not attacked by accident, nor is heritage being destroyed as collateral damage: they are being targeted directly and specifically, and these attacks lie at the heart of the strategies violent extremists employ to spread their message and disseminate fear.”*⁵

This thesis deals with a complex group of material cultural heritage related to contemporary indigenous cultures, often referred to as source communities as they represent the context from which these objects were obtained. These communities have often been defined by and subjected to colonial strategies and interference which impact is still substantial on many aspects of social and cultural structures. The actions and effects of these historical events can easily be related to contemporary actions, as described in the citation above from I. Bokova.

³ Translation: West Swedish Conservation Studio

⁴ For example, Clavir, M. (1997), Muños Viñas, S. (2005), Caple, C. (2006)

⁵ Bokova I. 2015 p.290

The inherent structures from the colonial days are still very much present in how cultural heritage is perceived and managed. Material cultural heritage related to indigenous people has been collected and used by colonialists, crusaders and visiting scholars to understand, mould and present the world as they saw it. These collections have largely remained in the control of museums and private collectors and as such are treated as collective heritage⁶ but is this relevant and accurate in contemporary understandings of material culture? Can cultural heritage be collectively valued and should cultural heritage be considered of universal interest and ownership? How much of this is a Western construction? As will be explored in this thesis there are many people who consider cultural heritage and the attached symbolism and meaning to be private, exclusive and even dangerous if not handled in a culturally safe manner⁷. D. Whiting observed that conservation was often subjected to a political *tug of war* situations regarding repatriation and social positioning in the present and future relationship between a Western community and an Indigenous one⁸.

1.1.2 Disposition

In section 1.5 significant previous research was explored and presented under key themes; *Meaning and values of objects and collections, Cultural heritage conservation, Colonial structures and indigenous people - Co-curation and partnership, Sámi cultural heritage and Māori cultural heritage*. All of which relate to the different fields or topics that are further explored in the following chapters. Sections 2 and 3 studied conservation in practice and theory, what is conservation? What defines us as a group and as individuals? Also in section 3 a selection of national and international standards was examined to assess if there was a professional consensus or positioning of conservation in relation to cultural heritage linked to indigenous source communities. Section 4 presented a more in-depth investigation of the complexity involving processes and structures in which cultural heritage is made and utilised. In section 5 current Māori and Sámi heritage management was defined and section 6 presented examples of how theories concerning co-curation and conservation can be put into practice.

The sections concerning archaeology (section 5.2, 5.3) were included to consider how new material was added to academic fields as well as objects collections. Since most institutions have stopped their active collecting strategies, new acquisitions of material heritage come mainly from archaeology. Legislation and practice within archaeology especially regarding the archaeological material affects which objects become legible for conservation and preservation. There are significant differences in how the archaeological material is defined and handled in Sweden and New Zealand, these differences affect the material both instantly and in the long-term. In section 7 results were presented and discussed along with a conclusion, discussion, future prospects and a summary.

1.2 Problem statement and research objective

In this thesis I have examined and discussed the role of conservation/conservators regarding cultural heritage objects related to indigenous source communities. A well-founded positioning is especially vital for conservators practising in nations with dual-heritage where colonial means

⁶ The Stockholm Charter (1998) p.53

⁷ Whiting, D. (2005) p.16

⁸ Gabriel, M. & Dahl, J. eds. (2008)

and western traditions have dominated the relationship. Examples and comparisons was drawn from the current situation in Sweden and New Zealand.

The main aim was to investigate how the conservation profession was currently positioned and evaluate the need for development for conservators to securely and confidently perform in a contemporary society. A social structure where indigenous source community strive for self-determination and self-governing over their cultural heritage. In Sweden a definition of professional ethics and values which acknowledge Sámi and Swedish cultural heritage could possibly encourage and enable co-curation and preservation of tangible and intangible values linked to cultural heritage and related objects. In my view the conservation profession needs to work on self-determination. This is especially important as remedial conservation today is often outsourced, contracted and dealt with on a business level, equal to archaeology. This adaption creating a further distance between conservation, community and institutions managing and housing objects collections. Conservation must not be reduced simply to a *tool* performing preservation but needs to establish a position in which conservation is an active agent in co-curation of objects collections. The objects are at risk of becoming a commodity in the hands of an owner/custodian (being whoever pays for it) making vital decisions on what, if and how things are valued and managed.

This thesis problematises conservation practice conducted on material cultural heritage related to indigenous people which hereafter will be referred to directly as indigenous source communities or included in the general term, source community. Specifically, it examines conservation practice on cultural heritage objects connected with Sámi people in Sweden and Māori people in New Zealand. These focus nations were chosen for specific reasons. For Sweden this was to evaluate the situation and prospects of conservation related to the Sámi culture, whereas in New Zealand there already is a vocalised, progressive approach to Māori cultural heritage and conservation which made it an interesting and valuable reference to the situation in Sweden. Both the Sámi and Māori have officially recognised indigenous status in their respective countries⁹. Their cultural structures have survived historical, and present, conflict; a conflict in which acquired tangible cultural heritage has been in control of the invading/oppressing culture in power. In New Zealand, as will further be presented (section 5) Māori have legal, cultural rights to all things Māori¹⁰. However, structural and political conflicts remains unresolved and cultural heritage is still predominantly managed by institutions rooted in Western/colonial traditions. In Sweden the Sámi people are still fighting for a higher level of self-management and control over their cultural heritage as Sámi heritage is generally categorised as *national* heritage. This was further presented in section 5.

In this context, it seemed relevant to examine and evaluate how conservators such as myself and curators trained in a Western tradition, treat and communicate heritage objects related to indigenous source communities; how we preserve and present them, how we regard ownership and provenance and how we work with access and communication. The use of *we* was intentional as this was a key aspect in the current situation where conservators are acting as a collective. Culturally and professionally separated from the indigenous source community. A huge portion of the Sámi and Māori cultural heritage is still in the hands of *others*, a status which raises questions around colonialism, ownership and empowerment. A key consideration examined in this thesis was if there were any international, national or local co-curatorial

⁹ Regeringskansliet, Samerna – ett folk och urfolk (2015), New Zealand Government – Maori History (2018)

¹⁰ Morgan, G. & Guthrie, S. (2014)

strategies with indigenous source communities in place to enable consultation and communication between conservators and communities. Not in the least because the current situation greatly impacts present and future generations use and access to their cultural heritage.

In New Zealand over the last twenty years there has been an increased awareness of the importance of defining and acknowledging the impact that preservative and remedial actions performed on material cultural heritage has for the contemporary culture. How this affects tangible as well as intangible aspects, like symbolism and meaning. Tangible and intangible heritage are protected by national and international laws and conventions¹¹. Professional conduct and ethics for professionals within conservations is addressed in international and national charters and guidelines¹². The national museum of New Zealand, Te Papa, states their views on the rights of the Māori through the local iwi (tribal group) in the introduction to their *Guide to Guardians of Iwi Treasures*. “Museums increasingly accept that iwi must be involved in the interpretation, exhibition and care of all taonga. That involvement can only be achieved from the base of a strong and effective partnership between iwi and museums. This guide looks at ways in which museums can work towards such a partnership.”¹³ The use of a word like *guardians* and the stipulated involvement on all levels inherently acknowledges the rights to cultural heritage regardless of current ownership. The work that has been done and is being done in New Zealand has been examined in this thesis and compared to how Sámi cultural heritage was perceived and managed in Sweden. A main inquiry being what can Swedish cultural heritage management learn from the New Zealand example and what could be improved? The focus of the case-studies/examples of the Hotunui project (section 6.1) and the co-curatorial examples from the National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI) (section 6.2) consider practical conservation and explore how theory can be applied to practice, and how to analyse the outcome. Another key question was whether a shift towards a more holistic approach and recognition of cultural ownership affects the everyday work of conservators? Can or should we handle material related to source communities without consent and community involvement?

At the core of the following discussions lies a concern and will to evaluate how these conservation actions affect past and present ethnic identity and culture. For example, how do differences in laws, regulating care and preservation of material culture from conflicting ethnicities affect the understanding and development of a national cultural identity?

The following questions have been outlined to critically explore these goals

- What guides conservators in their professional conduct when working with tangible and intangible cultural heritage?
- What is the role of conservation in the preservation of cultural heritage linked to indigenous source communities?
- Are conservators trained and prepared to preserve intangible values such as symbolism and meaning?
- How do/can conservators participate professionally in conflicts concerning indigenous cultural heritage?

¹¹ UNESCO - Convention for the Safeguarding of the intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), Kulturmiljölag (1988:950), Protected Objects Act 1975 (2014)

¹² ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums (1986) (2017), E.C.C.O – Code of Ethics, European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers’ Organisations (2003), ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value (1993). Revised (2010)

¹³ Te Papa National Services (2001) p.1

- Who owns cultural heritage and what legal or legitimate claims do indigenous source communities have on their cultural heritage?
- Are there any guidelines or strategies in place to guide Swedish conservators when working with Sámi related cultural heritage?
- Can conservators trained in a western tradition preserve cultural heritage related to indigenous people without compromising tangible/intangible values?
- What does co-curation with source communities mean for the preservation of tangible as well as intangible aspects?

1.3 Limitations

The thesis critically reviews and discusses literature and other sources to form a conceptual understanding of the current approaches to remedial conservation of material culture with specific reference to Māori and Sámi heritage. At the core of the ethical discussion the effects of these interventions on past, present and future cultural identity of these nations was analysed and discussed. The scope of this thesis relies on published or in other ways documented projects that can be used to exemplify practices and actions. The thesis does not incorporate the discussion regarding human remains as the focus was on the material culture of objects. Human remains were only addressed if an object treated was in fact constructed from or directly related to human remains which affect its intangible value and status.

Many of the issues presented and discussed lie on a structural level and would need to be worked through on an international and national political level. However, as conservators we can highlight the relevance of such discussions by developing professional approaches and defined ethical standards to show our concern and respect for the preservation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage and its future use. Conservators also enact policies through their practice and thereby manifest ethical standards between professionals and communities. A key consideration was therefore, to which extent conservation practice and training respects and applies the spirit of policies that require a meaningful engagement with indigenous people and source communities. The cultural and political focus of this discussion primarily involves Indigenous and European conflicts in Sweden and New Zealand.

1.4 Theory and methodology

Conservation is situated in a multidisciplinary setting where the education and the profession are influenced and governed both by science and humanism. Conservation is interpretive¹⁴ in the way that material cultural heritage is not a product of nature, it is a product altered by human actions which has impacted on the objects status and value and needs to be understood as such. On the other hand, the documentation and interpretations leading to a conservation strategy are also based on knowledge of scientific facts and practical experience relating it to science and empirical research methods. Conservation as a field has traditionally defined and related itself towards positivistic, empirical theories rather than the humanistic, hermeneutic ones¹⁵. Conservators, as professionals, recurrently define themselves to be experts on tangible objects, materiality and degradation processes¹⁶. Conservation has used scientific measures in

¹⁴ Weil, P.D. (1984) p.5

¹⁵ Thurén, T. (1991)

¹⁶ AIC – Code of ethics and guidelines for practice. The American Institute for Conservation of Historic & Artistic Works. (1994), ICOM-CC- Terminology to characterize the conservation of tangible cultural heritage (2008), ICOM-CC Conservation: who, what & why? (2018)

order to control and restrain a field susceptible to subjective and contemporary influence. The aim has been to reduce the impact of personal taste or trends in what and how cultural heritage is preserved. To make the subjective objective.¹⁷ Quantifiable data and empirical studies based on laws of science and nature have been used to formulate dependable and comparable conservation plans. There is however a problem with conservation identifying and justifying its role as objects experts within a scientific context. Conservators are generally not scientists. Conservators are, in general, professionals who practise within a small area of science, using a limited knowledge of chemistry and natural laws to understand an objects materiality, to secure and preserve its *true nature*¹⁸. There are today specialised conservators like conservation scientists which has developed and further positioned the profession within science and contributed to conservation as well as related fields, however they remain the exception rather than representative for the whole¹⁹.

Remedial conservation, although relying on professional standards and higher education remains in many ways closely related to traditional crafts and knowledge of preservation. A conservators skills lies not solely in application of exact percentages of complexing agents but also in the eyes and hands. Founded in experience obtained through years of encounters with a range of different materials and objects²⁰, through knowledge inherited by working side by side colleagues, mentors and skilled people. These are values and properties closely related to indigenous knowledge and tradition which has produced and preserved the objects conservators conserve. Contemporary conservation theory is moving away from the truth seeking and objectified *hard science* scene of the field²¹. Although the action of cultural heritage conservation benefits from data gained from other and/or within the discipline/s the material at hand is far too complex by nature and biography for strict science to be applied. The objectivism sought by conservators during the time when conservation was defining its role and potential is giving way to what Muños Viñas calls "*inter-subjectivism*"²². He referred to a conservator being able to utilise specialised methods and skills in combination with decision-making based on common-sense and sensibility. Overall there is within conservation a move towards the subjective, similar to the ones happening in related fields like museology. As was further explored and discussed in this thesis, rather than being *the white coated expert*, a conservator can be an enabler, a cultural heritage liaison in current society and a person in constant development, moving and learning from encounters and communication.

As previously stated this master thesis research was based on a specific field within cultural heritage conservation and specifically explores what is sometimes named ethnographical conservation. The terminology *ethnographic, ethnology and anthropology* is politicised and debated, as presented in the *definitions* (section 1.4.2). however, it is still commonly used within cultural heritage research and management. It will here be used with care and only when reflecting on other institutions or individuals' definitions or discussions. Objects related to this field includes a wide range of materials as well as origins. Conservators are mainly located within a multidisciplinary but generally humanistic field. Material cultural heritage – the objects, are by definition not just material following natural laws. they are also a product of

¹⁷ Muños Viñas, S (2005) p. 79

¹⁸ Clavir, M (1997) p. 97, Caple, C. (2000) p. 62, Weil, P.D. (1984) p.9-10

¹⁹ Weaver, M.E. (1995)

²⁰ Torraca, G. (1996) p.444

²¹ Muños Viñas, S (2005) pp.123-135

²² Muños Viñas, S (2005) p.147

human activity²³. As such they are relevant and related to a subject they render an interdependent set of values classified as tangible and intangible. Tangible and intangible material and values were further explored below (section 1.4.1). Traditionally cultural heritage management and preservation has nonetheless mainly safeguarded, defined and addressed the tangible material. It was not until 2003 that intangible heritage was internationally recognised and safeguarded through the formulation and ratification of *UNESCO'S – Convention for the Safeguarding of the intangible Cultural Heritage*.

Conservation although multidisciplinary remains primarily influenced by a Eurocentric or Western influenced scientific and humanistic tradition. As this thesis explores the actual and potential role of conservation in relation to contemporary society, specifically in relation to cultural heritage from indigenous source communities, it is vital to explore this geo-political position and how it affects relations and conservation outcome. The associated materials biography often includes colonial or other oppressive actions which has transported them from the original context into an institutional framework originating from 18th century social Darwinist theories. The Western world, as it is aiming to move away from colonial traditions, where objects were collected and *rescued* from the inferior culture in the name of science, is now formulating new hypotheses. These include a move from nationalism towards globalisation and the use of terminology such as *World Culture*. Many of the traditional museums housing substantial collections are expressing a change from using cultural material related to source communities to explain the world to educate the world about cultural expressions and intercultural exchanges and processes. Cultural heritages is by many national and international institutions regarded as a collective source, belonging to no one and all, related to source communities but through its biography transformed into a collective heritage, a result of intercultural encounters²⁴. The question here is whether this only a new way for the Western world to remain in control, to justify the fact that the collections remain within the old structure? Because on the other hand many indigenous/First Nation communities are not ready to turn the page and forget the past and present post-colonial structural imbalance. Many are still left with a sense of loss, many still feel wrongfully exposed and humiliated²⁵. Many are still piecing together the remains of their traditions and way of life. They have not yet been given control and autonomy to develop their own cultural identity. For many of these people culture is not a collective affair, but a restricted and private one, one not easily or readily shared with *others*. Conservation of these collections, gathered by different means under the colonial, social Darwinist era, can both be seen and treated as an individual field but more often as an integrated part of a multidisciplinary field, often defined as archaeological conservation or ethnographical conservation with a professional focus on the science of materials and preservation of the originality. Conservators are traditionally regarded as guardians of the object.

So, who am I? A Swedish, middle-aged, female, conservator from an academic background. Pretty much the stereotype of a *white coated conservator*. Can I and should I as professional and as person study this topic, am I too much *the others*. I think, as an individual conservator I should be very careful to work on cultural heritage related to indigenous source communities without co-curation. I think that if I solely rely on professional guidelines and ethics I will irreversibly alter an objects biography with consequences for past, present and future people.

²³ Hodder, I. (1992) p.11

²⁴ Skrydsdrup, M. (2008) p.62, Muñoz Vinas (2005) pp.147–170

²⁵ Thorleifsen D. (2008), Simpson, G.M (2008)

I think that as natural as using knowledge based on tangible information and observation, intangible context should accommodate the objects. Regardless of legal ownership cultural heritage is not a commodity, it cannot be owned or governed by individuals, whether collectively or culturally related to humanity and individuals it has a significant value through its biography, a link between the past and the future. In this thesis I have aimed to keep a holistic approach to my role and my research. I wanted to avoid making hypothetical – deductive conclusions. With regards to cultural heritage materials I think it is detrimental to assume to understand culture and human actions just because you, yourself, are a cultural being. I have intended to investigate and explore conservation and the conservators' role and purpose in relation to a cultural heritage biography, both from a factual potential perspective.

The conducted research was based mainly on textual sources chosen to explore different ways that institutions, conservators and curators has collected, preserved and utilised indigenous cultural heritage, traditionally and currently. A study of literature concerning the theoretical and practical aspects of the research aim created the foundation of this thesis. International and national laws, regulations and professional and/or ethical guidelines has been used to examine the framework regulating management and conservation of cultural heritage. This research incorporates a range of different fields like conservation, museology, archaeology and ethnology; each with their own set of literature, research, professional and ethical standards. Primarily it was based on source materials from Sweden and New Zealand. Other sources have been used to gain a wider perspective and to acknowledge the multicultural and global aspects and impacts that relate to curatorial projects and experiences worldwide. The literature review was supplemented by a range of other sources like interviews, internet sites and social media records to evaluate the contemporary impact and potential of working in society. The focal point has remained on objects and preservation with a relation to indigenous source communities. General ethical discussions were grounded in *Values and Heritage Conservation*²⁶ a report from the Getty Conservation Institute and international groups for conservation and heritage management such as ICOM-CC (International Council of Museums – Committee for Conservators), E.C.C.O (European Confederation of Conservators – Restorers Organisation), ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) for codes of ethics and professional conduct²⁷. UNESCOs *Convention for safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage*²⁸, UNs *Declaration of rights of indigenous people*²⁹ as well as national laws, regulations and guidelines for cultural context and insight in human rights perspectives.

The conservation of Sámi and Māori related material as well as the contact between conservators and source communities has been examined. Sámi and Māori material cultural heritage will here refer collections and objects (see section 1.4.2 for definitions) that can be connected to people with Sámi or Māori heritage, protected by heritage laws and regulations. The literature review formed the theoretical basis of this study and the case studies along with interviews form the data. In cases where the written information needed to be complimented or enforced, interviews with conservators, source community representatives and other cultural management professionals have been conducted.

²⁶ Avrami, E., Mason, R., de la Torre, M. (ed.) (2000)

²⁷ ICOM-CC- Definition of Profession (1984), E.C.C.O – Code of Ethics, European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organisations (2003), E.C.C.O – Professional Guidelines (I) (2002), ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value (1993). Revised (2010)

²⁸ UNESCO - Convention for the Safeguarding of the intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)

²⁹ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008)

In addition to the literature review a minor survey was conducted. It was initiated as I was not able to define how current heritage management was structured and applied to the group of objects collections related to the Sámi community. Nor could I find any professional positioning by Swedish curators and conservators regarding the Sámi cultural heritage through my initial literary study. I was looking for and expecting documents and statements regarding the Sámi culture like the ones I found in the New Zealand cultural heritage sector (section 5.4). To ensure that this lacuna wasn't filled internally within the institutions housing Sámi collections I formulated a questionnaire (in full, appendix 2) which was sent to eight institutions, seven responded. The selected institutions included three national museums, two regional museums (one did not respond), two self-governed museums and one Sámi governed museum. The questionnaire was emailed to the institutional Head of Department of Collections and/or Conservation. They have then referred to or collaborated with relevant staff, including conservators, curators and archaeologists, to supply answers representative for the institution. The aim of the survey was to generate a conclusion of how Sámi cultural heritage is managed and how the individual institutions are relating their work to and with the source communities.

1.4.1 Tangible and intangible cultural heritage and its value

Tangible and intangible cultural heritage although interdependently related also hold individual characteristics and values. In *Intangible heritage embodied*³⁰ a collection of articles on the topic, intangible cultural heritage was defined by William Logan as “*heritage that is embodied in people rather than in inanimate objects*”³¹. In another publication heritage and value C.L. Hucklesby was referring to value as “*profoundly cultural and it cannot be assumed that the same value would be recognised by different social groups*”³². The collective and individual perception of value in combination with an objects biography, including a multitude of changes in values, makes preservation of value immensely difficult and subjective. In here lies the likely key to why conservation has merged more towards the more objective side of value, the tangible values.

In 2003 intangible cultural heritage was defined and recognised through the international UNESCO convention the; *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*³³. The aims and purpose of the convention was to define and safeguard intangible cultural heritage, to ensure local, national and international respect for source communities, groups and individuals. UNESCO defines intangible heritage as “*oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals and festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe, and traditional craftsmanship knowledge and techniques.*”³⁴ Keywords for the definition were traditionally, contemporary, recreative, integrative, and transmittable. Intangible cultural heritage when transmitted from generation to generation is; “*constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.*”³⁵

Intangible cultural heritage can be relatable to past, present and future contexts and as such the material or immaterial manifestation can carry cultural values, traditions and knowledge which can be transmitted through interaction and communication. The inherent meaning of

³⁰ Silverman, E. & Ruggles, F.D. (2009) p.1

³¹ Logan, W. (2007) pp.33–53

³² Hucklesby, C.L. (2005) p.1023

³³ UNESCO - Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003) art.1

³⁴ UNESCO – Intangible Heritage (2017)

³⁵ UNESCO - Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), art 2, p.2

cultural heritage is one of the cornerstones of the construction of cultural identity. The overall purpose of the segment which specialises in contemporary cultural heritage is that it can be used as a communicative and educational platform for understanding and integration between people. Simultaneously there are complexities within cultural heritage management, like how to approach traditions and manifestations which are not compatible with international laws and/or Human Rights conventions and agreements³⁶.

There are many international, national and regional charters and conventions addressing tangible heritage³⁷. Conservation has and still does relate most of its professional and ethical principles to relatable values such as materiality, authenticity, originality.³⁸ It has manifested itself in a profession consisting of specialists who safeguard the object by approaching it scientifically and objectively rather than holistically. Preserving or safeguarding tangible and/or intangible aspects of cultural heritage is not necessarily a mutually exclusive process. On first sight the safeguarding actions for intangible values are dynamic and tangible values are passive, but co-curation can merge the two and lead to an altered level of knowledge and preservation. Co-curation of cultural heritage can range from including related communities or individuals in collections management and conservation to employing positions sometimes defined as liaison officers. The role of a liaison officer is often to ensure mutual and constructive relations between institution and community.

1.4.2 Definitions³⁹

When working with cultural heritage and especially in relation to source communities there are many descriptions and use of words that are subjective and/or charged with connotations which will carry different meaning for different groups or individuals. L. T. Smith for example was in her introduction of *Decolonizing methodologies* problematising the use of general terms like “indigenous”, “First Nation” or “people of the land” to name a few⁴⁰. She means that these terms can be useful for communities to create a strong group in international discussions but on a local or national level the people often have their own terms and grouping amongst themselves and towards others. For example, in New Zealand the cultural duality is often discussed in Māori terms as Māori and Pakeha (non-indigenous) and in Sweden by the Sámi as Sámi and Swedes. The following definitions show my use and interpretation of relating terminology as well as definitions used to describe conservation. They may be perceived differently in the literature. In my own discussion and contribution, apart from the terms *source community* and *indigenous* – referring to official political status, I have avoided generalist terms but they will be used when other people’s texts or ideas are referenced. Source community is a very general term which can be applied to almost all cultural heritage. For this thesis the term is used for indigenous contemporary communities that have a relation to cultural heritage material in collections.

³⁶ Silverman, E. & Ruggles, F.D. (2009) p.2

³⁷ Such as the Venice Charter (1964), the Nara Document on Authenticity (1994), UNESCO - World Heritage Convention (2017)

³⁸ ICOM-CC- Definition of Profession (1984)

³⁹ If not specifically referred to the definition is based on; Burra Charter (1999) article 1.2-6-10, p.2, *ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums* (1986), art. 6.5, p.34 & glossary or UNESCO - Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)

⁴⁰ Smith, L.T. (1999) p.6

Aboriginal – Often related to the indigenous people of Australia the term is also applied in literature meaning indigenous to a place.

Adaptation – modifying a place to suit the existing use or a proposed use.

Anthropology – study of humankind⁴¹

Archaeology – the study of human activity through the recovery and analysis of material culture

Archaeological conservation – conservation of material acquired by archaeological survey or otherwise obtained from archaeological sites.

Authenticity – “the quality of being genuine or original, being actually what is claimed rather than imitative”⁴². “authenticity can be claimed and defined through cultural value. Cultural value can be expressed through form and material but also through use, function, tradition, setting, spirit, feeling, language and other forms of intangible values.”⁴³

Biography – *biography of place* or an objects *biography*. Biography, traditionally used to describe the story of individuals is also a concept used, and its holistic function applied, within cultural studies of places and things⁴⁴. Biography as a method is used to emphasise and define the intertwined link between people and cultural heritage⁴⁵. The study is based on how this relation between people and things affects meaning and value, how tangible and intangible parameters are accumulated and transformed. An objects biography is the sum of value, material and alteration.

Culture – referring to shared ideas, knowledge, values, norms of behaviour and artefacts distinct to an ethnic group.⁴⁶

Cultural anthropology – description and analysis of past and present people’s lives and traditions.⁴⁷

Cultural heritage – anything or any concept considered of aesthetic, historical, scientific or spiritual significance.⁴⁸

Cultural significance – aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual values which has implication for past, present or future generations⁴⁹

Conservation – “all measures and actions aimed at safeguarding tangible cultural heritage while ensuring its accessibility to present and future generations. Conservation embraces preventive conservation, remedial conservation and restoration. All measures and actions should respect the significance and the physical properties of the cultural heritage item.”⁵⁰ The broad aim of conservation is commonly defined by retention, keeping things as they are⁵¹. It can be defined as the profession devoted to preservation of cultural property for present and future use⁵². To preserve cultural property for the present and future generations.⁵³ Conservation plans can be concluded to include processes put in place to retain a place’s natural, Indigenous and cultural significance.⁵⁴ “For Indigenous communities, it can include conserving relationships between people and place that embrace spiritual as well as historical values, and protecting Aboriginal Sites in order to protect their significance to people.”⁵⁵

⁴¹ Podolefsky, A. & Brown, P. (1991) p.1

⁴² Getty Conservation Institute Glossary for Iraq Course 2004 (2004), *Authenticity*

⁴³ UNESCO - Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2017) pp.26-27

⁴⁴ Sørensen, M-L, S. & Veijo-Rose, V. (2015) p.10

⁴⁵ In Sørensen, M-L, S. & Veijo-Rose, V. (2015) p.10 Kopytoff’s (1989) “*The cultural biography of things*” is referenced.

⁴⁶ Hutchinson, J. & Smith A.D. (1996), p.4-5

⁴⁷ Podolefsky, A. & Brown, P. (1991) p.3

⁴⁸ ICOM-Code of Ethics for Museums (2017)

⁴⁹ Burra Charter (1999) article 1.2, p.2

⁵⁰ ICOM-CC- Terminology to characterize the conservation of tangible cultural heritage (2008)

⁵¹ Muñoz Viñas, S. (2002)

⁵² AIC Definitions of conservation terminology (2018), AIC – Code of ethics and guidelines for practice of AIC. (1994)

⁵³ CAC, CAPC– Code of Ethics and Guidance for Practice (2000) p.1, E.C.C.O – Professional Guidelines (I) (2002) p.2

⁵⁴ Burra Charter (1999)

⁵⁵ Australia Centennial Parklands Conservation Management Plan (2000)

Contemporary communities – Used in ICOM code of ethics for now living cultures who uses material represented in housed collections.⁵⁶

Ethics – provides a framework, guidelines, as well as a defined structure supported by institutions and concepts concerning general approaches with a defined professional approach concerning right and wrong actions. A structure defined by the parties in control of the material culture, a structure more often than not excluding aboriginal cultures.

Ethnology – the study of characteristics of different peoples and the relationship between them

Ethnicity – a group with whom you share ideas, values and aspiration; culture.⁵⁷

Ethnographic conservation – The term commonly used to describe a subgroup of cultural heritage conservation. The material is traditionally related to indigenous people of the world. Within the international ICOM-CC forum the working group “Ethnographic Collections Working Group” has changed name to “Objects from Indigenous and World Cultures Working Group”⁵⁸ to better position the group in a contemporary society. This in response to professionals and indigenous people expressing the opinions like; *“Ethnographic conservation – the term is at best old fashioned and at worst offensive and racist. [...] Why are the clothing, weaponry and tools of my ancestors described as ethnographic while the clothing, weaponry and tools of someone from a European culture not?”*⁵⁹

First Nation – community or culture who was first in the area, often in relation to the area being colonised by others⁶⁰

Indigenous – historical and cultural continuity tied to an area, often in relation to the area being colonised by “others”⁶¹

Intangible cultural heritage – practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills, sometimes associated with physical manifestations like objects and cultural spaces that communities, groups and individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage.

Preservation – maintaining the fabric of a place in its existing state and retarding deterioration.

Values – as discussed under section 1.4.1 values can be defined and experienced on an individual and collective level. Tangible values are often associated with age, rarity, beauty, authenticity⁶². An objects value changes with time. It can initially be related to functionality, and affection, to later become and object with *higher value* like rarity, representation, evidence, manifestation and education⁶³.

Value system– *“a product of official action by the group as well as norms that becomes consensus through interaction or discussion in public for a”*⁶⁴

Restoration – returning the existing fabric of a place to a known earlier state by removing accretions or by reassembling existing components without the introduction of new material.

Reconstruction – returning a place to a known earlier state and is distinguished from restoration by the introduction of new material into the fabric.

Safeguarding – measures aimed at ensuring the viability of the cultural heritage, including identification, documentation, research, preservation, protection, promotion, enhancement and transmission.⁶⁵

Use – the functions of a place, as well as the activities and practices that may occur at the place.

⁵⁶ ICOM Code of Ethics for Museums (1986), art. 6.5, p.34

⁵⁷ Morgan, G. & Guthrie, S. (2014) p.37

⁵⁸ Peters, R.F. (2016) p.1

⁵⁹ Bloomfield, T. (2008) p.5

⁶⁰ Bring, O. (2015) p.201

⁶¹ Bring, O. (2015) p.201, ILO convention 169 (1989) art. 1

⁶² Caple, C. (2000) p.17

⁶³ Hucklesby, C.L. (2005) p.1023

⁶⁴ Wueste, D.E. (1993) p.34

⁶⁵ UNESCO - Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003), art 2, p.3

1.5 Review of relevant literature

A study of literature concerning the theoretical and practical aspects of the research aim was the foundation of this thesis. International and national laws, regulations and professional and/or ethical guidelines has been used to examine the framework regulating management and conservation of cultural heritage. The conservation of Sámi and Māori related material as well as the contact between conservators and source communities was examined through case studies and literature studies. Sámi and Māori collections/objects will here refer to ethnographic, ethnological, anthropological or archaeological material (see section 1.4.2 for definitions) that can be connected to people with Sámi or Māori heritage, protected by heritage laws and regulations. The literature review formed the theoretical basis of this study and the case studies along with interviews form the data. In cases where the written information needed to be complimented or enforced, interviews with conservators, source community representatives and other cultural management professionals have been conducted.

This study incorporated a range of different fields like conservation, museology, archaeology and ethnology; each with their own set of literature, research, professional and ethical standards. The focal point has remained on objects and preservation with a relation to source communities. General ethical discussions were grounded in *Values and Heritage Conservation*⁶⁶ a report from the Getty Conservation Institute and international groups for conservation and heritage management such as ICOM-CC (International Council of Museums – Committee for Conservators), E.C.C.O (European Confederation of Conservators – Restorers Organisation), ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) for codes of ethics and professional conduct⁶⁷, UNESCOs *Convention for safeguarding the intangible cultural heritage*⁶⁸, UNs *Declaration of rights of indigenous people*⁶⁹ as well as national laws, regulations and guidelines. The following key themes were *Meaning and values of objects and collections, Cultural heritage conservation, Colonial structures and indigenous people – co curation and partnership, Sámi cultural heritage and Māori cultural heritage*, which relates to the different fields or topics that are narrated in the following chapters.

1.5.1 Meaning and Values of objects and collections:

As mentioned in the introduction, archaeologist Marie Louise Stig Sørensens participation in multidisciplinary research projects has introduced the terminology *Biography of Place* to the author. This way of looking at places and objects, to acknowledge a more complicated meaning of things than just material and aesthetic values, can and I think should always be considered within conservation of cultural heritage. As conservation functions within a contemporary society it vital to acknowledge and understand that actions affect, not only the value and meaning of objects but simultaneously people. Cultural heritage is interdependently intertwined with people and actions, constantly in transformation, embedded with additional layers other than what is called originality and *true meaning*. This, and how, all action or lack of action affects objects and people was explored in the anthology *War and Cultural Heritage* Edited by M-L. S, Sørensen & D. Viejo –Rose⁷⁰. Within museum studies S. Pearce has

⁶⁶ Avrami, E., Mason, R., de la Torre, M. (ed.) (2000)

⁶⁷ ICOM-CC- Definition of Profession (1984), E.C.C.O – Code of Ethics, European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organisations (2003), E.C.C.O – Professional Guidelines (I) (2002), ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value (1993). Revised (2010)

⁶⁸ UNESCO - Convention for the Safeguarding of the intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)

⁶⁹ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008)

⁷⁰ Stig Sørensen, M.L. & Viejo-Rose, D. (2015)

participated in and driven the study of the role, purpose and potential of museums, objects and collections for more than three decades. Her work includes educational and conceptualising anthologies and monographs like *Interpreting objects and collections* and *Museums, objects and collections: a cultural study* focused on the study and interpretation of objects in a philosophical, conceptual as well as historical context⁷¹. S. Pearce has also written a number of books dedicated to the mechanics behind collecting. These are useful when examine the mechanisms behind the European tradition of collecting and the practice which has significantly contributed to how cultural heritage is utilised and perceived⁷².

1.5.2 Cultural heritage conservation

Literature and articles concerning objects within conservation tends to be technical and practical, where methods and or processes are described and evaluated. Often new material is published as conference preprints. At the Department of Conservation at Gothenburg University in Sweden, where I was trained, the majority of bachelor and master thesis' deal with a method, a material, a process or a result. Over the last 10 years only a handful have been exploring ethical dilemmas or the role of conservation/conservators⁷³.

In conservation training C. Caple's book *Conservation skills – Judgment, Method and Decision Making*⁷⁴ quickly became standard literature. It outlined the processes behind preservation and decision-making as well as remedial actions involved in preservation and conservation. Caple has later produced another useful book, this time on objects - the core of conservation. In *Objects: reluctant witnesses to the past*⁷⁵ Caple comprised decades of knowledge, thoughts and methods used within conservation and archaeology to interpret and utilise the potential of objects as evidence. He also addressed the intangible side of materiality and how archaeological and conservation processes ads and affects the biography of objects. This book might be seen as response to the last few decades move away from the traditional objectification within cultural heritage management. On conservation and the effects of its actions B. Appelbaum in *Conservation treatment methodology* and E. Pye in *Caring for the past: issues in conservation for archaeology and museums*, although not labelling it as such, were both discussing conservation and its influence and relation to objects biography⁷⁶. For example, in Appelbaum an objects value was not defined by a custodian or conservator but "*the objects actual historical state*"⁷⁷

Muños Viñas, S. *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*⁷⁸ is another compulsory read for students and it is worth coming back to as a practitioner of conservation as he was questioning some of the fundamental issues of conservation; "*If objectivity is not the answer. If conservation alters objects and meaning instead of CONSERVING, if we don't restore meanings and objects but adapts them to present-day expectations and needs. If truth is no longer the ultimate goal then what can conservators do, what should we do?*"⁷⁹. Muños Viñas, along with putting a light on some of the processes in which conservation is at risk of becoming irrelevant also produced a solution in

⁷¹ Pearce, S.M. (1994), Pearce, S.M. (1992)

⁷² Pearce, S.M. (1995), Pearce, S.M. (1998).

⁷³ See for example Owman, C. (2015), Leandersson, S. (2015)

⁷⁴ Caple, C. (2000)

⁷⁵ Caple, C. (2006), Caple, C. (2006)

⁷⁶ Appelbaum, B. (2007), Pye, E.M. (2001)

⁷⁷ Appelbaum, B. (2007) p. 174

⁷⁸ Muños Viñas, S. (2005)

⁷⁹ Muños Viñas, S. (2005) p.147

which conservation can act within professional conduct and remain its relevance. He was suggesting a combination of objectivity and subjectivity to open up for communication and contemporary relevance.

Regarding conservation and its relations to source communities a substantial and well anchored research was undertaken by M. Clavir for her Ph.D dissertation *Preserving What is Valued: an Analysis of Museum Conservation and First Nations Perspectives*⁸⁰. In this research the voice of conservation/curation professionals, indigenous and non-indigenous, as well as non-professionals was heard and valued. In the anthology *Past practice – future prospects* conservators and related professionals like M.Clavir and B. Federspiel were exploring the positioning of cultural heritage conservation in the 21st century⁸¹. They argue that conservation needs to re-evaluate its role and position within a contemporary society, to formulate relations with source communities rather than remaining stuck in traditional structures.

An example of a more progressive approach to conservation can be found at the training of conservators at the department of archaeology at University College London in England some contemporary projects have addressed conservation and cultural heritage related to source communities and contemporary society. In the anthology *Decolonising conservation: caring for Maori meeting houses outside New Zealand*, a case study is used to explore how a decontextualised object can be cared for through co-curation⁸². *People based conservation*⁸³ and *Conservations catch 22* are also projects run by department of conservation at UCL. The “Catch 22” project was led by E. Pye, D. Sully and J. Ashley-Smith and as described below:

This highlights a paradox which could be called conservation’s “Catch 22”

- *Access to heritage objects brings social benefit*
- *Greater access brings greater social benefit*
- *Greater access brings greater damage*
- *Greater damage brings reduced social benefit*
- *The aims of the AHRC/EPSRC research cluster established in 2009 to investigate this subject area were to*
- *explore the nature of the paradox that increasing access may ultimately reduce access; & dah*
- *understand both conceptual and practical risks and benefits of providing increased access to objects*
- *evaluate the effects on current collections-care policies and practice*
- *provide a platform for future research”⁸⁴*

These projects are examples of contemporary research and training of a new generation conservators better equipped to work within a community rather than taking the distanced role of *the expert*.

⁸⁰ Clavir, M. (1997) later published, Clavir, M. (2002)

⁸¹ British Museum (2001)

⁸² Sully, D. (2001)

⁸³ “People based conservation” (2018)

⁸⁴ “Conservations catch 22” (2018)

1.5.3 Colonial structures and indigenous people – co curation and partnership

The terminology of decolonizing collections, conservation and structures has frequently been used in post-structuralist and post-modernistic influenced practice⁸⁵. It is a way of contesting and deconstructing the way that the western world tells a story, approaches and defines an event or a situation. L.T. Smith was also using the term in her book *Decolonizing methodologies*. She was confronting the “*postmodern terminology*”, claiming it “*back*” as she argued that it is coinciding with what is already recognised as indigenous knowledge⁸⁶. I will here quote a larger section of L.T. Smiths introduction where she elaborated on *research* as it is relevant for this thesis where some form of research is being conducted. It is also relevant as research is often attributed to the role and context from which conservators often position themselves.

“The word itself, ‘research’, is probably one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous worlds vocabulary. When mentioned in many indigenous contexts, it stirs up silence, it conjures up bad memories, it raises a smile that is knowing and distrustful. [...] The way in which scientific research is implicated in the worst excess of colonialism remains a powerful remembered history of many of the worlds colonized peoples. It is a history that still offends the deepest sense of our humanity. [...] It appals us that the West can desire, extract and claim ownership of our ways of knowing, our imagery, the things we create and produce, and then simultaneously reject the people who created and developed those ideas and seek to deny them further opportunities to be creators of their own culture and own nation.”⁸⁷

L.T. Smith was not retracting from conducting research herself but she emphasised the exposed position that scholars and researchers with indigenous heritage has in the borderland between indigenous and Western culture. She dissected the contemporary communicative approach by national and international institutions. She illustrated the fact that conventions, guidelines and charters are of very little use when the adherence is highly selective.

On repatriation there is a lot to learn from a conference anthology based on a success story of repatriation of Inuit cultural heritage from Denmark back to Greenland⁸⁸. The topics discussed on the conference concerned *Whose property/whose heritage? -The legal status of cultural heritage. Does cultural heritage matter? -The politics of repatriation, Ethical considerations – repatriation as a ritual of redemption. Preservation or reuse? Repatriation as a challenge to museums.*⁸⁹ Thorleifsen, in the preface further explored the past and present situation of the colonial legacy “*...if humility (auth. note: relating to the how the nature of FN people is often described) is a virtue then humiliation is the worst vice. “There was a time in world history where the appropriation of other people’s cultural heritage was a display of power, where the fittest, strongest and thus winning party captured cultural heritage as plunder. I wish that such humiliation were but a thing of the past.”*⁹⁰ The anthology was consciously aiming to move away from the more argumentative approach outlined in the conference. It referred to a more holistic approach where globalisation and the development of communication techniques can enable interaction and cultural development, exchange and identification. It also recognises another side of globalisation processes, leaving people with a sense of loss. The need for people, previously categorised by Western classification systems or not, to find purpose and meaning in a new context.⁹¹ A quest where

⁸⁵ Sully, D. (2001), Lonetree, A. (2012)

⁸⁶ Smith, L.T. (1999) p.33

⁸⁷ Smith, L.T. (1999) p.1

⁸⁸ Gabriel, M & Dahl, J (2008)

⁸⁹ Thorleifsen D. (2008) p.8

⁹⁰ Thorleifsen D. (2008) p.8

⁹¹ Gabriel, M & Dahl, J (2008) pp.12–15

cultural heritage can contribute with reference and connection to ancestors, traditions, place and community.

In the anthology *Scandinavian Colonialism and the Rise of Modernity: Small Time Agents in a Global Arena*⁹² archaeologists, anthropologists and historians used case studies to study Scandinavian colonialism within Scandinavia as well as other parts of the world. It gives a background to the time, and the political structures in which the majority of ethnological material was collected. It discusses the underlying mechanisms which affects relations and cultural heritage related to source communities today. From *Arbetsgruppen Urfolk Samer Vetenskap* (The Working Group Indigenous people, Sámi, Science) an informative anthology with a Scandinavian perspective has been produced around Indigenous rights and democracy, debating what is right and what is fair⁹³. It looked into indigenous claims and a legal case in Sweden, *Nordmalingdomen*, where Swedish Sámi people were denied self-autonomy on Sámi culture and cultural landscape.

The mechanisms behind archaeological, ethnological and anthropological collections in institutional or private ownership as well as the politics behind legal and/or legitimate claims on cultural heritage materials was problematized by O. Bring in the Swedish book *Parthenon syndromet: Kampen om kulturskattern*⁹⁴. O. Bring questioned who owns cultural heritage and do decades of patronage justify ownership, especially when the process of accession is today deemed as illegal or at least immoral? Do claims based on the Western principles of rescue and safeguarding of world heritage hold any legitimate position in a contemporary society when source communities and looted archaeological and historical sites want to put the objects back into their original context?

1.5.4 Sámi cultural heritage

Literature within this field was limited overall and with regards to conservation with almost none existing. There are books and articles about Sami traditions, arts and crafts, and history but with regards to object biographies and the relation between collections, objects and people a lacuna has been noted. Within archaeology, in a Ph.D dissertation *Sámi prehistories: the politics of archaeology and identity in Northernmost Europe*⁹⁵, C-G Ojala studied Sámi heritage and archaeology from a historical and current perspective. Archaeologists I. Zachrisson and E. Baudou were for many years involved in a heated debate regarding the use of and abuse of archaeology and its potential role in indigenous claims. I. Zachrisson has participated in Sámi legal processes regarding autonomy over land to which they were claiming cultural rights.⁹⁶ Mulk, I-M has published several texts around Sámi cultural identity, the Sámi cultural landscape and repatriation which provide a historical background to the archaeological process in the region and the development of Sámi cultural heritage⁹⁷.

Nordiska museet and Historiska museet house the majority of Sámi material culture and were currently engaged in two different research projects. At Nordiska museet in *Konstruktion av ett*

⁹² Naum, M. & Nordin, J.M. (2013)

⁹³ Arbetsgruppen Urfolk, samer, vetenskap (2013)

⁹⁴ Bring, O. (2015) translation: The Parthenon syndrome: The contest of cultural treasures

⁹⁵ Ojala, C. (2009)

⁹⁶ See for example: Zachrisson, I. (2016), Zachrisson, I. (2010), Zachrisson, I. (2004) pp.118-131, Baudou, E. (1983), Baudou, E. (1992), pp.29-41., Baudou, E. (2004) pp.17-33.

⁹⁷ See for example Mulk, I. & Iregren, E. (1995), Mulk, I. (1986) pp. 20-21., Mulk, I. (2009) a pp. 116-133. Mulk, I. (2009) b

*samiskt kulturarv: Ernst Manker och Nordiska museet*⁹⁸ the research encircled the construction of a Sámi cultural heritage within the museum and has resulted in a range of articles by E. Silvé⁹⁹. The other one, *Collecting Sápmi: Early Modern Globalization of Sámi Material Culture and Contemporary Sámi Cultural Heritage*¹⁰⁰, was an ongoing research project conducted by several Nordic Universities and Museums. The project might on completion address some of the above-mentioned lack of research. It focuses on the objects, how they were collected, what was collected, who collected and where did they end up?¹⁰¹

In 2000 a conference around repatriation and ownership regarding Sámi cultural heritage was conducted. The articles in the ensuing publication (2002) are often cited and referred to when writing about Sámi heritage in collections. The sessions in 2000 included *Cultural heritage and cultural identity. Who owns Sámi cultural heritage? What does the law stipulate? -Responsibility and management. For who is cultural heritage managed? Future cultural heritage management – new paths and opportunities.*¹⁰² The overall aim was to discuss and formulate a platform for repatriation concerns and the construction of a Sámi cultural heritage department. The role of this department and Sámi museums should be to manage Sámi cultural heritage.¹⁰³

Two significant projects on the Sámi cultural heritage were *Samiskt kulturarv i samlingar: Rapport från ett projekt om återföringsfrågor gällande samiska föremål*¹⁰⁴ and *”Recalling Ancestral Voices - Repatriation of Sámi Cultural Heritage”*¹⁰⁵. Both included Ajtte museum and the Sámi Parliament focusing on repatriation of Sámi objects and Sámi access and control over related cultural heritage.

In 2016 a report on Human Remains in museums in Sweden was published *Mänskliga kvarlevor vid offentliga museer: en kunskapsöversikt*¹⁰⁶. The aim of the study was for the Swedish government to document which museums had human remains in their collections, how the material was handled and how it was utilized. The report although not directly related to the aim of this thesis has some valuable points with regards to museum policies, legislation and ethical discussions related to repatriation processes and contemporary cultures.

1.5.5 Māori cultural heritage

With regards to Māori cultural heritage on the other hand there was an abundance of books and articles discussing the New Zealand constitution – enabling a strong position for Māori people to all material related to Māori culture, Māori culture/material culture and the relationship between Māori and their objects¹⁰⁷. In 1977 Tū Tāngata was adopted by the Department of Māori Affairs to encourage the Māori people to *stand tall* and to take control

⁹⁸ Translation; Construction of a Sámi cultural heritage: Ernst Manker and the Nordiska Museet

⁹⁹ Silvé, E. (2008)a, Silvé, E. (2008)b., Silvé, E. (2011)

¹⁰⁰ “Collecting Sápmi: Early Modern Globalization of Sámi Material Culture and Contemporary Sámi Cultural Heritage” (2018),

¹⁰¹ Nordin, J.M. & Ojala, C. (2015) p.115

¹⁰² Vem äger kulturarvet? anföranden vid konferens om återföringsfrågor vid Ajtte, Svenskt Fjäll- och Samemuseum 6-8 juni 2000. (2002).

¹⁰³ Mulk, I-M. (2002) p.11

¹⁰⁴ Edbom, G. (2005) Translation; Sámi cultural heritage in collections: Report from a project concerning the repatriation of Sámi artefacts.

¹⁰⁵ Kuoljok, S. (2007)

¹⁰⁶ Statens historiska museer (2016) Translation; Human remains at public museums: a summary of knowledge

¹⁰⁷ Bloomfield, T. (2008), Clavir, M. (1997), Hakiwai, A.T. (1992), Hill, R. (1988), Kaeppler, A. (1992), Metge, J. (1995), Morgan, G. & Guthrie, S. (2014), Museums Aoteroa – Code of Ethics and professional practice (2013), Sully, D. (2007), Whiting, D. (2005)

over cultural heritage¹⁰⁸. The spiritual connection with traditions and ancestors that the objects hold, liaising past, present and future people is well documented both by Māori and by non-Māori people and professionals¹⁰⁹. New Zealand alongside Australia is often referenced internationally since both countries have gone before and beyond international declarations and guidelines in their national declarations¹¹⁰. Officially stating and legislating unique terms and conditions regarding the indigenous heritage on a national as well as institutional level¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁸ Metge, J. (1995)

¹⁰⁹ Hakiwai, A.T (1992), Whiting, D. (1994), Bloomfield, T. (2008), Clavir, M. (2015),

¹¹⁰ Burra charter (1999) ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value (1993)

¹¹¹ A Guide to Guardians of Iwi Treasures, He Tohu ki ngā Kaitiaki o ngā Taonga-ā-iwi (2001), Guidelines for Taonga tūturu Protected Objects Act 1975. (2006), Historic Places Act 1993 (2014), Protected Objects Act 1975 (2014)

2. Conservation and practise, a Eurocentric model

Conservation as a profession is a product of collections gathered in the 18th and 19th era of enlightenment theories and colonial expansion¹¹². Scientific models and theories was developed and used to explain and understand the world, simultaneously there was a growing interest for culture and art within the contemporary society¹¹³. A mix of Eurocentric explorers, tradesmen, missionaries and scientists collected objects and biological specimens which was brought back to a Western society¹¹⁴. Cultural heritage material was collected and scientifically labelled, analysed and categorised with a social Darwinist, Eurocentric philosophy¹¹⁵. Academic fields such as anthropology, ethnology and archaeology originated from the same fundamental principles. Representative and speculative objects and data was brought home from the *uncivilised world*. It was stored or displayed in a variety of contexts and environments but despite this new and progressive, scientific approach to the material it started to degrade. Someone needed to take care of the material, other than the collectors¹¹⁶. Since the general evolutionary theory was rooted in a philosophical theory that all cultures are continuously striving towards a higher more advanced stage¹¹⁷, it only made sense to develop a scientific approach to the degradation problems rather than utilising knowledge and skills from the source communities¹¹⁸. Although the activity of conservation and preservation has a long history conservation as a recognised profession, requiring skills which were different from the skills of a craftsman, an artist or a carpenter, is a reasonably young field¹¹⁹. It was developed during the 1930s coinciding with the first journal on the topic, the *Technical Journal of Conservation Studies*, being published. Conservator became a recognised profession by the establishment of the *International Institute for the Conservation of Museum Objects* in 1959, today's IIC.¹²⁰ The aim of the institute was to control and develop the profession, to ensure outreach by publications and to encourage and develop adequate training¹²¹.

As conservators are working in a profession specialised in preservation it is more important than ever to analyse and acknowledge the impact of our actions. Whether preventive or remedial in nature the decisions made affects the biography of objects and collections. For the scope of this thesis I aimed to examine how conservation as a profession and conservators as individuals addresses the importance of the cultural heritage that ends up in their hands. What conventions, guidelines and ethical codes are available to conservators to find guidance in when outlining preventive strategies for cultural heritage. This is correspondingly relevant when the material heritage is related to an indigenous source community. It's not only important to examine and understand the materiality and status of the object but also the wider purpose and meaning of the proposed interventions for the source communities. Our actions, remedial or preventive, will not just affect the object at hand but also contemporary and future material and immaterial culture and the perception and identification with/of such material. Conservators are participating in the complex structures surrounding cultural heritage

¹¹² Sully, D. (2007) p. 19–31, Owman, C. (2018) pers.com.

¹¹³ Muños Viñas, S. (2005) p.3

¹¹⁴ Kaeppler, A. (1990) p.15

¹¹⁵ Baer, L-A. (2008) p.23, Fur, G. (2014) p.174

¹¹⁶ Owman, C. (2018) pers.com.

¹¹⁷ Baer, L-A. (2008) p.23

¹¹⁸ Clavir (1997) p.51

¹¹⁹ Muños Viñas, S (2005) p.1

¹²⁰ IIC (2018)

¹²¹ IIC (2018)

and it is important to be aware of and address individual, professional and on the larger scale national and international ethics and values that will affect the actions deemed necessary. As important as our work can be in present cultural and territorial conflicts¹²² so it can be for past ones. *Past* referring to the time when the active accession of data and objects occurred and colonial strategies was established, recognising that some of these *past* conflicts remain very much unresolved. Concurrently actions applied today also becomes part of the objects biography, as such they will affect the future use and interpretation of the object.

Conservators (Western) are traditionally trained to care for the object. Materiality, origin and meaning are vital pieces of information which can guide the understanding and care for the object. Intangible values (see section 1.4.1) are being addressed more and more in international guidelines concerning collections management and conservation. Some of them as a direct result of indigenous people disputing the Eurocentric model and making claims to regain control of what they see as their heritage¹²³. Conservators need to define a position in this current debate. Who is the owner of an object, who do we work for? Is there such a thing as *cultural ownership* as the Māori of New Zealand can claim¹²⁴. When stripped of primary values cultural property is just objects, but in its relation to context, significance and meaning, it becomes a potential tool crucial for safeguarding past, living and future cultural expressions; thereby ensuring and enabling evolving of culture¹²⁵. Involving and inviting interaction with source communities on all levels was suggested by many of the referenced authors in section 1.5 as in the following chapters in order to preserve and re-establish links between objects and context.

In M. Clavirs research, which was conducted through literary reviews and interviews, there are a couple of charts (Fig. 1.) summarising the differences between “*conservation*” and “*First Nations*” perspectives¹²⁶. I have here further concentrated the information that was obtained through Clavirs research. It clearly shows a difference in approach to cultural heritage on a multitude of levels. Notable is the perception of an objects status, how First Nation people tend to see them as in development whilst conservation wants to retain objects in a *final state*. Another vital distinction is use and access, conservators tend to limit use and access whilst these actions are vital for First nation people to prevent a loss of value and significance.

Although there are tendencies within conservation towards a more holistic approach to material and formulation of professionalism, conservation is still by many definitions equal to or achieved by preservation, retention and stabilisation. In contemporary training and professional groups and guidelines the terminology is still focusing on preservation often in relation to the tangible.

¹²² Bokova, I. (2015), Stig Sørensen, M.L. & Viejo-Rose, D. (2015), Vöckler K. (2010)

¹²³ Kreps, C.F (2003) p.2

¹²⁴ Museums Aoteroa – Code of Ethics 2013 (2013) pp.2-3

¹²⁵ Costin, C.L. (1993) p.29

¹²⁶ Clavir, M. (1997) pp.277, 377

Conservation	First Nation
Conservation objects are unique	Replacement of objects is part of cultural development
Preservation of an objects final state.	Objects are continuously developing
Limitation of access to preserve the object	Access to objects to mitigate loss
<i>"Use lessens value"</i>	<i>"Use heightens value"</i>
A valued relationship with the objects is a professional one	A valued relationship with the objects is a <i>"family one"</i>
Damage is equal to changes in an objects integrity	Damage is equal to the object loosing functional value
<i>"Damage has physical implications"</i>	<i>"Damage has social implications"</i>
International and/or national professional ethics controls the use and care	Social and cultural ethics controls the use and care
The client is the nation and the owner	The <i>"clients are us"</i>

Fig. 1. A summary of M. Clavirs research on conservation and First Nations views on objects and preservation. Direct citations, as marked.

At Flemming College in Ontario, *Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management* for example the role of preservation and conservation was deemed *"fundamental"*¹²⁷. There are others, like the Department of Conservation at Gothenburg University and the Institution of Archaeology and Conservation at University College London (UCL) who alongside the scientific and technical approach to conservation had formulated student achievement goals. These goals include keywords like *in-depth understanding, critical approaches to diagnosis, documentation, decision-making processes, integral processes, professional context.*¹²⁸ At the website for Swedish NKF-S group for conservators under E.C.C.O the task of conservators was outlined; *"to prevent degradation of objects by preservation and conservation"*¹²⁹. One of the international associations described the activity of conservation conducted by conservators to be *"technical examination, preservation, and conservation"*¹³⁰. Preservation and conservation in the meaning of retaining an objects value.

As introduced above the concept of conservation and preservation is closely linked. Preservation can be general and *passive* or/and very specific and *active*. Different materials (here referring to groups like leather, iron, wood, glass, flax) have tangible features which will determine specific reactions to the environment and to treatments. These material specific properties are equally to the ones which originally made the material useful for manufacturing of the specific object. These functional requirements can include tangible or intangible values, vital for an in-depth understanding of an objects biography. The tangible properties can be

¹²⁷ Flemming College (2018))

¹²⁸ Department of Conservation, Gothenburg University (2018), Institution of Archaeology and Conservation, UCL (2018)

¹²⁹ NKF-S (2018), translation from Swedish

¹³⁰ ICOM-CC- Definition of Profession (1984)

controlled to prolong an objects life. They can be worked on to expose, enhance or simply preserve features. The understanding of these mechanisms and counter actions is basically what conservation traditionally has been focused on. Conservators are generally experts on specific materials and have developed active and passive methods to ensure that the material evidence of an activity in the past is preserved. Even more so to retain an objects original morphology so that it can be used as evidence in present and future research to better understand the past¹³¹. I would personally say that the professional standards of conservators today in Sweden is very high, regarding tangible material. Great care is given to work with minimal intervention, to choose treatments that will not alter original surfaces or molecular structures. The chemicals used, consolidants and adhesives, are tested and applied with the ambition of being reversible or at least, detectable and re-treatable. Some objects or structures may require more permanent/non-reversible structure and treatment due to use or locality. However, when it comes to the intangible side of an object or material I would say that it becomes more of a muddled area and that there are less of a unanimous approach. The preservation of intangible features and the involvement of source communities need to be given priority in discussions and actions. The major institutions and political organs in Sweden, working with cultural heritage, are lacking in structured policies and statements regarding ethics and professionalism concerning source communities and the intangible¹³².

In connection with cultural heritage a *new* term, cultural heritage conservation, has surfaced in conservation and museum literature during early 2000s. The term is used to describe a developed way of thinking and acting around heritage preservation and protection. It focuses on an interdisciplinary and action based approach with high emphasis on local involvement and self-governance.¹³³ This holistic approach to conservation connects with the developments within museology as described below (section 4.3) The *Nara Document on Authenticity* stipulates that local values and beliefs are to be respected and to guide the conservation process of cultural heritage. Tangible and intangible expressions are described as the root of all societies and cultures, this constitutes cultural heritage. The importance of culture in the past, present and future of mankind is paramount. Without culture, people lose a fundamental tool for comprehending and coping with the world, culture is essential for understanding and integration between people and generations¹³⁴. Hence conservation of cultural heritage cannot be conducted in isolation, it cannot solely be about the material product.

2.1 Conservation values and ethics

To go further into the role of conservation and what defines conservators. The profession has, in general, developed an object rather than people perspective. The traditional white robe and the outline and display of conservation studios signals expertise, science and objectivity. The overall goal with conservation has been to safeguard the object, to preserve the physical, true nature of the object so that information can be scientifically extracted and analysed¹³⁵. In here, in the formulation of the profession lies the core of conservation and what makes conservation vulnerable today. Conservation is traditionally defined by standards which cannot realistically be applied to cultural heritage. Muños Viñas was breaking down this complexity in his

¹³¹ Baynes-Cope, A.D. (1981) p.139

¹³² See further section 5 and presentation of survey, section 5.4.

¹³³ Kreps, C.F. (2003) p.13

¹³⁴ Kreps, C.F. (2003) p.13

¹³⁵ Pearce, S. (1992) p.63

publication *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*¹³⁶. He argued that conservation as a *truth seeking* scientific field is a chimera. The validation and revelation of an objects *true nature* or *true state* is a false theory as it implies that there is an *untrue* nature of an object. Her further argued that despite, or because of it, biography an object is always *true*. A damaged or altered object is not less true, only damaged or altered. This concept was put to test in the conservation of the *Hotunui* at the Auckland War Memorial Museum- Tamaki Paenga Hira in Auckland, New Zealand (section 6.1.). In this project co-curation lead to unconventional (within Western conservation practice) decisions regarding the conservation of the structure. Muños Viñas theory and the practical execution of preservation in the Hotunui project emphasises the need for in-depth understanding beyond a materials chemical and molecular property for a conservator to make informed and relevant decisions. The question was raised as to; who has the right to control and expect certain outcomes of treatments and preservation strategies. A conservator is not the owner of an object; a conservator is executing a job which has been given. Ethics and guidelines for the profession are there to provide a framework which regulates to some degree what a customer can expect or demand from a conservator. However, as this thesis explores, the question of who that customer is, and equally who it *should* be when working with material heritage from source communities is of great importance. Collaborations with specialists from different arenas, including people from source communities can enhance individual as well as collective understanding of the tangible and intangible heritage. These experiences can in turn potentially invigorate an understanding and reconnection or recreation of cultures whose connection to the past has been lost or marginalised. A communicative approach with an open and mutually inclusive relationship between community and institution could be what makes conservation current and relevant¹³⁷.

In the added layer of professionalism lies a recognition that values change and that they are subjective¹³⁸. In contemporary international guidelines and charters a value-based conservation theory is presented which emphasises preservation of tangible and intangible materials and values¹³⁹. The overall preservation goal has shifted from the material object to the value of the object. This is nothing new for the profession who has always sought to “*preserve what is valued*”¹⁴⁰ and deemed authentic. Values do change over time as well as within and between people and culture¹⁴¹. So which values are being preserved through conservation, and if there is a conflict which values take precedent? When speaking of value from a conservator’s perspective one can separate the discussion into two separate groups; one which deals with values which changes independently of an objects physical condition and another dealing with values affected by physical change¹⁴². Here it is vital to recognise that an objects deterioration is not automatically equal to deterioration of culture. As a material an object can be interchangeable but as a function it has vital value. An institutionalised, what is often referred to as the *museum effect*¹⁴³, object deprived of functional value and cultural context easily becomes an object of art, an artefact, but if incorporated in a cultural context the object will remain alive and become a true link to the past and a carrier of culture in a

¹³⁶ Muños Viñas, S. (2005)

¹³⁷ Fekrsanati, F. (2010) p.113, Stovel, H. (2005) pp.2–3

¹³⁸ Fredheim. L.H. (2013) p.4

¹³⁹ ICOM code of Ethics for Museums (2017), ICOMOS New Zealand Charter (2010) UNESCO - Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)

¹⁴⁰ Clavir, M. (2015)

¹⁴¹ The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) sect.11

¹⁴² Fredheim. L.H. (2013) p.7

¹⁴³ Alpers, S. (1991) p.27

present and future context¹⁴⁴. Integrating and communicating conservation, allowing subjective values and decisions to be part of conservation demands a new set of tools for conservators to be able to act with confidence.

2.2 Objects and preservation of materiality

In the late 19th century two of the earliest but still relevant and frequently discussed conservation theories related to the object was founded by Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc. Ruskin was advocating the value of an objects history, what is now popularly called an objects biography and Viollet-le-Duc, on the other hand saw value in an objects original state.¹⁴⁵ As a material evidence the object/artefact has held a strong position within fields like archaeology, anthropology, museology and conservation. However, during the late 20th and the beginning of the 21st century the use and value of objects in museum collections and within research fields like archaeology changed¹⁴⁶. The objects became marginalised and given less focus. Their usefulness as *objects* was questioned as new technology and analytical methods was presented which could give researchers and public a more in-depth information about the material beyond traditional typological analyses and presentations¹⁴⁷. The objects were given less relevance as archaeological documentation techniques like single context recording (an excavation method based on documentation of context) was combined with advanced analyses of structures, soils, trace elements and compounds. As most cultural heritage/historical museums today do not actively collect new items most of new accessions are a result of archaeological excavations. Hence the shift in archaeology has influenced the amount and selection of material which was/is collected and handed in to the museums. In current museology and archaeology collected objects are becoming more interesting again, now as carriers of symbolism and meaning and less as documents. They are used to explore and theorise about cultural identity, how it is experienced and how it affects our perception of *us and them*¹⁴⁸. Material culture is anything but static or neutral; its meaning and use will alter through time and it will be interpreted in different ways by different peoples¹⁴⁹. Being an active part in a community's identity the original use or purpose can intentionally or unintentionally be altered and changed over time. A continued cultural use can ensure that the intangible value does not deteriorate even if the tangible, the materiality of the object or site does. Introduction of restrictive measures where an object or site is protected and controlled through preventive conservation, by rendering it less accessible or closed off, you might deteriorate the intangible cultural aspect. In these situations, the intangible is paying the price for preservation of the tangible, the tangible manifestation will become a frozen moment validating a time or an event in the past. The same effects can be seen in current peace processes when conservation is used to mend pieces left in the aftermath of conflict. By preserving sites/objects as remembrance monuments or by restoring them back to functional or symbolic values, rebuilding and repairing a community, you will charge and change the meaning of the site/object.

Within Western science and research an objects general value lies in the information it holds. The object is the material manifestation of human activity as well as carrier of symbolism and

¹⁴⁴ Clavir, M. (1997) p.200

¹⁴⁵ Muños Viñas, S (2005) p.5

¹⁴⁶ Hodder, I. (1992)

¹⁴⁷ Caple, C. (2006) pp.21–32

¹⁴⁸ Sápmi – Exhibit at Nordiska Museet (2017), Silvén, E. (2008) p.136

¹⁴⁹ Kirshenblatt – Gimblett, B. (1991) p.388

meaning¹⁵⁰. Often an authentic or ideal state is valued and desired within conservation as well as by an objects owner or custodian¹⁵¹. This state cannot solely be found scientifically but in combination with knowledge and analysis of use and meaning. Some researchers ascribe objects functions as “*portals*” and as such carrying information and functions¹⁵². One of many challenges in conservation lies in the strive to preserve as much of an objects information and value for a narrow group of researchers and at the same time for a broad audience¹⁵³. Value and cultural values attached to an object can and will change over time; this can for example challenge decision when looking at originality and the objects *true* state.¹⁵⁴ Change in meaning and value is one of the parameters in which objects becomes cultural heritage. Parameters vital for the preservation of an objects value and/or meaning can be dealt into three categories;

- Raw data – collected or protentional inherent data needs to be retained - tangible
- Visual or symbolic features and/or meaning- tangible and intangible
- Representation of context- intangible

An objects informational value can be preserved differently depending on the receiver or the nature of information. Informational preservation¹⁵⁵ for example can be used to digitally replicate the exact features of an object making it possible to preform surface analyses or replicas without touching the original. Abstraction of raw data can lead to information being preserved, this activity can be non-invasive or lead to complete destruction of the object.

Conservation is an activity applied to objects, the process of turning an object into a *conservation object* can be described a process where the object becomes a representation of a cultural context, a method, a gender or a historical context¹⁵⁶. The physical objects ability to convey these meanings makes it worth preserving, keeping it as it is and accessible for present and future generations rather than repairing it and then discarding it when no longer functional. In the process of preservation tangible- as in data, symbolic and communicative meanings are valued over functional ones, however when working with cultural heritage from source communities one cannot completely set the functional aspect aside. Some or perhaps all of these objects are still *in use* leading to preservation strategies which incorporate functional as well as communicative values¹⁵⁷. The process of heritage making in which conservation plays a part¹⁵⁸ is part of the complex structures involving heritage management and definition of cultural context, sometimes including repatriation claims. Through these processes objects are removed from one context into another and incorporated into different cultural context. The objects extended biography becomes a factor in the determination of value and belonging, (Fig. 2). Historians are at present using a concept of ethno-historical methodology to spotlight events and histories which has not traditionally been valued as reliable sources or documented in the Western research model¹⁵⁹. Researcher like L. Tuhiwai

¹⁵⁰ Pearce, S.M. (1992) b. p.295

¹⁵¹ Appelbaum, (2007) p.173

¹⁵² Ulrich, T.L. et.al (2015) p.165

¹⁵³ Costin, C.L. (1993) p.29

¹⁵⁴ Clavir, M. (2015)

¹⁵⁵ Muños Viñas, S. (2005) p.25

¹⁵⁶ Muños Viñas, S. (2005) p.56

¹⁵⁷ See further section 6.1, 6.2

¹⁵⁸ For further reference see section 4.3

¹⁵⁹ Fur, G. (2014) p.178

Smith are questioning motive behind current post-colonial tendency's and methodology as they can be perceived as just another way for scholars to remain in control of material and interpretations¹⁶⁰.



Fig. 2. Hei-tiki, ponamu, New Zealand 1820. The object has been institutionalised, removing the labeling could potentially erase this section from the objects biography.

At the UCLA, Los Angeles/Getty program in the Conservation of Archaeological and Ethnographic materials students has been participating in a course by E. Pearlstein¹⁶¹. The course objective stemmed from M. Clavirs research which resulted in a recognised set of goals for cultural heritage preservation where an objects multifaceted function and values are accounted and cared for¹⁶². In the program students were asked to bring a beloved heirloom to the table, they were then asked to switch and construct a conservation plan for the assigned object. The students immediately turned to the student who had a relation to the object and asked for and used information obtained from these sessions. The session showed a strong urge of turning to the person who had a bond with the object when making conservation decisions.¹⁶³ The cultural context was evidently valued higher than the information that could be obtained from other students or teachers at hand. This conduct showed how decontextualized the objects, cultural heritage, becomes in the studio although methods and documentation are secured and defined by professional ethics and guidelines.

2.3 Conclusion

In this section (section 2) I have explored what conservation is, who conservators (as a group) are and what conservators are trained and asked to do. It has become apparent that conservation and the relation between conservator and object is well anchored within both theory and practice. It has been harder to reach how and why conservation, as it is generally conducted, is relevant and incorporated within a cultural context. In the following section I have examined a selection of guidelines and charters available to analyse if and how they can be used to provide guidance in the relationship between conservator and society/indigenous source community. I have looked for *who, how and why* conservation of cultural heritage objects is performed.

¹⁶⁰ Smith, L.T. (1999) p.24

¹⁶¹ Pearlstein, E. (2016)

¹⁶² Clavir, M. (1997)

¹⁶³ Pearlstein, E. (2016) pp.2-4

3. Professional positioning in relation to material heritage and indigenous source communities

Cultural heritage is defined by a tangible and intangible product of human activity. The term *culture* was used here to define an ethnic group who share ideas, aspiration, knowledge, values, norms and artefacts. According to (authors) an ethnic group is not defined by race but by the culture shared with in the group.¹⁶⁴ Material cultural heritage housed in museums related to indigenous and minorities cultures, contemporary (referred to as source communities in this thesis) or not, are often labelled as ethnographic material, falling under what is often called ethnographic conservation (see section 1.4.2 for further definition of the terminology).

On a professional level conservators and curators working with collections incorporating cultural heritage from indigenous source communities have focused on the analysis, documentation and preservation of the object. According to M. Clavir, some have even felt that it is their role is to stand up and speak for the object and in this role act as a guardian of the object, shielding it from potential stress inflicted by the surrounding world¹⁶⁵ A strong professional focus and a science-based approach of conservation, during times of self-definition of the profession, has led to a widely held but contentious belief that there is a universal need to preserve an object infinitely¹⁶⁶. Conservation actions taken to preserve and retain status applied to institutionalised objects, meaning objects taken out of context- objects which functionality and familiarity is in the past, remains relatively undisputed. When working with source communities in particularly objects from indigenous source communities these strategies and activities becomes disputed. The outset goal can be to preserve but not necessarily to retain. The western tradition regarding collecting and caring for objects is neither unique nor a western phenomenon. Object and structures has been cared for and preserved within most cultural contexts, along with craftsmanship, traditions and memories. Many cultures will keep and care for objects of particular value, however there are many examples of this attention involving some level of use to preserve functional values and hence keeping the objects *alive*¹⁶⁷.

This argumentation leads to questioning for who conservation is performed? Standards for the care and remedial conservation of material culture should ideally be defined by or sanctioned by originating community, safeguarding both tangible and intangible aspects of the material. As a conservator, following international ethical standards, it is possible to harm and endanger a productive relationship with source communities by our actions. Preventive strategies, common for the management of cultural materials, involving passivating actions and remedial actions often will limit access and functionality. These actions are all a part of the process involved in the conceptual construction of cultural heritage¹⁶⁸. The meaning, method, function and need for institutionalised, preservation of past, present and future cultural heritage is being questioned by indigenous source communities and cultural heritage professionals. The Western view is not necessarily the best or only way to safeguard understanding and knowledge of past, present and future cultures. The debate has existed for several decades

¹⁶⁴ Hutchinson, J. & Smith A.D. (1996), p.4-5, Morgan, G. & Guthrie, S. (2014), p.37

¹⁶⁵ Fekrsanati, F. (2010) p. 108

¹⁶⁶ Fekrsanati, F. (2010) p. 105, National seminar on the conservation of cultural material (1973)

¹⁶⁷ Kreps, C.F. (2003) p.1

¹⁶⁸ Muños, Viñas, S. (2005) pp.37-41

around this fundamental question¹⁶⁹. R. Peters discussed the conservator's role in cultural heritage conservation, he argued the importance not to view the objects primarily from its material features, especially if the aim is to analyse and understand the object as a link between a past, present and future context.

*"If an object is significant because of the way people perceive it and this perception is depending on how, when and why an object was manufactured, used and discarded and on what the object can reveal of these processes and the people related to them. Then the object may not only represent the past but also the connection to the present and the future. If conservation represents people then the next logical question would be, which group of people (if there are different groups and people who has a link to the object, and different interests and expectations) the conservation will represent. The choices made by the conservator may affect how these aspects are represented. By preserving, revealing, enhancing, or recovering a give aspect of an object conservators are in reality preserving aspects of what people do and did. However other aspects of significance might be lost in the process"*¹⁷⁰

F. Fekrsanati has also discussed the topic in an article about relations between conservation and source communities. He formulated the following position; *"While physically preserving an object are we really causing harm to the culture and the people it represents?"*¹⁷¹

In a context where the objects are imbued in with contemporary cultural context a primary goal for conservation and the role of conservators could be more appropriately described as enabling continuity¹⁷². Continuity is a word or definition which is not often used within conservation terminology or definitions. It is easier applied to preservation of the intangible than the tangible. Continuity is more often associated with indigenous source communities and a strive to retain or regain a link between the past and the present¹⁷³. The continuity aspect of preservation leads to questioning many of the standards and principles that are at the very core, the foundation of cultural heritage conservation as it has developed and as we see it today. In the following section international and national guidelines and charters has been analysed in search for a base on which in which individual conservators can define their role within a cultural heritage context.

3.1 National and international policies and standards for conservation; examples of institutional approaches regarding cultural heritage, ownership and indigenous source communities.

3.1.1 ICOM-CC International Council of Museums- Committee for Conservators

ICOM-CC is a larger committee under ICOM. It consists of a number of *Working Groups*. Under ICOM there is a general *Code of Ethics* incorporating a large entity of professionals. ICOM – CC as a sub group has defined the conservator and conservation as a profession.

Definition of Profession (1984)

2. The activity of the Conservator-Restorer

2.1 The activity of the conservator-restorer (conservation) consists of technical examination, preservation, and conservation-restoration of cultural property:

¹⁶⁹ Se Pearce, S.M. (1994), Caple, C. (2000), Clavir (1997), Pye, E. (2001) Goodnow, K. & Akman, H. (2008)

¹⁷⁰ Peters, R (2008) p.187

¹⁷¹ Fekrsanati, F. (2010) p.109

¹⁷² Stovel, H. (2003) p.1

¹⁷³ Stovel, H. (2003) p.4

2.2 [...] *Their task is to comprehend the material aspect of objects of historic and artistic significance in order to prevent their decay and to enhance our understanding of them so as further the distinction between what is original and what is spurious.*

3. *The Impact and Ranking of the Activities of the Conservator-Restorer*

3.1 *The conservator-restorer has a particular responsibility in that treatment is performed on irreplaceable originals, which are often unique and of great artistic, religious, historic, scientific, cultural, social or economic value. The value of such objects lies in the character of their fabrication, in their evidence as historical documents, and consequently in their authenticity.*

3.4 *The conservator-restorer must be aware of the documentary nature of an object. Each object contains - singly or combined - historic, stylistic, iconographic, technological, intellectual, aesthetic and/or spiritual messages and data. Encountering these during research and work on the object, the conservator-restorer should be sensitive to them, be able to recognise their nature, and be guided by them in the performance of his task.*

3.5 *Therefore, all interventions must be proceeded by a methodical and scientific examination aimed at understanding the object in all its aspects, and the consequences of each manipulation must be fully considered.*

3.8 *Interdisciplinary co-operation is of paramount importance,... [...] ...the work of the conservator-restorer can and should be complemented by the analytical and research findings of scholars. Such co-operation will function well if the conservator-restorer is able to formulate his questions scientifically and precisely, and to interpret the answers in the proper context.¹⁷⁴*

The ICOM-CC definition of the profession was clearly anchored in a traditional western-science based practice. It stated in articles 2.1, 2.2, 3.1, 3.5, 3.8, as cited above, that the conservator's expertise is material based and that professionally set goals, standards and values are reached through scientific strategies. ICOM-CC defines the "owner" as "Person or entity (such as museum or foundation) who has full title to an object as defined by law"¹⁷⁵ ICOM-CC emphasised conservation as a tool for preservation of tangible material, and seemingly values originality and scientific expertise and understanding above intangible values and holistic approaches. On their website, under *Terminology for conservation* they referred to "*Terminology to characterize the conservation of tangible cultural heritage*" but had no similar reference for the intangible cultural heritage¹⁷⁶. There was no specific statement regarding source communities in their protocol.

Under ICOM-CC one of the working groups is the *Objects from Indigenous and World Cultures Working Group*. In 2015 this group changed its name from *Ethnographic Collections Working Group* to better reflect the members' views and status of the material¹⁷⁷. The working group acknowledged that "*ethnographic objects and collections*" as a group is challenging for conservation professionals, both from an ethical and technical view point. They recognised the conservators position in regard to the social and cultural context of the objects; "*these objects are linked to a history of use and to the community from which they originated before they were collected by the museum – thus, their care and conservation is to be carried out in a way that is respectful of the object's history and community of origin.*"¹⁷⁸ The name change and recognition of the conservator's position signals that there might be some changes coming in the ICOM-CC

¹⁷⁴ ICOM-CC- Definition of Profession (1984)

¹⁷⁵ ICOM-CC Conservation: who, what & why? (2018)

¹⁷⁶ ICOM- CC – Terminology for conservation (2018)

¹⁷⁷ Peters, R.F. (2016) p.1

¹⁷⁸ ICOM-CC- Objects from Indigenous and World Cultures Working Group (2018)

general protocols. The current professional and ethical guidelines seem dated and unrelated to a contemporary position of conservation within a current cultural context.

3.1.2 CCI Canadian Conservation Institute

At CCI a policy has been developed for the CCI staff to guide them within their governmental commission to provide services and training to indigenous organisations and heritage institutions with indigenous heritage collections. The framework enables professionalism, actions and management conducted in a way which respects indigenous cultures and beliefs. The policy includes the following requirements:

When assessing service requests and/or providing services and training to Indigenous institutions and communities, CCI management and staff should:

- *clarify the goals and objectives of the service and ensure sufficient time for discussions, questions, and answers;*
- *work with the client to establish an approach to the request that is in keeping with the values and traditions of the client's community;*
- *ensure the cultural beliefs and traditions of the community are respected by seeking out any necessary information (e.g. protocols and historical, cultural, and current issues as they relate to conservation of heritage objects);*
- *establish a relationship with elders and other traditional people who are acceptable to the community (if appropriate);*
- *maintain awareness of all applicable Government of Canada policies and procedures related to Indigenous Canadians; and*
- *seek out "Indigenous awareness training" if needed (e.g. if the project is complex and sensitive, or if the staff member has little or no experience working with Indigenous communities).*

When providing services related to scientific analysis and treatment of Indigenous heritage objects and works of art owned by non-Indigenous heritage institutions, CCI management and staff should determine:

- *whether or not the museum has consulted with the appropriate cultural authorities or the community from which the Indigenous heritage object came; and*
- *if there are any restrictions concerning the care and handling of the object.¹⁷⁹*

In the CCI policy it was clearly stated that it is the institutions responsibility to ensure that the staff has a supporting framework to perform their services as a governmental institution responsible for Canadian Cultural Heritage. The policy was developed as one of the response from the CCI to the symposium *Preserving Aboriginal Heritage: Technical and Traditional Approaches*¹⁸⁰. Within this policy all stages of services and task performed, including work on indigenous heritage objects by (third party) non-indigenous institutions, should be founded with and within the source community. It emphasised the value of projecting for time to establish relations and seek out communication with source communities.

¹⁷⁹ CCI - Policy for serving Indigenous clients and preserving Indigenous collections (2017)

¹⁸⁰ Ethnos project (2007)

3.1.3 AIC –The American Institute for Conservation of Historic and Artistic Works

The AIC is an American national membership organisation for conservation professionals with in cultural heritage. The organisation has set up a national ethical code and professional conduct for conservators which is similar to the ICOM-CC standards.

CODE OF ETHICS OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC & ARTISTIC WORKS

II. All actions of the conservation professional must be governed by an informed respect for the cultural property, its unique character and significance, and the people or person who created it.

III. While recognizing the right of society to make appropriate and respectful use of cultural property, the conservation professional shall serve as an advocate for the preservation of cultural property.

GUIDELINES FOR PRACTICE OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR CONSERVATION OF HISTORIC & ARTISTIC WORKS PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT

5. Communication: Communication between the conservation professional and the owner, custodian, or authorized agent of the cultural property is essential to ensure an agreement that reflects shared decisions and realistic expectations.

6. Consent: The conservation professional should act only with the consent of the owner, custodian, or authorized agent. The owner, custodian, or agent should be informed of any circumstances that necessitate significant deviations from the agreement. When possible, notification should be made before such changes are made.¹⁸¹

The AIC declaration has focused solely on the recommended approach and behavior for professional practice for conservators preserving cultural property. It does not address the conservator's relation to society or source communities. In fact, it stated, in above cited paragraph III, that conservators should primarily act as “*an advocate for the preservation of cultural property.*” The guideline on necessary communication (section 5 in above citation) and consent for actions were involving cultural prosperity and acknowledged “*owner, custodian or authorized agent*”. It does not mention cultural ownership or source communities however; the term custodian can be interpreted as a recognition of a custodial role that institutions or indigenous communities could have for objects which are recognised as national cultural heritage. The use of terminology might open up for a discussion concerning cultural rights and claims.

3.1.4 Australian Institute for Conservation of Cultural Material

The Australian professional members organisation for conservators. Have defined a code of ethics and practice for its members.

CODE OF ETHICS AND CODE OF PRACTICE. Australian Institute for Conservation of Cultural Material

DEFINITIONS

CONSERVATION *The conservation profession is responsible for the care of cultural material. Conservation activities may include preservation, restoration, examination, documentation, research, advice, treatment, preventive conservation, training and education.*

EMPLOYER/ CLIENT *This includes but is not limited to employer, client, owner, custodian, funding agency or authorized agent.*

¹⁸¹ AIC – Code of ethics and guidelines for practice of AIC. (1994)

PROFESSIONAL CONDUCT

5. *Cultural issues.* The AICCM member should be informed and respectful of the cultural and spiritual significance of cultural material and should, where possible, consult with all relevant stakeholders before making treatment or other decisions relating to such cultural material. The AICCM member should recognise the unique status of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples as first peoples, and as key stakeholders in the conservation of their cultural heritage material. When undertaking conservation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultural property, the AICCM member should recognise that the objects and the information relevant to them are of equal importance, and that conservation practice must adapt to cultural requirements, particularly in respect of secret/sacred items.

11. *Communication:* Communication between the AICCM Member and the client, owner, custodian, or authorised agent of the cultural property is essential to ensure an agreement that reflects shared decisions and realistic expectations.

14. *Consent:* The AICCM Member should act only with the consent of the employer/ client. The employer, client, owner, custodian, or authorised agent should be informed of any circumstances that necessitate significant deviations from the original agreement. When practicable, notification should be made in writing before such changes are made.¹⁸²

The AICCM code was outlined in a similar manner as the AIC one, the conservator's professional obligation was directly related to the cultural material. There were however some crucial additions in the AICCM code of ethics and practice. Employer/client as cited above was defined by "employer, client, owner, custodian, funding agency or authorised agent" but not limited to these actors. Under professional conduct, paragraph 5 *Cultural issues* as cited above, the conservators professional conduct towards "Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples" was declared, they were to be recognised as "First People" and as such "key stakeholders in the conservation of their cultural heritage material."

3.1.5 E.C.C.O European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organisations

E.C.C.O is an umbrella organisation for associated organisations housing professional conservators and restorers in Europe, including the Swedish NKF-S¹⁸³. Its mission is; "To organize, develop and promote, on a practical, scientific and cultural level, the profession of the Conservator-Restorer. To set standards and regulate practice at European level and enhance communication between and mobility of professionals. To strengthen the role and responsibilities of the Conservator-Restorer in relation to others in safeguarding cultural heritage."¹⁸⁴

E.C.C.O has a separate code of ethics.

Code of ethics

I. General Principles for the Application of the Code

Article 3: The conservator-restorer works directly on cultural heritage and is personally responsible to the owner, to the heritage and to society. The conservator-restorer is entitled to practice without hindrance to her/his liberty and independence.

II. Obligations towards Cultural Heritage

Article 5: The conservator-restorer shall respect the aesthetic, historic and spiritual significance and the physical integrity of the cultural heritage entrusted to her/his care.

¹⁸² AICCM - Code of ethics and code of practice. Australian Institute for Conservation of Cultural Material (1994)

¹⁸³ Nordiska Konservatorförbundet- Sverige (translation: Nordic conservators association- Sweden)

¹⁸⁴ E.C.C.O – Mission, Vision (2018)

III. Obligations to the Owner or Legal Custodian

Article 17: The conservator-restorer should inform the owner fully of any action required and specify the most appropriate means of continued care.

*Article 18: The conservator-restorer is bound by professional confidentiality. In order to make a reference to an identifiable part of the cultural heritage s/he should obtain the consent of its owner or legal custodian.*¹⁸⁵

The E.C.C.O Code of Ethics had less focus on the object compared to the Canadian, American and Australian examples. In article 3 as cited above the conservator was responsible not only to the owner but to “the *heritage and to society*”. In article 17-18 there was reference to the conservators’ obligation to inform and to seek consent to/from the “*owner or legal custodian*” - this phrasing not further clarifying who this refers to although limiting custodian to “*legal custodian*” which could complicate claims from source communities as this implies a process where legal ownership need to be contested along with cultural claims.

3.1.6 Icon – The Institute of Conservation

Icon is a memberships and charity organisation in the United Kingdom and its members are bound to Icon’s *Professional Standards* and *Code of Conduct* the code of conduct replaces the previously used E.C.C.O Code of Ethics.

THE INSTITUTE OF CONSERVATION’S PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS

1a. Understands the significance and context of the heritage to be assessed, along with any implications for potential conservation measures.

1b. Assesses the physical nature and condition of the heritage.

Professional judgement and ethics.

iii. Understands the wider contexts in which conservation is carried out, the implications of context for practice, and the implications of treatments and methods within the context.

x. Acts responsibly and ethically in dealings with the public, employers, clients and colleagues.

xi. Acts with awareness of and respect for the cultural, historic and spiritual context of objects and structures.

*xii. Is able to handle value-conflicts and ethical dilemmas in a manner which maintains the interests of cultural heritage.*¹⁸⁶

THE INSTITUTE OF CONSERVATION’S CODE OF CONDUCT

4. Icon Code of Conduct

4.3 You must have the appropriate conservation expertise and cultural, historical and technological knowledge to carry out the conservation measures you undertake.

*4.8 You should only recommend conservation measures or carry out procedures you are willing and able to discuss openly with colleagues, clients or custodians.*¹⁸⁷

In the Icon *Professional Standards* and *Code of Conduct* there was a focus on the conservator's role and understanding of the context in which it is an active practitioner. It seemed to be held above the function as a “*preserver of objects*”. There was no specific statement regarding source communities in the protocols. The “*ownership*” was referred to as a client or custodian which leave a more open view upon ownership although it did not openly recognise cultural ownership. Icon does have subgroups including an *Ethnographic conservation group*. One of

¹⁸⁵ E.C.C.O – Code of Ethics, European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers’ Organisations (2003) p.1-3

¹⁸⁶ Icon- Professional Standards, The Institute of Conservation (2014) p.1,3.

¹⁸⁷ Icon- Code of Conduct, The Institute of Conservation (2014) p.1-2

this specific groups aims was *“To instigate consultation with the public and source communities to foster an awareness of the value of traditional conservation practices”*¹⁸⁸

3.2 Conclusion

Although one must recognise the fact that these guidelines are international or national and as such need to be general in their approach. Care has in general been taken not to include nor exclude particular parties, nor open up for special treatment nor misconduct. However, from a professional and indigenous source community perspective an elevated recognition of cultural context would enable and facilitate more holistic approaches to conservation and preservation. None of the above examples acknowledged cultural ownership or a potential cultural claim which would have the same bearing as a legal ownership or legal custodian. Professionalism and ethical aspects towards source communities and social/cultural context was at best vague or non-existent. Was some of the lack of definition a result of a material and a situation/conflict too sensitive to adhere too? H. Strovel was concluding something similar, he had also noticed a lacuna in guidelines and charters concerning *“living religious heritage”*¹⁸⁹. The Getty conservation institute in Los Angeles has led a research project to try to identify and understand the processes and function of material conservation in contemporary society¹⁹⁰. They have identified a lack of *“conceptual or theoretical overviews for modelling or mapping the interplay of economic, cultural, political and other social contexts in which conservation is situated”*¹⁹¹. They conclude that the construction of a generalised framework would make it possible to understand how heritage is constructed and how it is relevant, it would provide a much-needed tool for conservators to understand and evaluate the effects that decisions regarding a multitude of aspects of conservation has for the contemporary and future sociological processes.

¹⁸⁸ Icon – The Institute of Conservation, ethnographic conservation group (2018)

¹⁸⁹ Strovel, H. (2005) p.2

¹⁹⁰ Avrami, E., Mason, R., de la Torre, M. (ed.) (2000)

¹⁹¹ Avrami, E., Mason, R., de la Torre, M. (ed.) (2000) p.10

4. Preservation of cultural heritage and co-curation with source communities

4.1 Relevance and importance of objects and collections related to source communities

*“The diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind. The protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage diversity in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development.”*¹⁹²

As previously defined, collections related to source communities here includes cultural heritage related to indigenous people whose material heritage has been collected in a western colonial tradition. It can be assumed that this cultural heritage carries different and sometimes conflicting values and meanings for very different people and ethnicities. In the *Nara Document of Authenticity*, sect. 7, it was stated that a person’s heritage is rooted in the expressions of tangible and intangible values. Material culture can be described as a tangible product manifesting a past event that through the object has survived into the present¹⁹³. This product, the object, will achieve and lose a multitude of different tangible and/or intangible values and meanings throughout its biography¹⁹⁴. The objects has been collected and categorised as a group, a collection. These collections are commonly owned and under the care of national institutions like museums, in anthropological, ethnological or archaeological collections. Artefacts/objects housed in these collections represent both tangible and intangible culture. The purpose of the above-mentioned collections and the argument for their survival in a contemporary society is a deeply rooted belief that we can protect the material by institutionalising it¹⁹⁵. Furthermore, there is a belief that this material culture and the accompanying documentation can be used to understand individuals as well as groups¹⁹⁶. However, there is an ongoing debate around this assumption, S. Alpers for example argued that a contemporary culture cannot and does not need to be defined solely by its material remains¹⁹⁷. Is it possible to define and classify a culture based on remaining objects, are people the sum of its remains? This is a vital argumentation which can be further explored within a multitude of fields like archaeology and social science. However, for this thesis I will state an opinion that when working with objects related to indigenous source communities there is no need to reduce people to objects. It is vital however for conservators to constantly be aware that these objects are not a group defined by the originating communities but defined by analysis and research within the scientific fields of anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology¹⁹⁸. The objects has been detached from their origin and placed into a system used for cataloguing and documentation purposes primarily to acquire tangible data and make the objects accessible for research, not use. The further the material is taken from the source the greater likelihood of a shared cultural basis decline. This obviously impacts on the ability to analyse and understand actions and events based on the tangible material. G. Johnson argued that caretakers of tangible heritage, including legislators, curators, conservators and even native representatives can, if/when *“claiming to seek objective truths”* about specific materials become blind to cultural meanings and the way they manifest in *“subjects and subjectivities”*¹⁹⁹.

¹⁹² The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) sect.5, p.46

¹⁹³ Prown, J.D. (1993) p.3

¹⁹⁴ Pye, E. (2001) p.64

¹⁹⁵ Pye, E. (2001) p.18

¹⁹⁶ Prown, J.D. (1993) p.1

¹⁹⁷ Alpers, S. (1991) p.30

¹⁹⁸ Kirshenblatt – Gimblett, B. (1991) p. 387

¹⁹⁹ Johnson, G. (2007) p.2

In my interpretation meaning that the objects and the discussion are at risk of becoming more about politics than about communication and a mutual aim to ensure that traditions and people are protected and respected.

All collected information needs to accompany the objects and consultation with recognised representatives of a related community is an important part of the objects preservation. This is not least important when objects are being handled, treated or displayed by external parties; for example, a contracted conservator. Taken out of context an object can be seemingly trivial, the inherent power only revealed by accompanied cultural significance. Both G. Johnson and E. Pey referred to the fact that it is when traditions carried by related objects are lived, challenged and announced that the objects become culturally significant and imbued with conceptual meaning and power which can enrich human lives and build communities.²⁰⁰ In-depth, well founded and documented assessments of the individual pieces are essential to ensure respectful and protective care with regards to tangible and intangible values. The need to respect and provide necessary protection of an object/collection is an example of a situation where modern conservation practice can work in conjunction with the safe keeping of traditional values. Preventive conservation practice can provide separation and restricted access through mounting and custom-made storage solutions. On the other hand, these actions, although aiding in preservation can have a negative impact on the local community, restricting use and access²⁰¹. Within cultural heritage conservation, regarding non-western objects a conservation approach which advocates *minimal intervention* is regaining influence²⁰². This is a function of the elevated status of an objects biography rather than original or retained state. Rather than applying methods to remove or alter *negative* structures or foreign substances like dirt and stains these are given consideration and accordingly kept as they can reveal information about tangible and intangible events²⁰³. However, these sorts of approaches can be disputed by indigenous source communities (see further in the section presented below and section 6.1-6.2).

The following section is an example of how collaborations with an indigenous source community can enrich and develop collections management. Intangible information was collected which would never have been perceived just through professional and scientific materials or typology analysis.

4.1.1 Kanak cultural heritage

M. Pommés-Tissandier has conducted research for a Master in which she has formulated a guideline for professional conduct with regards to artefacts related to the Kanak people in Canada²⁰⁴. The data was based on social surveys and research, and she concluded that the interviews did add information which provided new information about restrictions and values. The survey showed that most of the interviewed Kanak people found preservation important and necessary (similar views were found by M. Clavir²⁰⁵) It was concluded that institutionalised objects had less cultural value than ones managed by the community. The cause of this was how they had been and were handled and utilised. Without the cultural context and use they

²⁰⁰ Johnson, G. (2007) p.155, Pye, E. (2001) p.67

²⁰¹ Gillespie, J. (2017) p.165–166, Fekrsanati, F. (2010) p.105

²⁰² Pommés-Tissandier, M. (2005) p.7, quoting Scott 1997:3

²⁰³ Maniatis, M., Malea, E., Rapti, S., Androutopoulos, N., Panagiaris, G. (2011) pp.537–539

²⁰⁴ Pommés-Tissandier, M. (2005) p.42–49

²⁰⁵ Clavir, M. (1997) pp. 199-200, 251

could potentially become powerless objects. Although some of the interviewed Kanak people wanted to repatriate all objects some believed institutionalised objects could remain and be cared for by curators and conservator as their inherent cultural value or power was already lost. Similar views as the ones presented by D. Whiting regarding cultural safety with regards to Māori curators, conservators and liaison officers, were expressed²⁰⁶. It was thought that Kanak people or professionals working with preservation could be exposed to powers that could be dangerous for the individual. It was understood by some that this power might not affect uninformed people. In regard to this M. Pommés-Tissandier quotes one of her subjects Patrice Moasadi saying *"The object won't play tricks on you"*²⁰⁷. Meaning that the non-Kanak conservators detachment and professionalism could neutralise the object. Regarding the conservation and methods used on the objects the opinions varied depending on the specific objects in question. Most subjects accepted general conservation practice if they were respectful and thoughtful. It was preferred that materials close to the original or traditional was used rather than chemicals or synthetic substances. Many did not necessarily approve of a minimalist approach but preferred the object to look like they were once intended.

4.2 Preserving sacred and sensitive material

Included in cultural heritage are culturally sensitive materials which is a category that most likely will need extra attention within or outside its original context. It includes the more obvious objects like holy or sacred objects as well as any object embedded with a higher cultural significance defined within a group. Holy and sacred objects are often embedded with recognised community values whilst other objects might need a closer examination and understanding of the originating or contemporary context²⁰⁸. Separation from originating culture does not necessarily mean that an objects importance or inherent power has diminished. Even though similar objects might have a high cultural significance it does not automatically mean that they can be defined by the same sacred or ritual context. Typically, culturally sensitive materials cannot be understood merely by typology; similar objects can have different inherent powers depending on cultural context and even copies of an object with high cultural significance can by symbolism inherent cultural restrictions²⁰⁹. This group of objects should be handled and treated with respect for this groups' particular cultural context and needs. Handling, treatment, materials used and exposure needs to be adhered with respect for equally tangible and intangible values²¹⁰. Sensitive materials can include objects used in ritual, culturally restricted objects and objects with physical manifestations or concepts. These manifestations can be in the form of medicinal power, carriers of ancestral spirit or the power of a person or place connected to the group. M. Clavir has researched preservation of cultural heritage material from a First Nation perspective. She emphasises the biography of the object rather than its materiality; *"It is not only the original situation or intended use of the object that determines whether it is regarded today as sacred/sensitive heritage, but the intervening passage of time and events."*²¹¹ With regard to the responsibilities of heritage organisations, she continues; *"It is the role of museums to research and recognize the cultural and spiritual value of objects in their care and to implement the necessary protocols for culturally sensitive objects"*²¹². During an interview

²⁰⁶ Whiting, D. (2005) p.16

²⁰⁷ Pommés-Tissandier, M. (2005) p.45

²⁰⁸ Wijesuria, G. (2005) p.31

²⁰⁹ Clavir, M. (2015)

²¹⁰ Stovel, H. (2005) p.7

²¹¹ Clavir, M. (2015) p.6

²¹² Clavir, M. (2015) p.6

A. Muños²¹³ at the Museum of World Culture, Gothenburg, described that the only had one collection, except for human remains, which was separated from the traditional collection management. Traditional meaning that the collections are separated and housed in climate controlled storage adapted to the specific material, for example metal, bone, textile etc. The source community, a tribe of Dakota Indians in North America, had become aware of its existence and came to visit and to ensure that it was handled in a correct manner. The material is now stored together and covered by a red cloth. Removal of the cloth and any handling of the material is only permitted after communication with the tribe. A. Muños held that the museum and its staff were inclined to honour such request but they were also too time restricted to actively seek out additional information from source communities about objects within their existing collection.

4.2.1 Conservation of the Niñoopa

At the *National Coordination of Conservation of Cultural heritage (CNCPC)* in Mexico methods had to be adopted when facing conservation of a worshiped figure of the baby Jesus. The procedure was described by V. Magar but the work was conducted by conservator Alicia Islas. The sculpture named Niñoopa had been cared for by the Xochimilco community. The community contacted the conservation lab as they were interested in restoring the original features of the sculpture. The sculpture had been painted and restored several times within the community. Representatives were continuously present in the studio to ensure the safety of the Niñoopa. The workspace was more and more transforming into an altar due to the daily offerings brought by the community. Within the conservation studio the attitude was changing, staff were visiting the Niñoopa, approaching the space with silence respect and sometimes bringing offerings. The actions performed were more of a stabilising nature and the Niñoopa was returned to the community. The caretakers in the communities received some training in how to better handle the Niñoopa without altering the religious procedures. Every year the community brings back the Niñoopa to the conservators for a check up to ensure the preservation of the object in the centre of the religious practice.²¹⁴

4.3 Collections management and preservation strategies

As collections eligible for conservation are often connected to institutions, collections management within these structures affect what, why and how things are conserved. This section considers how museums' collections are constructed and utilised. The traditional museum concept originates from monumental institutions, like National museums housing extensive and valuable collections. These buildings housing the collections are often an imposing manifestation of nationalistic ideals, boundaries, specialisation and safekeeping. Many of the institutions and museums have originated from aristocratic collections and the impact of this 18th -mid 20th century era and their view on the world is still visible. In an institutional context like a museum, objects are in general treated and exposed like objects of art with focus on aesthetic and/or uniqueness values. The western model which has impacted museums and collections has been and in many ways still is more aimed towards cataloguing and preserving the material rather than incorporating, developing and utilising the material within a local and current cultural context²¹⁵. An objects tangible and intrinsic values are held

²¹³ Muños, A. (2018) pers com.

²¹⁴ Magar, V (2005) pp.88-90

²¹⁵ Keene, S. (2005) p.23

higher than cultural and functional values²¹⁶. Intangible aspects, vital for indigenous source communities, can become second in the institutional format. In the museum debate this type of transformation of objects, to make them fit into a western cultural concept, has been called “*the museum effect*”²¹⁷. One of the detrimental results of this conceptualisation of objects has been that the material becomes pacified. The intangible connotations that objects carry can only become relevant and alive in a contemporary dispute surrounding them²¹⁸. The strength of collections housed by museums is the potential for access through exhibits, research and education along with cultural heritage functions which can relate people to past and present contexts²¹⁹. However, the institutionalism of the objects has led to source communities finding it hard to relate to the objects exposed and many indigenous and minority cultures argue that the way the objects are exhibited and catalogued is equally reducing the people to specimens rather than self-governing equals²²⁰. There is a prevailing structural imbalance in power and authority concerning who has the right to speak for who and represent whom.²²¹ The way museums conventionally have been using the collections in terms of display and narration is often experienced as limiting by indigenous communities, it rarely incorporates elements showing the organic process of a living culture²²². It has been and remains still a fact that in many museum contexts indigenous people are assigned a passive role as spectators of their past rather than controlling it and living it²²³. Māori people for example have a unique and direct relationship with their past and their ancestors through the objects, the; “*present and future are inseparable from our past, our past is our present and future*”²²⁴. From this perspective, it seems only natural to ensure the involvement from related people to ensure that multiple voices are being heard. In section 5.3 there are examples of national institutions in New Zealand where values stipulated by iwi and Māori representatives were given equal authority. At the Te Papa National Services website the following quote was found; “*Museums increasingly accept that iwi must be involved in the interpretation, exhibition and care of all taonga. That involvement can only be achieved from the base of a strong and effective partnership between iwi and museums.*”²²⁵

Museums are increasingly being held accountable for how indigenous material has been treated, ownership and conventional museological paradigms are challenged²²⁶. As a result, there has been a shift within museology from an object to people and relationships focus²²⁷ where a more holistic approach, including contemporary expressions and meanings, are being valued²²⁸. This *new museology* discipline, which evolved already in the 1970-1980s was a result of a general trend with in humanistic and scientific research away from the object. Academic and scientific fields moved physically and theoretically further from the source housed at traditional museums²²⁹ (Fig. 3). *New Museology* was formally acknowledged by ICOM through the establishment of the *International Committee for New Museology*²³⁰. Behind the movement

²¹⁶ Clavir, M. (1997) p. 142

²¹⁷ Alpers, S. (1991) p.25,27, Durran, B. (1998) p.145-146, Vogel, S. (1991) p.196

²¹⁸ Hakiwai, A.T (1992) p.287-288

²¹⁹ Reinius Gustavsson, L. (2013) p.4

²²⁰ Leone, M.P & Little, B.J. (1993) p.179

²²¹ Kreps, C.F. (2003) p.2

²²² Simpson, M. (2009) p.121

²²³ Hakiwai, A.T (1992) p.287-288

²²⁴ Hakiwai, A.T (1992) p.287

²²⁵ Te Papa National Services (2001). p.1

²²⁶ In Clavir, M. (1997) p.6 Mitchell 1992:1

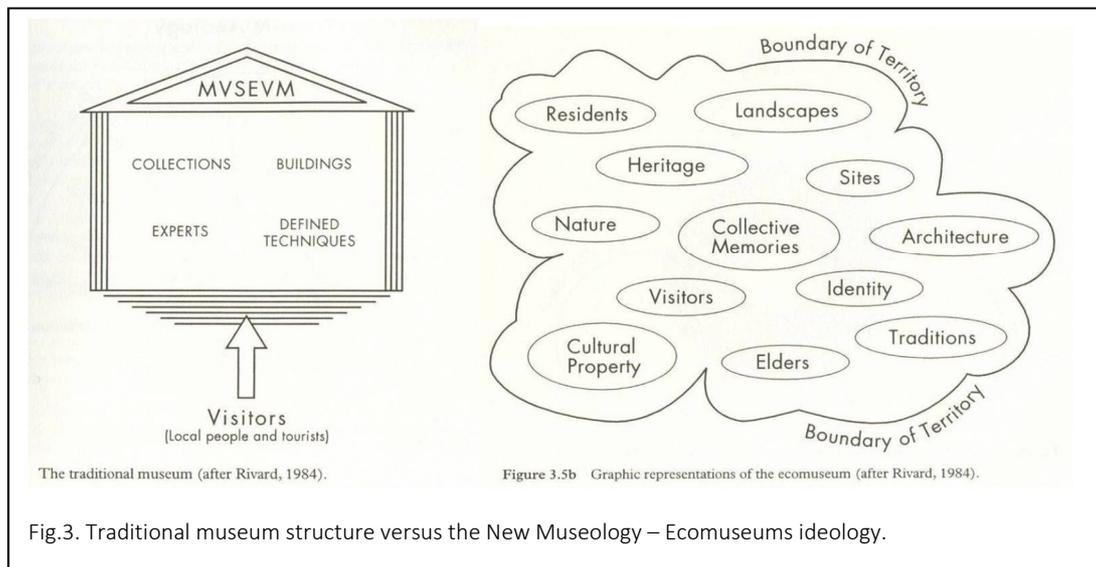
²²⁷ Appelbaum, R. (1992) p.247, Bonshek, E. (1992) p.263, Davies, P. (unknown)

²²⁸ Simpson, M. (2009) p.122

²²⁹ Reinius Gustavsson, L. (2013) pp.4-5

²³⁰ MINOM – ICOM (2018)

was a growing general environmental and social awareness in the early 1970, including the foundation of international organisations like Greenpeace. Vital for its early definition and international recognition was the *Round the Table* meeting in Santiago, 1972, where museum professionals and representatives from UNESCO and ICOM discussed the role of museums in relation to poor and underdeveloped communities²³¹.



New Museology emphasised intangible aspects of cultural heritage such as collective memory, identity and belonging.²³² As a product of these ideologies Ecomuseums developed all over the world, incorporating the *New Museology* philosophy with a structurally different approach on cultural heritage both in function and presentation.²³³ Originally the Ecomuseums was defined through comparison with traditional museums housing cultural heritage²³⁴. The structure is based on local commitment and all actions including preservation strategies originates from within the source community.²³⁵ Conservation in this context means incorporating methods and strategies to preserve “*meaning and purpose*” alongside the tangible values²³⁶. In the Ecomuseums the community and conservators has the opportunity to combine conservation practice with local traditions to strengthen the bond between objects and people. The object becomes relevant as they contribute to insight in traditional crafts, function and traditions. The accumulation of knowledge prevents the above-mentioned *museum effect* and the objects relevance and sensuality remains intact²³⁷.

4.4 Contested ownership of cultural heritage

Many of the ethical and professional standards presented (section 3.) were ascribing relation and responsibility towards an owner or custodian. This is however not an undisputed role as this ownership, especially with regards to cultural heritage collections, can be founded on grounds

²³¹ Round Table on the Development and the Role of Museums in the Contemporary world (1972)

²³² Davis, P. (unknown)

²³³ Ecomuseums

²³⁴ Boylan, P. (1992) p.29, Davies, P. (2011), Corsane, G.E., et.al. (2008)

²³⁵ European Network of Ecomuseums (2004)

²³⁶ Simpson, M. (2009) p.122

²³⁷ Muños A. (2018) pers. com

which today could be considered criminal. Indigenous source communities are collectively and individually claiming custody over their own culture and cultural heritage²³⁸.

There are international documents which has defined cultural ownership and heritage management. One being *The Nara Document* which in section 8, stated that “*cultural heritage and the management of such belong to the people that have generated it*”. A straight definition which however, in my opinion was undermined by the following lines from the same section; “*It is important to underline a fundamental principle of UNESCO, to the effect that the cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all.*”²³⁹ This last statement did in my interpretation reaffirm and legitimise the Eurocentric view which has led to the accumulation of other cultures heritage in institutions. Along with contesting ownership indigenous source communities are questioning the assumption that cultural heritage belongs to humanity, and therefore can be understood, cared for, used and protected by *other* better equipped nations or groups. More recent collaborative projects with source communities has led to a review of this hypothesis, which traditionally is the very foundation for academic fields such as ethnology, anthropology and archaeology.

It is here important to emphasise the relationship between cultural heritage and human rights, stated here through *The Fribourg Declaration*; “*human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and that cultural rights, as much as other human rights, are an expression of and a prerequisite for human dignity;*” “*violations of cultural rights give rise to identity- related tensions and conflicts which are one of the principal cause of violence, wars and terrorism;*” “*cultural diversity cannot be truly protected without the effective implementation of cultural rights;*”²⁴⁰

In *The Stockholm Charter*, ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and sites) for the 50th anniversary the UN declaration of human rights affirmed their standpoint.

ICOMOS affirms that the right to cultural heritage is an integral part of human rights considering the irreplaceable nature of the tangible and intangible legacy it constitutes, and that it is threatened to in a world which is in constant transformation.

- *The right to have the authentic testimony of cultural heritage, respected as an expression of one's cultural identity within the human family;*
- *The right to better understand one's heritage and that of others;*
- *The right to wise and appropriate use of heritage;*
- *The right to participate in decisions affecting heritage and the cultural values it embodies;*
- *The right to form associations for the protection and promotion of cultural heritage.*

*These are responsibilities that all - individually and collectively - must share just as all share the wealth of the memory, in the search for a sustainable development at the service of Mankind.*²⁴¹

In the UN declaration of human rights from 2008 selected sections/articles below were directly related to cultural heritage.

Affirming that indigenous peoples are equal to all other peoples, while recognizing the right of all peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such.²⁴²

²³⁸ Fekrsanati, F. (2010) p.105

²³⁹ The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) sect.6, 7, 8.

²⁴⁰ Fribourg Declaration, Cultural Rights (2007) declaration 2-4, p.3

²⁴¹ The Stockholm Charter (1998) p.53

²⁴² United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) p.1

Concerned that indigenous peoples have suffered from historic injustices as a result of, inter alia, their colonization and dispossession of their lands, territories and resources, thus preventing them from exercising, in particular, their right to development in accordance with their own needs and interests,

Recognizing the urgent need to respect and promote the inherent rights of indigenous peoples which derive from their political, economic and social structures and from their cultures, spiritual traditions, histories and philosophies

*Recognizing that respect for indigenous knowledge, cultures and traditional practices contributes to sustainable and equitable development and proper management of the environment.*²⁴³

Article 11

*1. Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.*²⁴⁴

Article 31

*Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including human and genetic resources, seeds, medicines, knowledge of the properties of fauna and flora, oral traditions, literatures, designs, sports and traditional games and visual and performing arts. They also have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions.*²⁴⁵

The ILO-convention (Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention) no 169²⁴⁶ was concerning indigenous people's rights. The ILO convention is, unlike many similar documents, a legally binding instrument. It addresses indigenous people's rights to be consulted in all areas where their way of life, culture and identity might be affected as stated in article 7:1:

*The peoples concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions and spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use, and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development. In addition, they shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plans and programmes for national and regional development which may affect them directly.*²⁴⁷

Both the UN convention from 2008 and the ILO convention defines and pushes the need to develop strategies for communication and consultation leading to actual outcomes acceptable to all involved parties. The quoted guidelines, charters and conventions above affirm the importance of cultural heritage and defines that it is a human right to express, control and preserve one's cultural heritage. At the same time, it has emphasised that cultural heritage belongs to *all mankind*. Implicating that an international or national authority can establish and decide when a heritage falls under governing of *us all*. These processes and definitions are vital for indigenous source communities claims over cultural heritage.

²⁴³ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) p.2

²⁴⁴ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) p.6

²⁴⁵ United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008) p.12

²⁴⁶ Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (1989)

²⁴⁷ Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention (1989) art.7:1

For many indigenous people cultural heritage (as defined by a Western community) is recognised as something within the group that is only shared amongst a selection of people or groups. To know is a privilege and not an absolute right and access to knowledge and certain materials and rituals is granted only after an extended period of initiation or indoctrination. Uncontrolled access is not desirable and can in many communities be considered responsible for producing catastrophic results²⁴⁸. R. Hill argued that it is questionable whether it is right to expose the material; “do “others” have a right to know, to handle and use what another culture considers too sacred to share? Does anyone have the right to possess another’s cultural/spiritual legacy”.²⁴⁹. Does everyone have the right to everyone’s heritage, does world heritage exist? According to the cited charters above the answer is yes but can heritage be collectively owned and if so by whom, who has the rights and obligation to preserve and utilise it²⁵⁰.

Although it can be argued that the general charters and guidelines signed by general assemblies are formulated with good intentions, they still come from *above* and validates traditional Western ideals rooted in 18/19th century colonial and social Darwinist views²⁵¹. These charters state that remains of past cultural expressions need to be nationally and/or internationally governed and protected for present and future generations. However, contemporary indigenous source communities represented in national institutions and ethnological/ anthropological/ archaeological are not extinct; they are living vibrant communities. A.T. Hakiwai, a professional involved in conservation and curation, debated the national need to exhibit and preserve Māori in his article *The Search for Legitimacy: Museums in Aoteroa, New Zealand – A Maori viewpoint*; “We are not dead. We did not die out before the turn of the century and we are not a diluted form of the supposed “real” and “authentic” Maori. The Maori people are saying that our present and future are inseparable from our past, our past is our present and future.”²⁵²

In my understanding the meaning here is that the purpose of collections should not be a passive evidence of events but an integrated part of the culture of today and tomorrow and that the Māori people do not need to be understood and analysed through scientific research of the material heritage by institutions. The Māori position with regards to Māori cultural heritage management is founded, by legislation, through the Treaty of Waitangi, and structurally in a belief that the museums are the caretakers. The mana (power) of the ancestral treasures stays within the iwi (tribal group) from which the object originates²⁵³. Interestingly there are no similar examples found within the Swedish legal system or through Sámi requests or statement.

4.5 Cultural heritage, repatriation and reconciliation

It is easy to conceive cultural heritage from aesthetical and historical values alone, (section 4.1, 4.3). Its impact on the development of humanity²⁵⁴ as well as conceptual identification of *them and us* is often constrained and decontextualised. However, one does not have to look far in time or space to find evidence of the dynamic force of cultural heritage, how it is used to define and communicate, how it is attacked, constricted or assimilated to gain control and to manage people. To once again quote I. Bukova “Extremists are terrified of history and culture—because

²⁴⁸ Moses. J (1995) p.18

²⁴⁹ Hill, R. (1988) pp.32-33

²⁵⁰ Hakiwai, A.T (1992) p.285-286, Talbot, F. H. (1992) p.7

²⁵¹ Baer, L-A. (2008) p.23, Fur, G. (2014) p.174

²⁵² Hakiwai, A.T (1992) p.287

²⁵³ Tamarapa 1994:43 in; Clavir, M. (1997)

²⁵⁴ Hansson, S. (2002)

understanding the past undermines and delegitimizes their claims."²⁵⁵. In present time as well as in the past, culture and cultural expressions have been manipulated to manage people and to emphasise or even construct a narration of events. It is in this light that I here will approach the political and emotional part of cultural heritage and the relation to indigenous source communities which involves repatriation. Repatriation, although administratively handled on a high political level between states affects people and objects. Conservation has an undefined role in this arena which is problematic from a preservation point of view as the objects are suffering an elevated risk when being assessed, handled and potentially moved to a new and different location: events in an objects biography which are potentially physically damaging.

Repatriation is often discussed and used as a metaphor for the struggle and efforts of indigenous people, worldwide, to regain cultural autonomy. Repatriation claims, although in many ways sympathetic and called for, are often resulting in a political *tug of war* with complicated and lengthy processes. Processes which in the best cases leads to communication and partnership but in worst case further strengthen the *them and us* positioning between institutions/professionals and source communities. Repatriation as a function can be debated on many levels, structurally, politically and emotionally, the bottom line however can be quite simple. A Sámi representative vocalised it in the pamphlet regarding the Bååstede repatriation project (presented in 4.5.2) "*Repatriation is about recognition, and it is important for the Sámi people*"²⁵⁶. The bureaucratic problem and the argumentation, should we or should we not repatriate often results in a question of what is legal and what is legitimate? M. Skrydsdrup, in his article for the *Utimumt conference* on repatriation, formulated a theoretical idea "*If repatriation is the solution, then what is the problem?*"²⁵⁷. For arguments sake, suppose repatriation is not the solution. If cultural heritage in collections instead should be recognised as an act of intercultural encounters and part of a collective cultural heritage then institutions need to re-evaluate their role and purpose. A universal heritage needs to be approached and presented multi vocally and open-mindedly.²⁵⁸ This is a process which many contemporary museums are engaged in. For example, one of the main museums for Swedish Sámi culture, Nordiska museet in Stockholm, today does not aim to show or to educate about things Sàmi, but to work around themes and to open up to dialogue around traces from cultural impact and exchange²⁵⁹. This type of postcolonial methodology is responded to by indigenous source community representatives such as L.T. Smith who is questioning the motive behind such statements²⁶⁰. Many colonised indigenous people are still struggling with the effects of colonialization²⁶¹. Cultural heritage is often valued as a way to reconnect with a more traditional way of life, lost during years of adaptation to non-indigenous cultures and laws. Culture is not needed to return to old ways but to actively renew cultural identity and pride, to heal the wounds afflicted by an oppressing power.²⁶² The process of a successful repatriation can lead to a strengthened sense of pride and as statement of cultural self-determination. In addition, the gains of having immediate and local access can contribute to cultural renewal as the objects can be utilised to combine traditional and contemporary expressions. Other means of achieving control and involvement includes co-curation aimed to preserve and manage cultural heritage with a spirit of

²⁵⁵ Bokova I. 2015 p.290

²⁵⁶ Bååstede (2017) – quote from Johnny-Leo Jernsletten, direktør Tana- og Varanger Museumssiida, (2015)

²⁵⁷ Skrydsdrup, M. (2008)p.56-57

²⁵⁸ Skrydsdrup, M. (2008)p.62

²⁵⁹ Silván, E. (2008) p.136

²⁶⁰ Smith, T.L (1999) p.24

²⁶¹ Simpson, M, G. (2008)

²⁶² Simpson, M, G. (2008) p.67

reconciliation and development. For nations united by colonial relationships there is a relevant need to look back and to seek redemption to be able to move forward²⁶³. In the following sections two quite different repatriation processes are presented and evaluated. The first one includes an object which was taken out of context and incorporated into a very different cultural context where it was ascribed Eurocentric heritage values and preservation strategies. The other is the only example of legislated and systematic Sámi repatriation within a Nordic nation.

4.5.1 Conservation and repatriation of a totem pole from the Haisla Indians

Sweden has been involved in several repatriation processes concerning the repatriation of human remains but very few objects has been repatriated. There is however well-documented repatriation case which concerns a totem pole from Haisla Indians in Canada. The pole was transferred to Sweden in 1920 and incorporated into the Ethnological museum's collections. For 20 years an ethical and political discussion was conducted between Sweden and representatives for the Haisla Indians who claimed that the pole had been taken without their consent.²⁶⁴ A key demand from the Ethnological museums side was that that similar care and management measures were kept up at the new location. Contextually Totem poles are erected out in nature where they are meant to naturally degrade but the demands from the Ethnological museum meant that a cultural house, where the pole could be housed, needed to be built in the Haisla village. Within the process two copies were made and erected, one situated outside of the Ethnological museum in Stockholm and one on the original spot in Canada.²⁶⁵ This repatriation is often mentioned as a mutually satisfying repatriation process²⁶⁶. What is not followed up in most of the articles and books describing this repatriation is the facts that the cultural house was never constructed. The pole was housed indoors for some time, in different temporary facilities but then the cultural owner decided to return it to its natural environment. According to sources²⁶⁷ it is now lying down in a cemetery exposed in every way to nature and natural degradation sharing the fate of other Haisla Indian poles (Fig. 4).



Fig.4 The pole in its location in 2014. Photo: Tony Sandin

For the descendants of the Haisla Indians the repatriation was an important and emotional process. Here follows some of the statements from the community; *“Our culture and heritage is the basis of who we are and critical to our survival as a people; through this repatriation process, we are reclaiming this for our children”*²⁶⁸ *“The original*

²⁶³ Lynge A. (2008) p. 79

²⁶⁴ Björklund, A & Gustavsson, L. (2016)

²⁶⁵ Bring, O. (2015) pp.208-210

²⁶⁶ Jessiman, S. (2011)

²⁶⁷ Östberg, W. (2015), Björklund, A & Gustavsson, L. (2016)

²⁶⁸ Amos, G. (2006)

*pole is the umbilical cord that ties us to our ancestors, our history and our culture. Our children now have something they can see, touch and feel of our history and our heritage*²⁶⁹

The process and the outcome shows how immensely complex repatriation can be. The involved actions can be analysed from different perspectives. However, there is a multi-layered problem when institutions, here represented by the Ethnological Museum, make rigid demands on how the object is supposed to be kept and cared for. Is it really legitimate for a custodian (the museum), to determine how cultural heritage from source communities should be handled after repatriation? In this case the original purpose of the totem pole clearly was not for posterity. The transformation of the totem pole to museum artefact was not initiated or in any way controlled by the source community. Should an object clearly linked to a specific context, a small clan of Haisla Indians, be considered *world cultural heritage* and protected as such? In a seminar from 2016 representatives from the Museum of Ethnography responded to the outcome. They were discussing the role of the museum and how to respond to repatriation claims, especially concerning material that has been acquired in ways that are not applicable to the museums standards today. They also addressed the problematic positioning that objects from indigenous cultures need to be rescued and preserved;

*“Should museums with ethnographic collections safeguard artifacts that was never meant to be saved - or material (f.e archival notes or records) that according to traditions was to be transferred only orally between generations. By allowing the destruction of the G’psglox totem pole, Western hang-up on material culture has certainly been challenged by the Haislas, who emphasize immaterial heritage such as dances, rituals and oral traditions.”*²⁷⁰

The community decision to let the totem pole degrade in its natural environment was a breach from the original agreement attached to the repatriation, yet a holistic belief in a natural decay are supported by many other indigenous cultures²⁷¹. It can also be related to preservation practice at the acclaimed World Heritage site on Anthony Island, Canada. On this site with similar structures also representing the Haisla Indians in the region the developed conservation policy has decided to respect the community’s wish for totem poles to remain in their natural context, to continue their predestined fate to naturally decay²⁷².

*“What survives is unique in the world, a 19th century Haida village where the ruins of houses and memorial or mortuary poles illustrate the power and artistry of Haida society. While each year these ruins retreat further back to the earth it is the living Haida culture that continues to grow and thrive on Haida Gwaii and beyond”.*²⁷³

²⁶⁹ Smith, L. (2006)

²⁷⁰ Björklund, A & Gustavsson, L. (2016)

²⁷¹ Clavir, M 1992:8, Wright 1994:1, In Clavir, M. (1997)

²⁷² SGang Gwaay Llnagaay (Village of SGang Gwaay) (2012), Strovel, H. (2005) p.5

²⁷³ SGang Gwaay Llnagaay (Village of SGang Gwaay) (2012)

4.5.2 Bååstede project in Norway

Norway is one of the few countries who has ratified the ILO 169 convention. This has led to projects aiming to ensure Sámi self-autonomy over Sámi culture. One of these projects was the Bååstede project. The project was concerning the repatriation of Sami cultural heritage material housed at Norsk Folkemuseum and Kulturhistorisk Museum. The collections were transferred by geographic context to six Sámi governed museums. This repatriation was based on Norway's obligation towards the Sámi as indigenous to Norway, a treaty between the two national museums and the Norwegian Sámi Parliament which was signed in 2012, the project was finalized in 2017.²⁷⁴ Included in project was a full-time conservators position to ensure the continuous preservation of the objects²⁷⁵. The Sámi museums were asking for the repatriation of object relating to the specific museums geographical and cultural context. The *Samtidsmuseet ved Senter for nordlige folk*²⁷⁶ was recalling objects related to the cultural heritage of the Sea Sámi people and their relation to the permanent dwelling Sámi and the Mountain Sámi. Current exhibitions at the museum are based on "mi" and including religion, duodji, resources and produce and political strategies (Fig. 5-6).²⁷⁷ Additional to the repatriation of object the aims of the project were to create a bridge between the national institutions and the local Sámi museums to enable Sámi people to curate their heritage as well as promoting traditional preservation strategies used by the Sámi people. Further to promote a Sámi sense of cultural autonomy by producing access to a tangible heritage. The shared responsibility for the material heritage also meant a definition of financial aid and funding for the Sámi museums to ensure that the management and storage meets required standards.²⁷⁸



²⁷⁴ Bååstede (2017)

²⁷⁵ Gaup. K.E (2018) pers com. (appendix 2)

²⁷⁶ Translation: Contemporary museum at the centre for northern people

²⁷⁷ Samtidsmuseet ved Senter for nordlige folk (2018)

²⁷⁸ Bååstede (2017)

4.6 Conclusion

It can be concluded here that preservation and remedial conservation of material culture from source communities should ideally be defined in collaboration with related people or communities to safeguard both tangible and intangible aspects. All collected information needs to accompany the objects and consultation with recognised representatives of a community is an important part of the objects preservation. This is not least important when objects are being handled, treated or displayed by external parties; for example, a contracted conservator. Separation from originating culture does not mean that an objects importance or inherent power has diminished. Even though similar objects can have a high cultural significance it does not automatically mean that they can be defined by the same sacred or ritual context. Taken out of context an object can be seemingly trivial, the inherent power only revealed by accompanied cultural significance. In-depth, well founded and documented assessments of the individual pieces are essential to ensure respectful and protective care with regards to tangible and intangible values. The need to respect and provide necessary protection of an object/collection is an example of a situation where modern conservation practice *can* work in conjunction with the safe keeping of traditional values. Preventive conservation practice can provide separation and restricted access through mounting and custom-made storage solutions. It must also be addressed that cultural values attached to an object can change over time; this can for example challenge decisions when looking at originality and the objects true state.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁹ Clavir, M (2015) p. 4-6, 12

5. Preservation of cultural heritage related to Sámi and Māori people

For this thesis a comparison of preservation strategies in Sweden and New Zealand with regards to the Sámi and Maori cultural heritage was conducted. Although general situations and experiences can be compared, indigenous peoples all over the world need to be given their own history and voice. For the comparison between Sweden and New Zealand there are some major differences in the historical background that play an important role for the respective nations and the indigenous claims. Sweden is for example a member of the European Union which means that some areas is covered and outlined by EU and or related European conventions²⁸⁰. New Zealand, being a former British colony, is structurally built up on British models. The population of New Zealand is currently approximately 4,7 million where of 730 000 are Māori – ca 15% of the population²⁸¹. Sweden has approximately 10 million people. Statistics based on ethnicity are not collected in Sweden but the Sámi population is estimated to be around 80 000 – ca 0,8% of the population²⁸².

New Zealand was inhabited by the Māori, although the exact timeline is debated, in the 13th century A. D.²⁸³. New Zealand was then colonised by Europeans over time, with the first Europeans settling in the late 18th century. In 1840 the *Treaty of Waitangi* was drafted and signed between the Māori people and the British crown; this document is regarded as the founding document of New Zealand²⁸⁴. Although recognised as a Nation with dual-heritage New Zealand is still embedded in colonial structures which impact on the people and the cultural heritage. To increase Māori influence and position governing principles have been amended. Specifically, under the *consultation principle* it was stated that Māori people should be incorporated and considered in all decision-making on a governmental level²⁸⁵.

Human activity in the region later proclaimed as Sweden can be traced back around 10.000 years. Since 1977 the Sámi people has officially been recognised as indigenous to Sweden²⁸⁶, and as such they have cultural rights such as cultural autonomy and some level of self-determination²⁸⁷. To meet these requirements a Sámi Parliament was developed. Despite its title the Sámi Parliament of today is not a Sámi self-determining body. Although elected by the Sámi people it is controlled by the Swedish government.²⁸⁸ The main task for the Sámi Parliament is to monitor Sámi culture in Sweden. In 2002 an investigation was undertaken by the Cultural Department in Sweden stating that there were enough grounds to consider a change in the Swedish constitution to further acknowledge and enforce Sami self-determination²⁸⁹. Since this recommendation was not amended by the government the Sámi Parliament is still seeking cultural autonomy and a higher degree of self-determination. Its claims are continuously strengthened and supported by contemporary developments of international laws defining indigenous peoples' legal rights.²⁹⁰ The Sami claims were further

²⁸⁰ For example, the European Convention on Human Rights and the Lisbon Treaty stipulating fundamental rights with in EU in: Mänskliga rättigheter (2018)

²⁸¹ Stats New Zealand (2018)

²⁸² Samer-samerna I siffror (2018)

²⁸³ King, M. (2003) p.18

²⁸⁴ History of New Zealand, 1769-1914 (2016)

²⁸⁵ Morgan, G. & Guthrie, S. (2014) p.221

²⁸⁶ Sametinget (2018)

²⁸⁷ Rådgivande kommittén för ramkonventionen om skydd för nationella minoriteter (2012) p.1

²⁸⁸ Kulturdepartementet – Sametingets roll i det svenska folkstyret (2002)

²⁸⁹ Kulturdepartementet – Sametingets roll i det svenska folkstyret (2002)

²⁹⁰ Sametinget (2018)

supported by Sweden's ratification of *The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*²⁹¹ where Sámi people were granted independent indigenous rights as people of Sweden in addition to the previous general rights for ethnic minorities²⁹². This difference is vital as it gives the Sámi political as well as cultural rights²⁹³. In Norway modifications in constitution and the ratification of the *ILO-convention no 169*²⁹⁴ concerning indigenous people's rights has ensured an elevated cultural self- government for the Norwegian Sámi. One of the results being the Bååsted repatriation project presented in section 4.5.2. Although officially recognised as indigenous people of Sweden there are still several legislative issues to address before Sweden could, if interested, qualify for the ILO-convention²⁹⁵. In article 7:1 the ILO-convention states the following:

*1. The peoples concerned shall have the right to decide their own priorities for the process of development as it affects their lives, beliefs, institutions and spiritual well-being and the lands they occupy or otherwise use, and to exercise control, to the extent possible, over their own economic, social and cultural development. In addition, they shall participate in the formulation, implementation and evaluation of plans and programmes for national and regional development which may affect them directly.*²⁹⁶

Ratification of the convention would mean that Sámi of Sweden would have a legislative tool to increase Sámi cultural influence and positioning on a governmental level²⁹⁷. A ratification would acknowledge the Sámi rights to control institutions, language and cultural heritage, and financial development²⁹⁸. An amended consultation principle similar to the one in New Zealand towards the Māori population could lead to Sámi people becoming incorporated and considered in all decision-making related to their indigenous and cultural position.

The following section highlights the political and cultural relation between Sámi and Swedes and how this has affected the way cultural heritage was collected and managed. There is a brief passage about cultural heritage laws as well as the archaeological process. One of the legislative reasons as to why Māori holds a strong position regarding its cultural heritage and a high degree of self-determination in New Zealand, compared to many other indigenous cultures including the Sámi, is a result of the 1840 *Treaty of Waitangi*. In signing this document *tino Rangatiratanga* was claimed over all things Māori. The Māori term basically means and gives the autonomy and self-determination on all things Māori, including cultural heritage even when legally owned by non-Māori.²⁹⁹ This is one of the key factors in why Māori cultural heritage is managed differently. There are significant and explorable differences in how the archaeological material is defined and handled in Sweden and New Zealand which affect the material both instantly and in the long-term. I have also looked into how Sámi cultural heritage was approached and managed in national as well as local institutions. The contemporary analysis was backed up by a minor survey explored in section 5.4.

²⁹¹ Council of Europe (2018)

²⁹² Rådgivande kommittén för ramkonventionen om skydd för nationella minoriteter (2012)

²⁹³ Sametinget (2018)

²⁹⁴ ILO-convention no169 (1957, updated 1989)

²⁹⁵ Hagsgård, M.B. (2014) p.64, Dahlbring (2014) p.79–80

²⁹⁶ ILO-convention no169 (1957, updated 1989)

²⁹⁷ Morgan, G. & Guthrie, S. (2014) p.221

²⁹⁸ Lantto, P. & Mörkenstam, U. P.83

²⁹⁹ Morgan, G. & Guthrie, S. (2014) p.221, Maori dictionary (2017)

5.1 Sámi and Swedes, a brief historical and political positioning

The Sámi people are the only recognised indigenous people in Scandinavia³⁰⁰. They recognise themselves as one people spread out over four nations, Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Koala Peninsula in Russia. The land inhabited by Sámi is called Sápmi (Fig.7)³⁰¹. The Sámi people make a clear distinction between the Sámi and the Swedes, hence forth this cultural divisions has been used throughout this thesis. The Sámi culture was traditionally based and developed in a nomadic tradition. Sámi cultural heritage and language stem from the Finno-Urgian and arctic tradition³⁰² whereas the Swedes cultural heritage stem from Indo-European language and north Germanic heritage³⁰³. These cultures, amongst others, have been inhabiting Scandinavia for thousands of years influencing and integrating each other³⁰⁴. Traditional Sámi life was a nomadic one, it was lived in tune with nature and animals. Herding reindeer and utilising the produce from the deer and other wild animals inhabiting the north of Scandinavia was the core of what made Sámi cultural heritage and its historical use of the region. Out of the specific locality in the harsh climate up north combined with the focus on reindeer, the Sami heritage grew. A cultural heritage very different from the one of the Swedes, traditionally inhabiting the more southern parts of the landmass today recognised as Sweden. Despite assimilation, discrimination, racism and other restrictive actions from the Swedes, at least from the late 1700s and onwards, the Sámi people have maintained their cultural significance³⁰⁵.

The Sámi use of Sápmi has been recognised and taxed by the Swedes since medieval times, though up until the 18th century the Sami land rights was still strong and without major interference. During the 18th and 19th century changes in regulations made it easier and encouraged non-Sámi people to inhabit Sápmi³⁰⁶. It was concluded that a parallel existence would be possible as

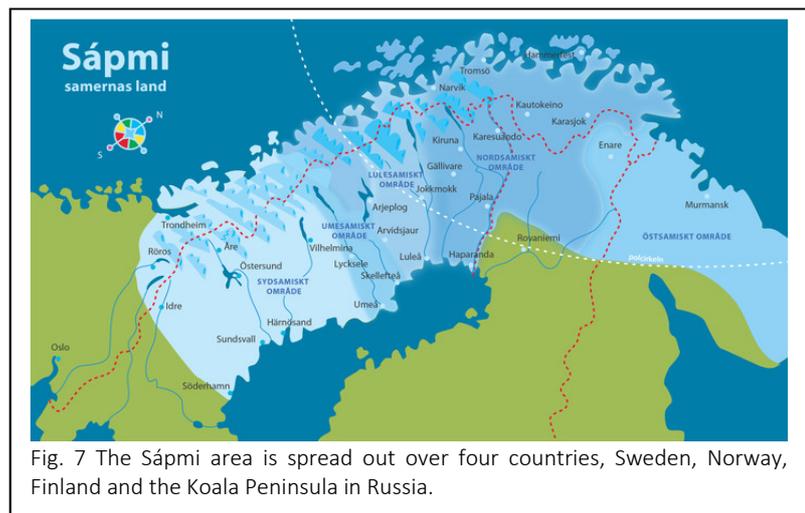


Fig. 7 The Sápmi area is spread out over four countries, Sweden, Norway, Finland and the Koala Peninsula in Russia.

the land use was so different between the nomadic Sámi and the agricultural Swede. Soon enough the Swedes claims on fishing, hunting and other natural resource like iron and forestry gradually pushed the Sami aside.³⁰⁷ Historically 1751 was an important year as this was when the borders between Sweden, Denmark and Norway were outlined, as they remain today, after centuries of conflicts. Here it was recognised that the reindeer herding Sámi should not be hindered by these boundaries but allowed to move herds across the borders. The terms was outlined in *Lappkodicillen*, a document which enforced reindeer herding Sámi rights and claims. The Sami village was positioned at the centre of this agreed organisation and movement across

³⁰⁰ Sametinget (2018)

³⁰¹ Samer - About Sapmi (2018)

³⁰² Svonni, M. (2008) p.32

³⁰³ Svonni, M. (2008) p.40–42

³⁰⁴ Svonni, M. (2008) p.42

³⁰⁵ Samer - About Sapmi (2018)

³⁰⁶ Hagsgård, M.B. (2014) p.60

³⁰⁷ Kvenangen, P.G. (1996) pp.49–62

the land was to be controlled from it. In the process nonetheless, the Sámi had to choose citizenship and could no longer own land on both sides of the border. The strength and currency of the document was determined by the fact that this was and still is an agreement between two states. The Sámi claims cannot be out ruled solely by Swedish laws and regulations.³⁰⁸

Whether Sápmi was colonised or not remains a point of discussion which will not be fully explored here. However, recognition of the colonial processes in Northern Sweden is important for an informed understanding of the cultural and social climate of today. The Sami Parliament controlled educational website *Samer.se* and other sources defines the period between 17th and 19th century as a period of colonisation followed by extensive discrimination, racism and use of the natural resources of Sápmi during the following centuries³⁰⁹. Public recognition of Swedish colonialism is very low³¹⁰, many historical and contemporary sources rather emphasise integration and tend to avoid the colonial or post-colonial perspective on the events that occurred³¹¹. Whether called colonisation or not, the forced assimilation and the measures carried out to ensure claims and rights for the Swedes in the region was to the same effect. The Swedish nation was ignoring rights and values of the indigenous people in Sápmi.³¹² Even when pushed the Sámi people did not engage in violent measures, they rather assimilated and/or withdrew from contact, losing land, resources and culture³¹³.

5.1.1 Institutional accumulation of Sámi cultural heritage

The Sámi collections housed by institutions and collectors in Sweden has been built up with a colonial perspective on the Sámi culture³¹⁴. Swedish research and cultural heritage management was influenced by a philosophy, grounded in the 18/19th century enlightenment theories and social Darwinism prevailing in Western Europe at the time³¹⁵. Archaeology and ethnology were intimately connected at the time and as relatively new academic fields they were both striving to create a foundation for their profession and academic relevance. This foundation was resting heavily on the empirical data collected, a collection based on strict theories of human and cultural development principles. There was a contemporary conclusion and assumption that all culture strive to develop, and that nomadic cultures were less developed than the settled farming cultures³¹⁶. A view point which was used politically and socially in the process of building a sense of a Swedish Nation. The Sámi people and their material heritage was used to present the Swedish view of the northern people and to legitimatise Sweden's claims in the north of Scandinavia.³¹⁷

It was in conjunction with these social and political aims that the active documentation and collecting of Sámi heritage started in the 18th and 19th century. It was mainly conducted by the Swedish church, the state and by researchers/explorers. Commonly collected objects were religious objects, clothing and utensils. There was a notable difference in how the objects were collected. Many of the religious object like drums and siedies (sacred objects/location, often a

³⁰⁸ Kvenangen (1996) pp.67–71

³⁰⁹ Samer - Koloniseringen av samer (2018), Andersson, B. (2014) p.91

³¹⁰ Ojala, C-G. (2009) p. 92

³¹¹ Fur, G. (2014) p.178

³¹² Fur, G. (1993) Westergren, C. (2008) pp.9–10, Jönses, L. (2008) p.45–49

³¹³ Andersson, B. (2014) p.92

³¹⁴ Westergren, C (2008) p.7, Nordin, J.M., Ojala, C-G (2015) p.115–117

³¹⁵ Baer, L-A. (2008) p.23, Fur, G. (2014) p.174

³¹⁶ Baer, L-A. (2008) p.23

³¹⁷ Jönses, L (2008) p. 45–47

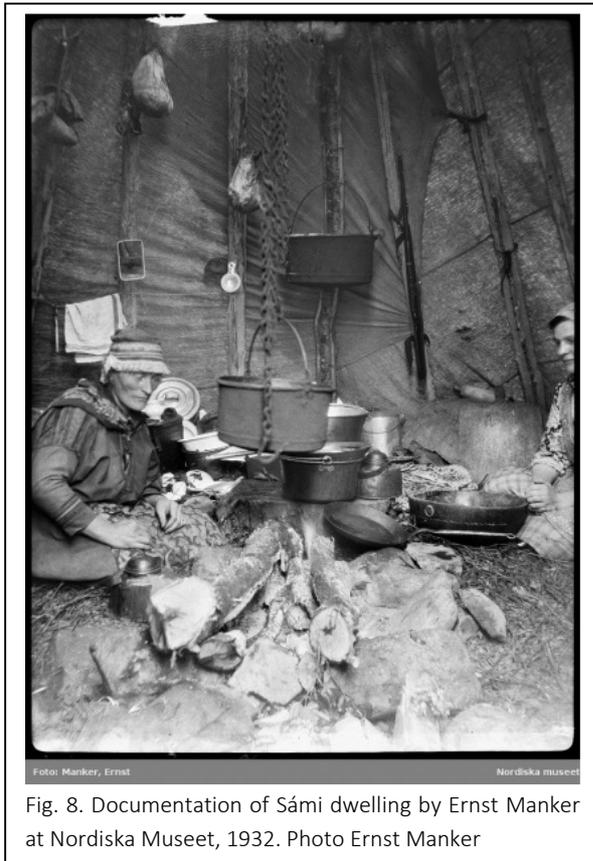


Fig. 8. Documentation of Sámi dwelling by Ernst Manker at Nordiska Museet, 1932. Photo Ernst Manker

stone or a tree, on which offerings was made and around which ceremonies was conducted³¹⁸) were claimed and the Sámi holding or use of them was prohibited, leading to many objects like these being hidden or destroyed. Other objects were bought or traded for.³¹⁹ The Nordiska Museet in Stockholm was established in 1873 with the aim and the intention to collect and present Swedish cultural heritage (Fig. 8). The base collections were specifically acquired through field trips with the aim to define and incorporate the North of Sweden into what was becoming the Swedish Nation³²⁰. The museum still holds the largest collection of Sámi material and immaterial heritage in Sweden. After an extensive period of active accessioning of anthropological and ethnographic materials a significant number of objects has been included to Sámi collections by archaeological excavations throughout the 20th century. In Sweden the overall responsibility for archaeological

objects lies with the Swedish History Museum, other museums can apply to the National Heritage Board to manage and house specific objects or collections related to sites of geographical or cultural interest. Between the Swedish History Museum and the Nordiska Museet there is an understanding in which object younger than 1500 A.D are deposited at the Nordiska Museet and objects older than 1500 are deposited at the Swedish History Museum³²¹. Many Sámi objects in collections are younger than 1500 A.D which has also contributed to the large Sámi collection at the Nordiska Museet.

There are now currently Sámi museums, Ájtte – the Swedish Mountain and Sámi Museum and Gaaltje – South Sámi cultural centre. Ájtte, in Jokkmokk, was founded in 1989 as a Sámi governed centre for the Swedish Sámi. The initial aims for the museum were to gather all Swedish Sámi cultural heritage at the museum, hiring and educating Sámi people in cultural heritage management³²². Despite this status it has not been given responsibility for Sámi culture by the Swedish government. The two museums have had a project funded by the National Heritage Board, where the aim was to evaluate the need for and to create a program for preservation of Sámi cultural and natural heritage³²³. One of the conclusions was that there was a need for a collective function handling Sámi cultural heritage. Since Ájtte museum was erected in Jokkmokk the Nordiska Museet is no longer actively collecting Sámi materials. The Nordiska Museum asserts to encourage transparency and accessibility as well as research on

³¹⁸ Samer – Sejte (2018)

³¹⁹ Edbom. G (2005) p.51

³²⁰ Silván, E. (2008) b p.312

³²¹ Zachrisson, I. (2004) p.83

³²² Ahlström E. (2018) pers. com.

³²³ Ájtte, svenskt fjäll- och samemuseum Gaaltje (2008)

the Sámi collection within and outside the museum.³²⁴ Eva Silvéén who works as a curator, specialised in minority and multicultural affairs at Nordiska Museet and has written several articles about the role of museum concerning the Sámi collection. Silvéén said that Nordiska Museet today does not aim to show or to educate about things Sami, but rather that the aim was to work around themes and to open up to dialogue around traces from cultural impact and exchange; how the Sami has influenced the Swedes and vice versa.³²⁵ Due to the difficulty to certainly assign material found in archaeological contexts there has been some efforts with in museums to deconstruct contemporary cultural connections. At the Swedish History Museum, during the refurbishment of the Viking age exhibition all old references to Sámi or other ethnicities was removed. The process was criticised by the public and by professionals and some of the relations have been reestablished. However, this example clearly shows the problematic situation, regarding ethnicity, in which collections management is conducted.³²⁶

There has, in general been very little interest in giving Ájtte control over the Sámi material currently housed in collections at different institutions around Sweden. Ájtte has instigated and participated in several projects with the aim to repatriate information about the Sámi material. The project *Recalling Ancestral Voices – Reparation of Sámi cultural heritage* was run in corporation with Siida in Finland and Varanger Samiske museum in Norway³²⁷. The aim of this project was to collect information about and the location of Sámi objects and to construct a database to make the material accessible across borders and ownership. The purpose of the digital collections such as these are to strengthen the control over the Sámi material. The accumulated knowledge is vital for potential future repatriation processes and cultural autonomy.

5.2 Sámi cultural heritage, legislation and management in Sweden

The Swedish Government has a standpoint that cultural heritage preservation, access and contemporality shall be enabled by political structures³²⁸. Cultural heritage concerns are handled by the Cultural Department under which institutions like the Swedish National Heritage Board and the national museums are located. The Swedish National Heritage Board together with *Länsstyrelsen* (County government) and the County Museums are, along with other tasks, responsible for preservation and public education. They are both providing services such as advising in cultural heritage concerns as well as enabling research, development and the accumulation of knowledge. Except for the Sámi Parliament which does not self-govern Sámi cultural heritage (section. 5.2) there are no other legal or governing structures defining or separating management of Sámi cultural heritage. The Nordic Museum in Sweden is required by the government to hold and preserve relevant archives and objects to develop and convey knowledge about Swedish cultural heritage to provide a perspective on the contemporary developments of society³²⁹. As such it includes Sámi cultural heritage. Ájtte museum although acknowledged as a centre for Sámi culture does not have any legal or central control or management over related cultural heritage.

³²⁴ Hammarlund-Larsson, C. (2008) p.98–106

³²⁵ Silvéén, E. (2008) a. p.136

³²⁶ Spangen, M. (2015) p.18

³²⁷ Kuoljokk, S. (2007)

³²⁸ Regeringens proposition 1998/99:114: Kulturarv - kulturmiljöer och kulturföremål. (1999)

³²⁹ Nordiska Museet (2018)

Within Swedish law and jurisdiction there is an explicit protection for cultural heritage objects. Archaeological, architectural and religious heritage connected to the Swedish Church are protected and regulated by the *Kulturmiljölagen 1988:950* (KLM) chapter 2-4³³⁰. For example, the KLM protects all known archaeological sites and object related to them as well as objects found in the ground, predating 1850³³¹. The export of movable cultural heritage is regulated in chapter 5-8. KML chapter 6 regulates repatriation of illegally obtained movable cultural heritage but does however only concern actions occurring after the 31st of December 1994³³². Within the law there is no distinction of Sámi cultural heritage and rights, nor is there any legislations or guidelines concerning repatriation or cultural claims. The exception is the cultural land use outlined in *Lappkodicillen* as presented above, (section 5.1)³³³. As the cultural heritage laws are regulating all Swedish cultural heritage, including the Sámi, prehistory the process can be perceived as accurate and neutral. However, the Sámi prehistory and Sámi archaeology have and continues to be controversial and highly politicized. The current Sámi ethno-political movements, in line with Indigenous Rights movement around the globe, has raised claims on cultural autonomy and self-determination over the Sámi cultural heritage.³³⁴ In archaeology for example there is a current debate regarding the role and ethics of professional archaeologists and the need to develop professional strategies for how to meet with source community's claims. Is it possible to trace ethnicity in archaeological material? There is a need to look at traditional and current conceptualization of identity and ethnicity.³³⁵

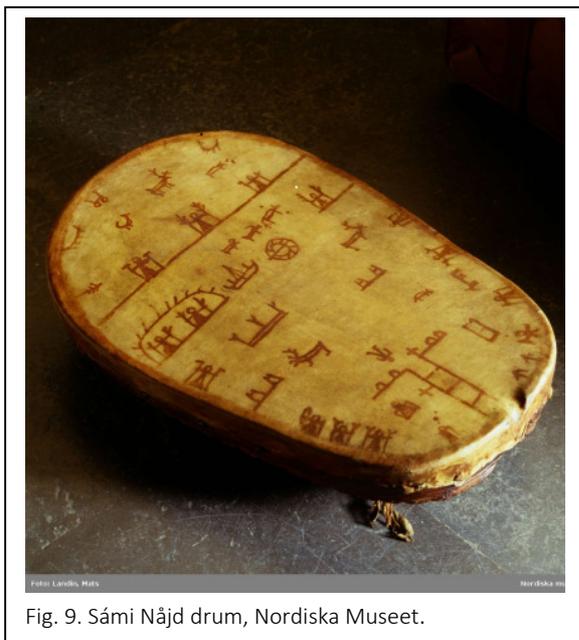


Fig. 9. Sámi Nåjd drum, Nordiska Museet.

A group of Sámi objects around which many past and contemporary debates has encircled are the Sámi ceremonial drums (Fig.9). The time before Colonisation and Christianisation is by Sámi referred to as *drum-time*. The drums were used in rituals and ceremonies. Some were closely connected with the *Nåjd* – Sámi shaman and the *jojk* – Sámi chanting, and some for making predictions within the household regarding important events like hunting, herding and weather³³⁶. During the 17th and 18th century shamanism was banned by the Swedish state and as a result drums were burned or confiscated. The confiscated drums ended up in collections in Sweden and abroad. Due to the drums factual and symbolic significance for the Sámi community several repatriations claim and processes have dealt

with this category.³³⁷ As discussed (section 4.5) repatriation and reburial plays a central part in self-determination and adoption of cultural heritage policies. Only a few Sámi repatriation claims have ever been realised. A representative of the Museum of World Culture in

³³⁰ Kulturmiljölagen (1988), translation: *Cultural Environment Law*

³³¹ Kulturmiljölagen (1988) chap.2, 3§.

³³² Kulturmiljölagen (1988)

³³³ Aldercreutz, T. (2002) p.71

³³⁴ Ojala, C-G. (2009) p. 15

³³⁵ Ojala, C-G. (2009) p. 16

³³⁶ Westman A. (2002) p.55

³³⁷ Westman, A. (2002) p.55

Gothenburg Sweden stated during our interview that they find it easier to deal with repatriation with other nations. This being a result of the structure controlling repatriation between states which is lacking within the state.³³⁸ For example, only two museums, one of them the Swedish Museum of Ethnography deposited all of its Sámi collection at Ájtte in 1988³³⁹. In addition, there is only one known case of reburial of Sámi human remains – the Soejvengelle’s grave. This repatriation was only realised due to existing documentations. The excavation was conducted under Ernst Manker from the Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, which stated that the remains was to be reburied after analysis³⁴⁰. Sámi materials in collections and repatriation was investigated and published in a report, *Samiskt kulturarv i samlingar*³⁴¹. One of the conclusions was that repatriation processes and claims are made difficult since most of the Sámi material in collections have very little information connected to them. This fact is opening to a discussion concerning who can make legitimate claims of repatriation. Hence the origin of many of the Sámi cultural heritage is unknown and although *saved* and preserved they lack a vital link to its original context. Some people believe repatriation is a legal and political problem some are more of the opinion that it is more about responsibility than rights. Who can and who is qualified to manage the Sámi cultural heritage.³⁴² How can collections and research material be utilized without cementing outdated notions of social structures and heritage. How can cultural heritage both define and unite people? Is it possible or even necessary to trace heritage back to the roots as social structures of today are the result of relatively recent perceptions of nations and ethnicities?

In an interview Sámi representative at Ájtte museum K. Spiik Skum expressed a feeling that Sámi people are in general glad that there is Sámi material within collections as this means a greater access compared to if they were housed within a family collection³⁴³. At the same time there is a great sadness involved, to see relatives and ancestors belonging on display far from their original context and meaning. The way that the objects were collected and displayed has made the relationship between the Sámi people and its cultural heritage complicated. There are a lot of negative connotations related to the process which is still influencing the perception of the Sámi people today. Many Sámi people wish that the material was brought back and that Sámi people could ensure that their voice is being expressed.³⁴⁴ The Bååsted project in Norway is an example of how the Sámi peoples strive to regain cultural control, to ensure that the cultural heritage is managed within a cultural context.

5.3 Māori cultural heritage, legislation and management in New Zealand

New Zealand is a country with a dual cultural heritage. However, there are significant differences concerning how Māori and Historical/European objects and sites are being treated. Cultural heritage objects and sites are protected in New Zealand under the *Protected Objects Act 1975* (POA) and/or *Historic Places Act 1993* (HPA)³⁴⁵. The purpose of the POA is to regulate export of protected objects as well as import of protected foreign objects and to ensure participation with UNESCO and UNIDROIT conventions. In addition, it also establishes recording

³³⁸ Muños, A. (2018) pers. com

³³⁹ Edbom. G (2005) p.26

³⁴⁰ Bring, O. (2015)

³⁴¹ Edbom. G (2005)

³⁴² Schanche, A. (2002) pp.30-31, Mulk, I.M. (2002) p.17

³⁴³ See also Kuljok, S. (2007)

³⁴⁴ Spiik Skum, K. (2018) pers. com

³⁴⁵ Protected Objects Act 1975 (2014), Historic Places act 1993 (2014)

of ownership and control of sales of Taonga tūturu (cultural heritage related to Māori) within New Zealand.³⁴⁶ The purpose of the HPA is to promote identification, protection, preservation and conservation of historical and cultural heritage of New Zealand. In doing it regulates cultural heritage management whilst recognising the relationship of Māori people and their culture and traditions.³⁴⁷ In these two documents the cultural heritage of New Zealand is protected although only Taonga tūturu is registered and controlled within the country. Māori Taonga tūturu have specified and regulated ownership and custody and until determined otherwise by the Māori land court they are so called *Crown owned*. As such the archaeological objects are pre-approved for conservation and paid for by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage (MCH)³⁴⁸. Even privately owned Taonga tūturu has to be registered at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Other authorised museums can issue certificates for sales of privately owned Taonga tūturu within the country.³⁴⁹

Taonga tūturu is determined either through the objects whakapapa (genealogy), its provenance or history or it must be self-evident that the object does meet the criteria below. Taonga tūturu is defined as an object that;

- Relates to Māori culture, history or society
- Has been manufactured or modified in New Zealand by Māori
- Was brought into New Zealand by Māori
- Was used by Māori, and is more than 50 years old³⁵⁰

This legislation does not include Non- Māori artefacts. Historical/European artefacts should be registered when found, for example by archaeologists, but they do not need to be collected and they will be in custody of the landowner. Historical/European artefacts are only protected under section 5 of the POA if they are to be exported.³⁵¹ Objects older than 1900, found in archaeological contexts are protected under the POA and HOA however, there is a significant difference in how objects are being treated during and after excavation. The following quotes were retrieved from the *Guidelines for Archaeologists in Relation to the Finding of Artefacts*, under the *Historic Place Act 1993* produced by the governing body, New Zealand Historic Places Trust Pouhere Taonga (NZHPT)³⁵².

Non- Māori sites: "Discuss and consult with the applicant, museum and conservator (if relevant) regarding the possibility of finding artefacts, and what will happen to the assemblage."

Māori sites: "Discuss and consult with the applicant, museum and conservator (if relevant) regarding what will happen to the whole assemblage, and the process of notification, registration, and storage and conservation."

In addition, excavation of Māori sites needs to be monitored by the local iwi (tribal group) throughout the process. In most cases an iwi monitor will be present on site to ensure that Māori values are being incorporated and appropriate rituals are being performed. The Māori cultural heritage is being safeguarded, tangible and intangible elements and values are incorporated in the archaeological process. New Zealand is a country with an acclaimed dual

³⁴⁶ Protected Objects Act 1975 (2014) section 1A.

³⁴⁷ Historic Places act 1993 (2014) section 4.

³⁴⁸ Manatū Taonga, the Ministry for Culture and Heritage- Taonga tūturu (2018)

³⁴⁹ Protected Objects Act 1975 (2014), Guidelines for Archaeologists in Relation to the Finding of Artefacts (2009) p.4. Guidelines for Taonga tūturu (2006) p.7

³⁵⁰ Protected Objects Act 1975 (2014), section 2., Guidelines for Taonga tūturu (2006) p.2

³⁵¹ Protected Objects Act 1975 (2014), Guidelines for Archaeologists in Relation to the Finding of Artefacts (2009) p.4

³⁵² Guidelines for Archaeologists in Relation to the Finding of Artefacts (2009)

cultural heritage. Nonetheless, only one of the two are being fully excavated and cared for while the other is being excavated and then can be left in the hands of landowners³⁵³. There are nonbinding recommendations from the in the HPA expressing that “a representative collection of any artefacts and building material recovered during works shall be offered to the appropriate local or regional museum”³⁵⁴. Many local museums do not have the capacity of accepting archaeological artefacts as they often require specialized storage and conservation, and conservation of Historical/European artefacts are not funded by the MCH. The point I am making here, which will be discussed and compared with the Swedish system, is that there is a difference in how cultural heritage is managed in New Zealand whilst in Sweden all heritage falls under the same regulations. In New Zealand Māori and Historical/European objects can be under the care of authorised museums, or under private ownership. Many museums and local museums representing a town or an area are privately owned and/or run by incorporated companies. Objects can also be owned/under the care of an iwi or private collectors. The ownership and for example sales or other actions leading to a change of hands/location of the object must be registered at the MCH and the Te Papa Museum, as legislated in the POA. At the Te Papa Museum one of its core operations are to aid and provide recommendations on how to handle and care for cultural heritage. The museum has actively worked to incorporate and reflect a multicultural environment and multidisciplinary collaboration on all levels. The environment in which museums and staff conduct their operation is defined by a *Code of Ethics and Professional Practice* where *Museums Aotearoa* recognizes and refines the International Council of Museums (ICOM), definition of a museum and code of ethics³⁵⁵. It requires museums and art galleries to “understand and incorporate the values of tangata whenua (indigenous people of New Zealand) and all other peoples who have made Aotearoa New Zealand home”³⁵⁶. It also states that the institutions do not have full authority in relation to the collections of cultural property but that cultural rights should be equally valued³⁵⁷. Although the Māori cultural heritage is well defined and managed compared to the Sámi cultural heritage it is important to analyse of how this separation of a nations heritage affects the contemporary structural imbalance.

5.3.1 The ICOMOS New Zealand Charter

In addition to the museums ethical and professional statement above conservators in New Zealand have organised themselves in a group of cultural heritage professionals under ICOMOS, *The New Zealand ICOMOS committee*. In the *ICOMOS New Zealand Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Heritage Value*³⁵⁸ they have declared and defined professional standards, underlining their unique position in a multi-cultural context. This charter can generally be applied to cultural heritage in New Zealand and it is quite unique by specifying that cultural values are both tangible and intangible and opening up for a cultural ownership that is equal or above a legal ownership.

“Conservation of a place should be based on an understanding and appreciation of all aspects of its cultural heritage value, both tangible and intangible. [...] Cultural heritage value should be understood through consultation with connected people. [...] All relevant cultural heritage values

³⁵³ Guidelines for Archaeologists in Relation to the Finding of Artefacts (2009). Section 3.8

³⁵⁴ Historic Places Act 1993 (2014)

³⁵⁵ Museums Aoteroa – Code of Ethics and professional practice (2013)

³⁵⁶ Museums Aoteroa – Code of Ethics and professional practice (2013) pp.2-3

³⁵⁷ Museums Aoteroa – Code of Ethics and professional practice (2013) pp.2-3

³⁵⁸ ICOMOS- New Zealand Charter (2010)

*should be recognised, respected, and, where appropriate, revealed, including values which differ, conflict, or compete.*³⁵⁹

In article 3 the cultural heritage associated with the Māori people was acknowledged according to the treaty of Waitangi, with cultural ownership and impact on past, present, future people recognised;

The indigenous cultural heritage of tangata whenua relates to whanau, hapu, and iwi groups. It shapes identity and enhances well-being, and it has particular cultural meanings and values for the present, and associations with those who have gone before. Indigenous cultural heritage brings with it responsibilities of guardianship and the practical application and passing on of associated knowledge, traditional skills, and practices.

The Treaty of Waitangi is the founding document of our nation. Article 2 of the Treaty recognises and guarantees the protection of tino rangatiratanga, and so empowers kaitiakitanga as customary trusteeship to be exercised by tangata whenua. This customary trusteeship is exercised over their taonga, such as sacred and traditional places, built heritage, traditional practices, and other cultural heritage resources. This obligation extends beyond current legal ownership wherever such cultural heritage exists.

*Particular matauranga, or knowledge of cultural heritage meaning, value, and practice, is associated with places. Matauranga is sustained and transmitted through oral, written, and physical forms determined by tangata whenua. The conservation of such places is therefore conditional on decisions made in associated tangata whenua communities, and should proceed only in this context.*³⁶⁰

5.4 Survey on the contemporary management of Sámi cultural heritage material

During the research for this thesis I found very little information about the professional positioning of Swedish curators and conservators regarding the Sámi cultural heritage. I was looking for and expecting documents and statements regarding the Sámi culture similar to the ones I found in New Zealand, presented above (section 5.3). To ensure that this lacuna wasn't filled internally within the institutions housing Sámi collections I formulated a questionnaire (in full, appendix 1) which was sent to eight institutions, seven responded. The selected institutions included three national museums, two regional museums (one did not respond), two self-governed museums and one Sámi governed museum. The questionnaire was initially sent to the institutional Head of Department of Collections and/or Conservation. They have then referred to or collaborated with relevant staff, including conservators, curators and archaeologists, to supply answers representative for the institution. The aim of the survey was to generate a conclusion of how Sámi cultural heritage was managed and how the individual institutions were relating their work to and with the source communities.

The survey showed that all the museums had Sámi related objects in their collections. Except for Ájtte museum none had Sámi representatives in their department of collections staff. Kulturen I Lund had covered a *liaison officer* position between the curators responsible for different areas of the collections as well as established contacts with Sámi representatives. Nordiska Museet had a position directly aimed towards Sámi cultural heritage as well as a curator position managing cultural diversity matters. One regional museum, Norrbottens Museum, had a Sámi reference group connected to the museum and local collaboration with

³⁵⁹ ICOMOS- New Zealand Charter (2010) art.2, p.2

³⁶⁰ ICOMOS- New Zealand Charter (2010) art.3, p.2

Sámi groups in the community. Many of the museums in this survey were referring to collaborations with Ájtte. It was therefore interesting to note that in the response from Ájtte there there was a comment about how some people in the Sámi community were questioning the museum, that the museum did not have the strong Sámi voice as they would have liked.

None of the museums had defined management or conservation plans directly related the Sámi collection. The material was incorporated into the institutional standards and guidelines, several referring to ICOM code of ethics for museums. There were however some museums who expressed an interest and relevance for a definition of a national ethical and professional conduct within conservation and museum practise, similar to the New Zealand ICOMOS charter. At the World Culture Museums there was currently a project which was defining the ethical positioning for the related institutions as well as guidelines concerning repatriation.

No one knew of any special or restrictive requirement from the Sámi community regarding handling and care. There was a general awareness of the cultural importance of the Sámi drums and siedie. Ájtte and Norsk Folkemuseum were stressing the Sámi knowledge concerning textiles, bone/antler and leather/hides and that this knowledge had been investigated and documented and utilised with in the preservation practice. Most museums were interested in knowing more about if such requirements existed. The museums were all stressing that their collections were accessible through appointment and that more and more of the collections were accessible through digital databases. Some museums were stressing that the collections were not available for cultural use as the material was deemed sensitive and that the preservation for future generations was prioritised.

Most museums concluded that the Sámi history is part of Swedish history and as such there was no need to further distinguish it. The Swedish History Museum stated that a differentiation within the museums based on ethnicity needed to be well founded on a governmental level. A definition of cultural ownership in relation to *legal* ownership is a question which needs to be dealt with on a legislative level for every individual case³⁶¹. A. Muños at the World Culture museum in Gothenburg has an interesting position. She addressed a situation today where she sees a society focused on individuals, on all levels, and as such a definition of an individual cultural context might not be of immediate importance. However, a definition of Sámi rights might potentially lead to elevated pride and awareness. She was further questioning the relation between the collective institution and the collective source community, and how it affects the power balance.

None of the included institutions had participated in conservation practice to accommodate requests from source communities. Most museums were not engaged in remedial conservation procedures but mainly focused on preservation through climate control and other preventive measures. One of the museums was stressing the fact that the museum does not have time to really preserve and investigate our collections. With time the material becomes completely deprived of cultural context and loses all intangible values and meanings, they become *dead objects*. Some of the museums wanted to problematise the use of Sámi people and Sámi cultural heritage. Who is Sámi and who can claim *the voice of* Sámi people in the past, present and future?

³⁶¹ Schönberg, K (2018) pers com.

5.5 Conclusion

There are several similarities as well as differences in how cultural heritage is managed in Sweden and New Zealand. Of particular interest for the scope of this thesis is that fact that in New Zealand there is a defined difference between Māori and non-Māori (predominantly European) cultural heritage. This differentiation is acknowledged on all levels of the national structure. The reason for this distinction and the implementations it carries can be traced back to the time when New Zealand was colonised and the British Crown signed the Treaty of Waitangi with the Māori tribes. As has been described this treaty is still legally binding and gives Māori people the right to govern *all things* Māori. Although cultural heritage management and conservation in New Zealand is predominantly influenced by traditional Western academic training and ethical and professional conduct the fields relating to Māori cultural heritage has defined their role and the position of the involved parties. There have been several state funded initiatives to engage and support people with Māori heritage to seek education and positions within the sector. The national museums do have liaisons officers on staff with the purpose of ensuring that the Māori community and its related cultural heritage is respected and managed according to the wishes and intents of the community. There are many unresolved structural problems and conflicts between the Māori and the non-Māori population. The colonial times have left a differentiated society and I have been wondering how the distinction between the two cultures in legislation and curation will affect a future relation and perception of the national cultural heritage. New Zealand is officially a nation with a dual heritage and as such I think the legislation regarding cultural heritage might benefit from a more similar legal structure to ensure that future generations have an equal right and access to national cultural heritage. In Sweden we have the opposite status, although the Sámi people are recognised as being indigenous to the Sápmi region the national governing principles have not rendered the Sámi community any legal or dominating control over the cultural heritage related to the Sámi culture. The Swedish general approach has been to avoid definitions based on ethnicity. Sweden has a sound legal system controlling cultural heritage which means that Sámi cultural heritage is managed and protected equally. The Sámi material has been incorporated in a national cultural heritage and the museums housing collections related to Sámi communities have avoided emphasising Sámi unless in a discussion about ethnic definition, borders and contact. The total inclusion of Sámi cultural heritage within a national, Swedish cultural heritage has made it difficult for the Sámi community to claim control over the material, very few objects and collections has been repatriated to the Sápmi region.

The survey showed that none of the institutions in the survey who was housing cultural heritage, except for Ájtte, had any Sámi representatives on staff. Only two had some form of formalised and continuous communication with the Sámi community. Even Ájtte which was established as a centre for Sámi culture does not have the mandate to govern the cultural heritage. Its position and ability to carry a Sámi voice and perspective has been questioned by the Sámi community. Both conservator E. Ahlström and K. Spiik Skum, responsible for public outreach and research on Sámi duodji was expressing concern that the museum was having problems to secure Sámi influence and presence within the museum structure³⁶². Kulturen i Lund was however currently working on an exhibit aimed to educate people in the region about Sámi people and culture. To be able to do this they co-curated the exhibit with Sámi representatives. The survey showed equally that the institutions housing Sámi material were reluctant to separate the material in any way. It was expressed that the material was protected

³⁶² Ahlström, E. (2018) pers. com., Spiik Skum, K. (2018) pers. com,

and cared for, as all other material, that it was accessible for the community and that preservation was prioritised over cultural use and context. This position shows relatively clear that the institutions in question has a traditional way of looking at their collections and how they manage them. In section 6 an alternative positioning of conservation and management of cultural heritage related to indigenous source communities will be presented both from a *New Museology* perspective represented by the practice of the National Museum of the Native American (NMAI) and by the national museum, Auckland War Memorial Museum - Tamaki Paenga Hira.

6. Care and conservation of cultural heritage with co-curation

“The diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind. The protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage diversity in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development.”³⁶³

In this section I have considered three different examples of Co-curation involving curators, conservators and indigenous source community representatives. The aim of this section was to introduce alternative approaches to collections management and the conservation actions applied to them. It includes remedial actions (section 6.1 and 6.2) as well as curatorial aspects where cultural context has been added to the collection through communicative and integrative methods. As a result, these collections status and value has been strengthened and the possibility to utilise this information in educational programs reinforced (section 6.2-6.3). The objects or collections were housed in three representative museums, two national ones where one was founded with a *New Museology* approach and one independent (trust/incorporation based) regional one.

6.1 The Hotunui project

The Hotunui meeting house was a wedding gift to Mereana Mekomoko the daughter of the Ngāti Awa chief Apanui Hamaiwaho and Marutūāhu Rangatira Wiropo Hotereni Taipari. Most of the timber was carved by the Ngāti Awa tohunga and then transported to Parawai where additional panelling was carved by Wiropes father, it was erected in 1878. In 1925 the Hotunui had been neglected and was deposited at the Auckland War Memorial Museum by the son Eruini Taipari and the Ngāti Maru people (Fig. 10).³⁶⁴



Fig. 10. The Hotunui meeting house at original location

It is now under the care of the Auckland War Memorial Museum (AWMM) - Tamaki Paenga Hira here it is important to note that the Hotunui does not belong to AWMM. It only a deposition for the safekeeping of the meeting house as it was being neglected in its original place in Parawai. Amongst the terms stated by the Ngāti Maru people it is stipulated that the Hotunui must remain on display and accessible to the Māori community. All actions like conservation or representation of the building and its history must be sanctioned by the iwi (tribal group). *“Conservation should seek to retain and when needed restore to recover the cultural significance of the building. Restoration should recover and enhance cultural significance”.*³⁶⁵

The meeting house was taken apart and transported to Auckland in pieces, for the 1929 opening of the AWMM, it has become a substantial part of the museums profile³⁶⁶. During the assembly Hotunui underwent the first of many restorations. New panels were carved to replace

³⁶³ The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) sect.5, p.46

³⁶⁴ Barton, G. (1984) pp.181, 183. Dion Peita, (2017) pers. com., Te Ara, The Encyclopedia of New Zealand - Hotunui meeting house., White, M. (2008) p.47

³⁶⁵ Barton, G. (1985) p.37

³⁶⁶ Dion Peita, (2017) pers. com.



Fig. 11. Mr Hall carving replacement pieces.

old, degraded once as well as ones missing³⁶⁷. Contemporary photos were used for accuracy. The carvings were executed on site by a carver named Thomas Hall (Fig. 11). Mr Hall was a skilled carver who had learned traditional carving by legendary Māori carver, Hori Pukehika³⁶⁸. A story showing Mr Halls in-depth knowledge, awareness and respect for the Māori tradition and values has survived and was retold by M. White. During the carving and replacement of one of the old redwood panels Mr Hall found a dead centipede. In Māori tradition this centipede would

represent the spirit of the house, Mr Hall carved a box in which he placed the dead insect to keep it safe.³⁶⁹ This action shows that in this initial phase of restoration some attention and care was put into restoration of intangible values which goes beyond many of treatments the Hotunui was exposed to during the following years. Additional to the restoration of the polychrome carvings and the removal of overlying red paint layers, the tukutuku panels (woven panels) were cleaned and mounted and the original tin roof was replaced by a thatch roof to give a more original look³⁷⁰. The red paint, often overlaying polychrome paintings, was applied to a large number of Māori carvings in the late 19th- mid 20th century.³⁷¹ In the 1980s a conservation plan was drawn describing the current status. The conservation plan included remedial actions such as removal of overlying red paint, restoration of tukutuku panels and the removal of the thatched roof³⁷². The aims for the restoration of the Hotunui was to *“restore the buildings fabric as closely as possible to the appearance it had as a functioning meeting house”*.³⁷³

In early 2000 pressure was put on the AWMM to execute the restoration plans, the red paint and the degraded tukutuku panels was not deemed representative of the *spirit* of Hotunui³⁷⁴. The project was initiated, all continuous work was being conducted with conservators and curators from the museum working with Māori individuals and communities to restore tangible and intangible values. As the project evolved the methodology was reevaluated and changed about halfway to meet the input which was presented by the Māori weaves. The weavers were noticing that some of the panels had been placed upside down and that the pattern was not right, it was slightly off and mistakes had been made in the original tukutuku pattern. These irregularities changed the narrative and the weavers did not feel that Hotunui’s true voice was being heard. Communication between the museum and the weavers was made difficult by the change of some key people and both conservators and weavers were becoming increasingly concerned. The conservators were advocating the originality of the panels and the weavers

³⁶⁷ Barton G. (1985) p.4

³⁶⁸ White M. (2008) pp.48, 70

³⁶⁹ White M. (2008) p.48

³⁷⁰ Dion Peita, (2017) pers. com.

³⁷¹ Barton, G. (1984) p.181,183

³⁷² Sue Cooper (2017) pers. com.

³⁷³ Barton, G. (1985), quote p.42

³⁷⁴ Dion Peita (2017) pers. com.

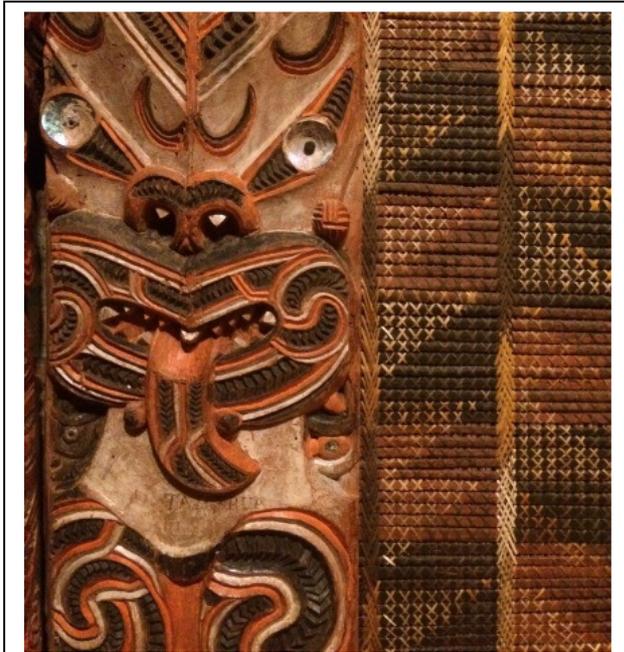


Fig. 12. A section of the Hotunui panels and carvings after restoration. The polychrome painting is visible and the panel reinforced and corrected. Photo: author

their ancestors true voice.³⁷⁵ It pained them, the weavers, to repeat the mistakes that had been made by the original weavers³⁷⁶. In the end the museum made a bold decision and met the weaver's arguments and concerns. The needs of the Hotunui were put ahead of the needs for originality and authenticity.³⁷⁷ The original weave was documented by the conservators and kept as much as possible but overlapped by new fibre to ensure the correct narrative³⁷⁸. This led into another key aspect of communication between conservators and source community exemplified in this project. S. Cooper, principal conservator at the WAMM, informed that another major compromise was the level of stabilisation/restoration. The conservators wanted to keep as much of the original fibre as possible. The weavers saw the degraded fibre as dead and wanted to bring life back

into the narrative, breathing life back into their ancestor, Hotunui. In the end the compromise was to remove very degraded and fragmented fibre but keep intact (less degraded) fibres and overlapping them with a thinner new fibre either to provide structural ability or to correct the *mistakes* in the narrative. To correct the pattern the preferred colour fibre was put over the old one, which is still visible under this thinner new fibre (Fig.12).³⁷⁹

The restoration project took place in the museum and public was invited to visit and communicate throughout the process. One visitor described her meeting with the weavers in an Instagram post – *"The weavers chatted and sang as they passed the reeds back and forth.* (authors

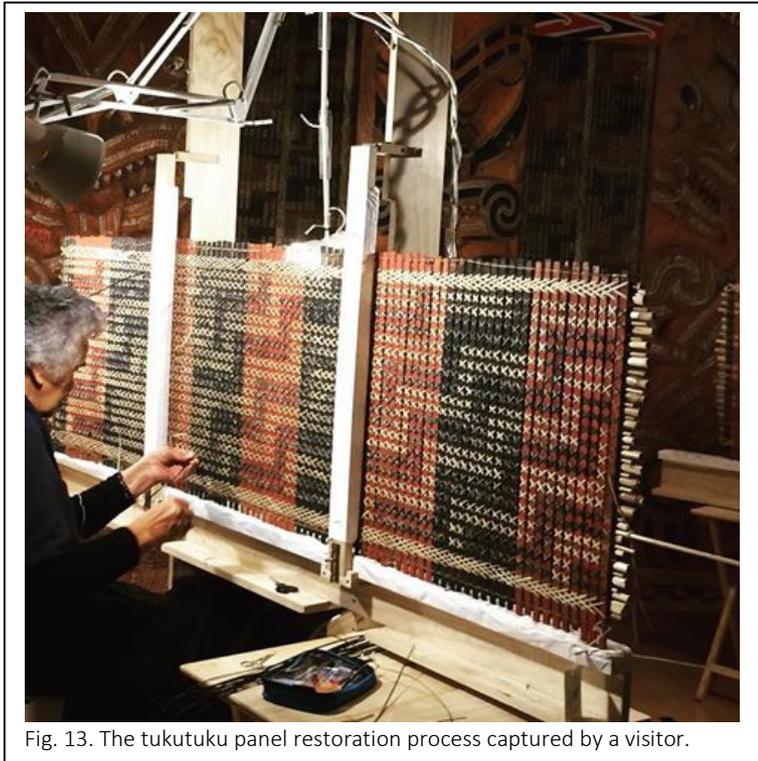


Fig. 13. The tukutuku panel restoration process captured by a visitor.

³⁷⁵ Sue Cooper (2017) pers. com.

³⁷⁶ Tharron Bloomfield (2017) pers. com.

³⁷⁷ Dion Peita (2017) pers. com.

³⁷⁸ Sue Cooper (2017) pers. com.

³⁷⁹ Sue Cooper (2017) pers. com.

comment: two weavers sit on opposing sides of the panel) *The weaver said that tukutuku means just that, to pass back and forth.*" This visitor was invited to sit with them for a while and was told about the process of sharing stories and keeping the traditional skills alive (Fig. 13). Everything from the mud dyeing of the toetoe plants (reed grass), to weaving skills was incorporated in this project to pass the tradition on to the next generation weavers.³⁸⁰ Head of Department of Conservation D. Peita stated during our interview that the project was probably a bit rushed and the problems that occurred along the way might have been lesser if more time had been put into the aims, planning and methodology of the project. All functional people needed to be involved in construction of a project plan. As D. Peita saw it, one of the big benefits of the project apart from the actual restoration was the fact that the museum had to reevaluate its position in order to acknowledge what needed to be done to bring conservation of Māori materials into the 21st century. The project has helped to develop an awareness at the museum of appropriate actions and decisions.³⁸¹ S. Cooper agreed that the project was rushed and was not investigated or discussed properly with the source community before starting. A policy for the restoration was agreed upon but it was neither detailed nor broad enough. Priorities should have been more structured and the Māori voice and perspective addressed communicated clearer throughout the process.³⁸²

6.1.1 Discussion

The Hotunui biography represents many layers of past and present views on indigenous cultural heritage. It is interesting how it was the Māori community, the Ngāti Maru people who initially acknowledge the need for protection and who in the 1920s entrusted their ancestor Hotunui to the new museum in Auckland. The terms for the deposition of the meeting house shows the strong position of the Māori with regards to cultural heritage in New Zealand. However, once the pieces were collected and stored under the "roof" of the museum contemporary colonial views were adhered to its biography. Some of its original voice was eradicated and adopted to a Western concept of indigenous art. The reconstruction and assembly of the Hotunui was conducted by people fully immersed in a European/colonial tradition. The Hotunui was no longer treated as an ancestor but as tangible evidence of the past. The exhibit focused on depicting the romanticised view of past native cultures. In the 2017 restoration original paint was being restored, parts removed and replaced, patterns adjusted. In this restoration there was more of collaboration between New Zealanders. Removing the added layers of paint and restoring the originality of the Hotunui was of course not controversial in and by itself, as it is the norm of the conservation profession. The invasive treatment needed to remove paint or to restore tukutuku panels was justified as they rectified mistakes made by previous conservators or personnel addressing the role of conservators in the 1920-50s. It was significant though that original panels were restored to rectify original mistakes, if that is what they are/were. The question arises as to where one draws the line. The corrections can be accessed parallel with the alterations in the earlier stages, to adapt the Hotunui to the Eurocentric view on indigenous art, this time though it is the Māori community who feels the need to replace and alter material and patterns to tell what they perceive as the true story. There are substantial differences between an early 20th century colonial influence on Māori heritage and now living Māori taking control of and influencing the work and presentation of taonga (ancestral treasures). Nonetheless, with what right do people of the present alter the remaining materiality of past

³⁸⁰ Nicky Poole @yoginicky pers. com.

³⁸¹ Dion Peita (2017) pers. com.

³⁸² Sue Cooper (2017) pers. com.

people? *Mistakes* or not, how can we know if these are just mistakes perceived by present standards and understanding. Did people entering this meeting house in the late 19th century see or care about these *mistakes*?

In the *Burra Charter* restoration was advised only when there is evidence of the objects earlier state³⁸³ and the ICOMOS charter on architectural heritage stated that “*Imperfections and alterations, when they have become part of the history of the structure, should be maintained*”³⁸⁴. How can conservation ethics be implemented if people with cultural attachment claims that the cultural significance is reduced by keeping an earlier, original, state? Already in 1994 the aim for the meeting in Nara, Japan was to “*challenge conventional thinking in the conservation field, and debate ways and means of broadening our horizons to bring greater respect for cultural and heritage diversity to conservation practice.*”³⁸⁵ So maybe in 2016 it was about time to implement these ideas.

In this particular case where true, hands on, accessibility were one of the requirements for the loan, a procedure of stabilisation and preventive conservation would not be enough to ensure preservation. The poupou carvings and tukutuku panels were discussed by the Ngāti Maru people, curators and conservators and it was deemed necessary to restore original surfaces of the carvings and to stabilise the tukutuku panels by adding new material to restore the nature of the ancestral house and to continue the use of it. However, in this process instead of a *protective* layer being worn down by use the carvings are now being exposed and the original surfaces are subjected to wear and possible damage. As for the panels, aside from actions ensuring stability, the *mistakes* could have been documented and the true narrative told using modern technology. The discovery by the weavers is an interesting story and could be used to illustrate many layers of perception and understanding of material heritage from the past, in the present and for the future. Looking at the panels ten years from now it will be very difficult to differentiate the colour variance, even now it takes a trained and informed eye to see what is original and what is not. After a discussion with Tharron Bloomfield³⁸⁶, conservator and Māori curator, on the topic of how Māori taonga in museums often is presented and viewed as remains of a past culture and not of a living culture, we concluded that maybe the described process in the Hotunui project made the heritage management of this particular object contemporary, decolonised. How the weavers were allowed to show their passion for their skills and to actually change the past by reinterpreting the narrative executed in the late 19th century made it participate in the 21st. The weavers were securing and caring for intangible values, ensuring that their ancestors voice was being heard and they were allowed to *breathe new life* into Hotunui. The conservators, by documenting the actions, were securing and preserving the tangible side maybe it is an example of involved people doing *the right thing*-Ngā Tikanga. In *Sacred Claims* G. Johnson described contemporality and the value of the intangible by using the word tradition; “*Tradition is not found in the objects, tradition is located in the contemporary dispute surrounding the objects.*”³⁸⁷ The story of the past had been woven into the present, tangible intangible values merged. In this example the originality of the object was deemed less important than the present cultural expression.

³⁸³ Burra Charter (1999) article 20.1, p.7

³⁸⁴ Icomos Charter, Principles for the Analysis, Conservation and Structural Restoration of Architectural Heritage (2003) article 3.16, p.36

³⁸⁵ The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) article 1, p.46

³⁸⁶ Tharron Bloomfield (2017) pers. com.

³⁸⁷ Johnson, G. (2007) p.153

6.2 Co-curation at the NMAI

The conservators at the National Museum of the Native American (NMAI) has engaged in projects involving native communities since 1998³⁸⁸. The museum was founded with a *New Museology* approach to its collections and cultural context³⁸⁹. Co-curation with native communities and artists would often result in new information and knowledge about tangible and intangible parameters which then can be incorporated into the documentation about objects and collections. Co-curation enables conservators and curators to make decisions founded not only in professional principles but also in the Native community and its traditions. Using native expertise on restorative or reconstructive work in the collections has also benefited the local tribes. For example, a canoe builder from the Passamaquoddy tribe was through his work on one of the canoes in the NMAI collection expressing an elevated awareness of his tribe's special knowledge and legacy³⁹⁰. Another example of the mutually benefaction of co-curation can be found in one of the NMAI published sessions with the Coast Salish community. The Coast Salish curator was referencing a disputed oral tradition to the conservation liaison. Oral traditions claimed that dog hair from “*wool dogs*” had been used as a material for blankets. The conservators at NMAI started up a project to research this statement and could provide evidence of the use of doghair in two textiles from the Coast Salish collection at the NMAI. ³⁹¹

At the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American Indian (NMAI) the goal is to consult source communities, to share ideas and to develop a story told through an exhibition. From 2000 an onwards several native communities have been actively invited to develop their own exhibit themes and stories³⁹². Conservators were included in the exhibits projects team, securing objects preservation during the process. The role of the conservator was defined as conservation liaison. The team included museum staff and community representatives from the source communities. The community consultation involved the choosing of objects for the exhibit as well as required conservation treatment of selected objects. During these consultations the curators and conservators took notes and tangible and intangible information about the objects are added to the objects biography. The process ensured that the community's concerns and wishes were being incorporated in the process of developing present and future preservation strategies for the specific items. ³⁹³ Conservator J. Johnson used an exhibit *Listening to our Ancestors: the Art of Native Life along the North Pacific Coast* at the NMAI to describe the role and work of conservators at the NMAI. In the described project the Kwakwaka'wakw community consultants had selected two masks related to contemporary ceremonies that required extensive conservation and restoration to fully represent the ceremonies.

³⁸⁸ Kaminitz, M., Kentta, R., Bridges, D.M., (2005) p.96

³⁸⁹ NMAI – Mission statement (2018), Ronan, K. (2014)

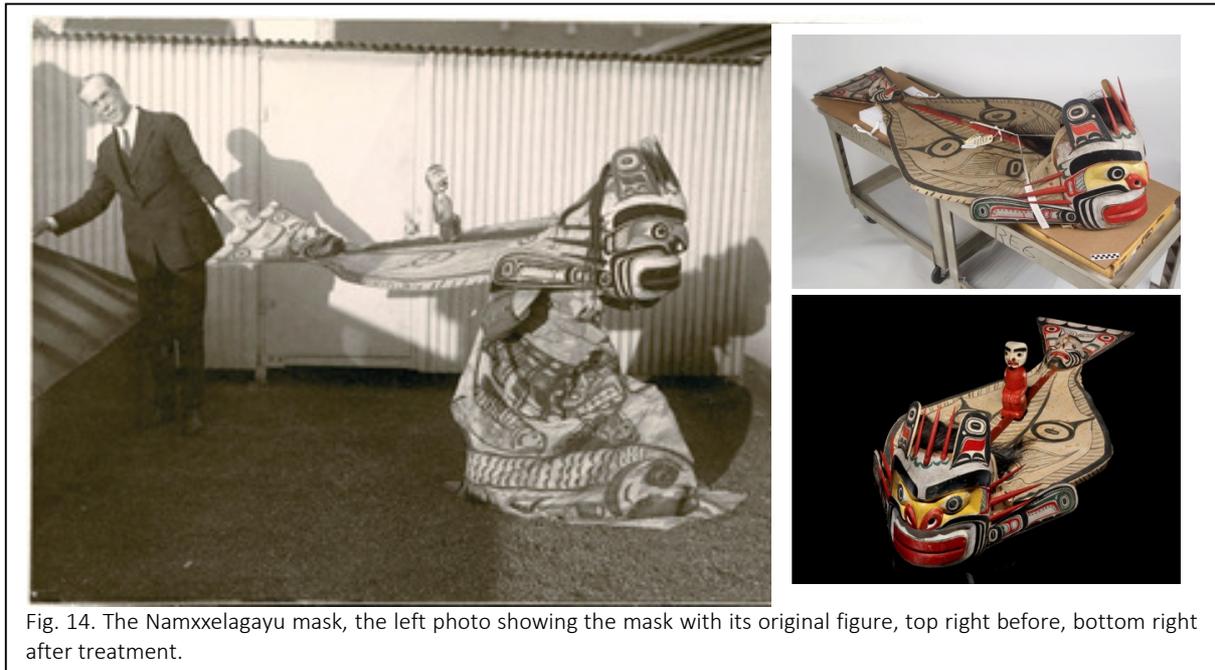
³⁹⁰ Kaminitz, M., Kentta, R., Bridges, D.M., (2005) p.99

³⁹¹ Johnson, J.S. (2008) p.57

³⁹² Kaminitz, M., Kentta, R., Bridges, D.M., (2005) p.100

³⁹³ Johnson, J.S. (2008) p.56

Namxxelagayu mask - This mask was created in 1910 and depicted the Kwakwaka'wakw first ancestor riding on a sea monster. It had been accessioned and early pictures show the ancestor in place (Fig. 14). However, now the original ancestor figure was missing. Kwakwaka'wakw artist Kevin Cranmer was commissioned to carve and paint a replacement figure of the ancestor, based on the photo evidence. The mask was stabilised and cleaned and the replica was then mounted on the original mask by the conservators. All actions conducted was documented by the conservators.³⁹⁴



Hamsamt mask -The mask had been at the museum for more than 60 years, it had attached fabric and yarn which had been damaged by insect infestations and was dirty and frayed. During the consultation with community consultants and Kwakwaka'wakw artist Kevin Cranmer it was discussed and concluded unlikely that the fabric and yarn was original. Cedar bark would traditionally be used for similar attachments to masks. The material was removed and replaced by painted cedar bark pieces, woven by Kwakwaka'wakw weaver Donna Cranmer. All actions conducted was documented by the conservators.³⁹⁵

A different example of adaptations of conservation practice and principle was a conservation projects including three items from the Lakota tribe; a pipe bag, a baby carrier, a parfleche bag. For the objects to be displayed in a way which was respecting the cultural context some restorative work was, after consultation, deemed appropriate. The work was carried out in collaboration with the Lakota consultants who had the traditional knowledge and intangible cultural aspects of the items. MNAI conservators worked with documentation and stabilisation of the material so no further damage would occur. The consultants were concerned about the frayed, stained and damaged state of the objects. To restore the inherent value and significance of the objects in the exhibit context the consultant wanted to replace water damaged fringe from the pipe bag and the parfleche bag. They were exhibited as gifts and as such they could not be presented in a damaged state. The baby carrier had lost beads and the consultants

³⁹⁴ Johnson, J.S. (2008) p.57

³⁹⁵ Johnson, J.S. (2008) p.57

wanted to replace these for cultural as well as aesthetic reasons as the item was conveying intangible connotations related to the “*sacredness of new life*”.³⁹⁶

6.2.1 Discussion

Co-curation has many positive implications and it is to me one of the most constructive ways to utilise collections and to ensure that the objects are kept relevant and new information is accumulated to objects and society. However, sharing of knowledge is not an *extraction* but a commitment built on trust and relations³⁹⁷. The activity needed to create the much-needed bonds and relations is intricately connected with an investment of time. Curator A. Muñoz at the World Culture Museum in Gothenburg was stressing this point, how time is a factor. She was concerned that the limited time and resources allocated for other activities than the primary need for preventive preservation, access and administration did not permit a more in-depth relation to source communities or the accumulation of new knowledge about the objects within their collection³⁹⁸.

6.4 Co-curation of the Sámi collection at Kulturen i Lund³⁹⁹

At Kulturen i Lund along with an upcoming new exhibit (autumn 2018) a collection of Sámi cultural heritage has been assessed by duodjäre/artisan Anna-Stina Svakko (Fig. 15). The collaboration with Sámi experts along with investigative work by the museum curators has according to S. Bergqvist, who was producing the exhibit, given the museum an in-depth knowledge and understanding of the collection. It has added a lot of new information to the objects biography.

The upcoming exhibit was produced with an aim to inform about Sámi cultural heritage in a modern and relevant way. The collaboration with Sámi experts has been conducted to ensure that the stories told are in line with and representative for the Sámi community. During the



Fig. 15. Anna-Stina Svakko, assessment at Kulturen i Lund. Foto Sofie Bergqvist

collaboration A-S. Svakko identified a unique piece of Sámi duodji (arts and crafts) which has enriched her own and other Sámi duodjaré knowledge.⁴⁰⁰ In connection with the preparations for the exhibit the whole staff has been educated in Sámi history to ensure that the Sámi voice is heard and that the cultural heritage is respected⁴⁰¹.

³⁹⁶ Kaminitz, M., Kentta, R., Bridges, D.M., (2005) p.101

³⁹⁷ Smith, L.T. (1999) p. 18

³⁹⁸ Muñoz, A. (2018) pers. com.

³⁹⁹ Translation: Culture in Lund museum

⁴⁰⁰ Blind, A-M (2018), Bergqvist, S. (2018)

⁴⁰¹ Schönberg, K (2018) pers. com.

7. Conclusion and results

For the concluding results section, I have chosen to address each individual question outlined in section 1.2. This strategy was chosen to ensure that my research perspective was related to the different sections in the thesis as it has been necessary to research a wider context to encircle and define the perceived lacuna within conservation in relation to indigenous source communities on an international as well as national level.

In this thesis one of the overall aims has been to examine and discuss the role of conservation/conservators within the segment often referred to as ethnographic conservation. To problematise conservation practice conducted on material cultural heritage related to Indigenous people (source communities); specifically, it has examined conservation practice on material cultural heritage connected with Sámi people in Sweden and Māori people in New Zealand. In addition, I have studied the contemporary context in which conservators and source communities interact. A defined and integrative positioning is especially vital for conservators practising in nations with dual-heritage where colonial means and Western traditions have dominated the relationship. To examine the situation in Sweden between conservators and the indigenous Sámi people examples and comparisons has been made with the relation between the indigenous Māori and conservators in New Zealand. How do differences in laws, regulating care and preservation of material culture from conflicting ethnicities affect the understanding and development of a national cultural identity? When conservators are supporting and enabling processes involving source communities by utilising accumulated experience to find solutions which will promote both preservation and development of tangible and intangible features and values. Then conservation can truly contribute to continuity and to cultural preservation.

I found it essential to outline how the international as well as the national conservation profession was positioned. I found that there was very little confirmation and support within the ethical and professional codes for conservators to securely and confidently perform in a contemporary society; especially within a cultural context where intangible values are increasingly acknowledged and where indigenous source communities strive for self-determination and self-governing of their cultural heritage. In Sweden there was a definite lack of definition of professional ethics and values in general. Most professionals referred to ICOM code of ethics and professional conduct, which I found outdated in their assessment of the conservators' role and professional conduct. The E.C.C.O standards which were the ones that the Swedish conservators' association (NKF-S) were referring to was more oriented towards a community engagement, however none of the conservators or curators participating in the survey addressed the E.C.C.O policy. A definition and acknowledgement of Sámi and Swedish cultural heritage within the national conservation practice would possibly encourage and enable co-curation leading to an elevated knowledge of tangible and intangible values linked to Sámi cultural heritage. At the core of the following discussions lies a concern and will to evaluate how conservation actions affect past and present ethnic identity and culture.

- What guides conservators in their professional conduct when working with tangible and intangible cultural heritage?

As many of the referenced authors have pointed out, for conservation (and museums) to contribute within a contemporary culture there is a need to consider *why*, *what* and for *whom* we preserve. This position has been researched and has been approached on a holistic level however for the practicing conservator this vital positioning remains in part unresolved. There was a relative consensus within the conservation community that conservation was aimed towards preservation for posterity, a position which can lead to conflict with source communities as preservation of objects does not ensure preservation of culture. For *who* conservation is performed, in a contemporary context was harder to adhere to as many professional guidelines recognise a relation to owners, to humanity and to the object without problematising ownership and indigenous source community claims. With regards to *what* to preserve value was one significant parameter alongside *true* and uncompromised status. Collective and individual perception of value in combination with an objects biography, including a multitude of changes in values, makes preservation of value immensely difficult and subjective. In here lies likely a key to why conservation has merged more towards the more objective side of value, the tangible values. International Council of Museums- Committee for Conservators (ICOM-CC) emphasised conservation as a tool for preservation of tangible material. Intangible material and social context remained relatively undefined and unrecognised as vital aspects of conservation.

Some national associations or institutions like the Canadian Conservation Institute (CCI) have developed frameworks aimed to guide people involved in cultural heritage preservation. The *CCI - Policy for serving Indigenous clients and preserving Indigenous collections* was produced to help CCI staff within their governmental commission to provide services and training to indigenous organisations and heritage institutions with indigenous cultural heritage collections. Frameworks like this does enable consensus and professionalism and if they are established through an open communication with related source communities they can safeguard and preserve a multitude of significant values.

For Swedish practitioners the Nordic Conservators Association (NKF-S) refers to the European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organisations¹ (E.C.C.O) *Code of Ethics* which has less focus on the tangible object compared to other international guidelines. The conservator was here deemed responsible not only to the owner but to the *heritage and to society*. These formulations although holistic in nature are difficult to apply in individual cases where society (humanity) needs and values can be conflicting with community needs and values. The formulation of the E.C.C.O mission and principle does not recognise indigenous source community rights or a professional relation towards specific cultural context. For a comparison the New Zealand cultural heritage section a *Code of Conduct and Professional Practice* has been reviewed. It affirmed the ICOM code of ethics whilst emphasising the unique nature of the Treaty of Waitangi and how this relationship affects all levels of cultural heritage management. In addition, New Zealand has developed a national ICOMOS charter *The New Zealand Charter* concerning conservation of places of cultural heritage value. Also, the conservator's association the New Zealand Conservators of Cultural Materials (NZCCM) members has signed a collective recognition of the relationship between Māori and places and objects as outlined in the Treaty of Waitangi. The strength of the formulation of such documents has been supported by a research project conducted by the Getty Institute. It explored processes and function of material conservation in contemporary society and identified a lack of "*conceptual or theoretical*

overviews for modelling or mapping the interplay of economic, cultural, political and other social contexts in which conservation is situated"⁴⁰². They could conclude that the construction of generalised framework would potentially make it possible to understand how heritage is constructed and how it is relevant. That it would provide a much-needed tool for conservators to understand and evaluate the effects that decisions regarding conservation has for contemporary and future sociological processes.

Within the research and the survey conducted for this thesis this lack of established and revisited routines regarding ethical as well as professional position was recognised. The absence has been noted, on a national and international level, among conservators and conservation studios as well as institutions housing objects collections. In Sweden the political and structural approach to ethnicity has influenced a very generalist approach to cultural heritage and its implication on society and communities. During an interview with a representative for the World Culture Museums in Sweden informed that they were in the process of outlining and producing an ethical and professional code of conduct which would be available on all their website as well as other channels. Hopefully more charters like these will be developed in order to recognise cultural claims and to facilitate access, co-curation and repatriation of material and/or information.

- What is the role of conservation in the preservation of cultural heritage linked to indigenous source communities?

On a professional level conservators and curators working with objects collections have focused on the analysis, documentation and preservation of the object. According to M. Clavir, some feel that it is their role to stand up and speak for the object and act as a guardian of the object. Conservation is also partitioning in the process of turning an object into cultural heritage. A process where the object becomes a representation of a cultural context, a method, a gender or a historical context. Physical objects have when connected with cultural context, an ability to convey value and meaning which makes the object worth preserving. To keep it accessible for present and future generations rather than repairing it and then discarding it when no longer functional. In the process of objects preservation functional values are generally not prioritised, however when working with cultural heritage from indigenous source communities one cannot completely set the functional aspect aside. Some or perhaps all of these objects are *still in use*. The further the material is taken and from the source the likelihood of a shared cultural basis declines. This greatly impacts on the conservators' ability to analysis and understand and objects significant value which conservators are expected to preserve. Objects and structures has been cared for and preserved within most cultural contexts and the role of conservation can in relation to source communities be defined as *conservator liaison*, a bridge between cultural heritage objects and people. At the Smithsonian Institutions' National Museum of American Indian (NMAI) the goal was set to consult source communities, to share ideas and to develop the story told through exhibition. Conservators were included in the exhibits projects team, securing objects preservation during the process. The role of the conservator was defined as conservation liaison. During the consultations the curators and conservators took notes and tangible and intangible information about the objects were added to the objects biography. The process ensured that community concerns and wishes were being incorporated in the process of developing present and future preservation strategies for

⁴⁰² Avrami, E., Mason, R., de la Torre, M. (ed.) (2000) p.10

collections and specific items. During remedial actions the MNAI conservators would work with documentation and stabilisation of the material so no further damage will occur. In my opinion this is a great example of how conservators can position them self with regards to the material as well as the related source community.

It has previously in this thesis been concluded that the professional and ethical aspects towards indigenous source communities and social/cultural context within the field of conservation is at best vague or non-existent. Recently the ICOM-CC working group *Objects from Indigenous and World Cultures Working Group* changed its name from *Ethnographic Collections Working Group* to better reflect the members' views and status of the material. This was important as it acknowledged that ethnographic objects and collections as a group is challenging for conservation professionals; *“these objects are linked to a history of use and to the community from which they originated before they were collected by the museum – thus, their care and conservation is to be carried out in a way that is respectful of the object’s history and community of origin.”*⁴⁰³ The change of name and the recognition of the conservator’s position signals that there might be some changes coming in the ICOM-CC general protocols. The professional and ethical guidelines currently seem dated and unrelated to contemporary work on the role of conservation within a cultural context.

- Are conservators trained and prepared to preserve intangible values such as symbolism and meaning?

G. Johnson was quoted in this thesis; *“tradition is not found in the objects, tradition is located in the contemporary dispute surrounding the objects.”* *“Tradition is better viewed as a discursive strategy – narrative when announced, combative when challenged, metaphorical when analysed – and as lived, practice which imparts meaning, power and enrichment to human lives and community visions.”*⁴⁰⁴ Although there are tendencies within conservation towards a more holistic approach conservation is still by many definitions equal to or achieved by preservation, retention and stabilisation of the object rather than the above cited contemporary context. In many contemporary educational programs and professional groups/guidelines the terminology was focusing on preservation, often in relation to tangible values. For the Swedish NKF-S group for conservators under E.C.C.O the task of conservators was outlined; *“to prevent degradation of objects by preservation and conservation”*⁴⁰⁵. One of the international associations described the activity of conservation conducted by conservators to be *“technical examination, preservation, and conservation”*⁴⁰⁶. Preservation and conservation in the meaning of retaining an objects value.

Within many educational programs, at Flemming College in Ontario for example, in Cultural Heritage Conservation and Management the role of preservation and conservation was deemed fundamental. However, there are training programs who recognises the cultural context and the effects of such. At the UCLA, Los Angeles/Getty program in the Conservation of Archaeological and Ethnographic materials student have been participating in a course where an objects multifaceted function and values were accounted and cared for. In the program student were asked to bring a beloved heirloom to the table, they were then asked to switch and construct a conservation plan for the assigned object. The closeness to cultural

⁴⁰³ ICOM-CC- Objects from Indigenous and World Cultures Working Group (2018)

⁴⁰⁴ Johnson, G. (2007) pp.153, 155

⁴⁰⁵ NKF-S (2018), translation from Swedish

⁴⁰⁶ ICOM-CC- Definition of Profession (1984)

context led the student to seek out information, to seek permission and to discuss suggested actions with the related student rather than other accessible conservators or students. This type of practice enforces the benefits and gains from co-curation. At the University College London in England some contemporary projects have addressed conservation and cultural heritage related to source communities and contemporary society. The course aim and research topics presented involved examples of contemporary approaches to training and education which might lead to a new generation conservators, better equipped to work within a community rather than taking the distanced role of *the expert*. However, these changes of profession also need to be considered in state budget and national policies as training is not enough on its own if the available positions have neither time or budget to allow implementation of a higher community commitment.

- How do/can conservators participate professionally in conflicts concerning indigenous cultural heritage?

Material culture is anything but static or neutral. As was outlined in section 4.4 cultural heritage and rights associated with such is recognised as human rights by organs like UN, UNESCO, ICOMOS and the ILO 169 convention. These definitions stem from the fact that cultural heritage is used to define and communicate, it is attacked, constricted or assimilated to gain control and to manage people. To once again quote I. Bukova “*Extremists are terrified of history and culture—because understanding the past undermines and delegitimizes their claims.*”⁴⁰⁷. In present time as well as in the past, culture and cultural expressions has been manipulated to manage people and to emphasise or even construct a narration of events.

Conservators are participating in the complex structures surrounding cultural heritage preservation and management. It is important to be aware of and define this position on all levels of professionalism. Conservators need to be actively involved in society to promote continuity and relevance, to preserve cultural heritage rather than just retaining it. It can be concluded that cultural heritage management needs to be engaged and involved in social structures to remain relevant and justified. A continued cultural context and use can ensure that the intangible value does not deteriorate even if the tangible, the materiality of the object or site does. The Sámi people share a fate similar to indigenous people around the world, like the Māori in New Zealand and the Indians in America. The Sámi political situation is dominated by historical colonial connotations and racism affecting the struggle to gain control over land, life and heritage. The right to control interpret, rebuild and to develop the shards remaining of the Sámi heritage is paramount for the continuation of the Sámi culture. Although a consequence, the collection acquired can now provide material for the robbed and marginalised cultures to rebuild and reinforce a connection with their heritage. Repatriation although administratively handled on a high political level between states includes people and objects. Preservation, accessibility and legal or legitimate claim can easily become more about politics. Communication and construction of mutual aims can provide a platform where traditions and people are protected and respected. Conservation has an undefined role in this arena which is problematic from a preservative point of view as the objects are suffering an elevated risk when being assessed, handled and potentially moved to a new and different location. All events in an objects biography which are potentially physically damaging.

⁴⁰⁷ Bokova I. 2015 p.290

In Sweden it seems that objects collections are being neutralised and pacified. Institutions housing Sámi objects collections have very little intention of vocalising the special status of the collections but rather aim to incorporate Sámi cultural heritage in the national heritage. The Bååsted repatriation project as well as the co-curation between curators and Sámi representatives during the construction of the upcoming exhibit at Kulturen i Lund showed examples where collaboration has led to a more confident and professional approach with regards to Sámi cultural heritage.

- Who owns cultural heritage and what legal or legitimate claims do indigenous source communities have on their cultural heritage?

Within Western science and research an objects general value lies in the information it holds. The object is viewed as a material manifestation of human activity as well as carrier of symbolism and meaning. An authentic or *ideal* state is valued and desired within conservation as well as by an objects owner or custodian. Defined as one of the founding principle, the international organisation of UNESCO was claiming that cultural heritage belongs to us all. This standpoint can legitimise holding of objects which has been acquired by means which today is deemed illegal and unethical. This position can be perceived as another way where we (Western academics and professionals) still gives us the right to define what the humanity needs. Objects collections associated with indigenous cultural heritage are often defined as the result of intercultural encounters and as such a legitimate part of a collective cultural heritage. Many source communities are questioning these definitions and they are not willing to let these objects remain in control of *others*. Repatriation as a function can be debated on many levels, structurally, politically and emotionally, the bottom line however can be quite simple. As a Sámi representative vocalised it in the Bååstede project *“Repatriation is about recognition, and it is important for the Sámi people”*⁴⁰⁸. In the study of repatriation and the involved processes (section 4.5) it has been discussed whether it is legitimate for a custodian (the museum), to determine how cultural heritage from source communities should be handled after repatriation. In the case of the Haisla totem pole the original function was not for posterity. The transformation of the totem pole to museum artefact was not initiated or in any way controlled by the source community. Can and should an object clearly linked to a specific context be considered *world cultural heritage* and protected as such? The Ethnological museum in Stockholm who was involved in the process later commented on the case; *“By allowing the destruction of the G’psglox totem pole, Western hang-up on material culture has certainly been challenged by the Haislas, who emphasize immaterial heritage such as dances, rituals and oral traditions.”*⁴⁰⁹

With regards to ownership, the survey (section 5.4) conducted amongst Swedish institutions showed a limited interest of discussing or defining cultural ownership. It was generally deemed sufficient that the Sámi material was incorporated as national cultural heritage and as such regulated and accessible for everyone. The ICOM-CC defined the owner as *“Person or entity (such as museum or foundation) who has full title to an object as defined by law”*⁴¹⁰ The Australian Institute for Conservation of Cultural Material (AICCM) code of conduct defined client as *“employer, client, owner, custodian, funding agency or authorised agent”* but not limited to these actors. The code also recognised the conservators professional conduct towards *Aboriginal and*

⁴⁰⁸ Bååstede (2017) – quote from Johnny-Leo Jernsletten, direktør Tana- og Varanger Museumssiida, (2015)

⁴⁰⁹ SGang Gwaay Llnagaay (Village of SGang Gwaay) (2012)

⁴¹⁰ ICOM-CC Conservation: who, what & why? (2018)

Torres Strait Islander peoples and that they are to be considered as key stakeholders of related material. In the *E.C.C.O* ethical and professional codes there was a reference to the conservator's obligation to inform and to seek consent to/from the *owner or legal custodian* - this phrasing not further clarifying who this refers to although limiting custodian to *legal custodian* which could complicate claims from source communities as this implies a process where legal ownership need to be contested along with cultural claims. None of the above examples acknowledged cultural ownership or a potential cultural claim which would have the same bearing as a legal ownership or legal custodian. Previously the New Zealand approach to Māori cultural heritage has been presented. The Māori position with regards to Māori cultural heritage management was founded, by legislation, in a perception where the Museums have the role of guardians or caretakers. The mana (power) of the ancestral treasures stays within the iwi (tribal group) from which the object originates⁴¹¹. There were no similar examples found within the Swedish legal system or through Sámi requests or statement

- Are there any guidelines or strategies are in place to guide Swedish conservators when working with Sámi related cultural heritage?

The research for this thesis along with the survey conducted has established a lacuna regarding any definition of ethical or professional recognition for Sámi cultural heritage or other source communities. The lack of definition might indicate a situation/conflict too sensitive to adhere to. The Getty conservation institute in Los Angeles has led a research project to try to identify and understand the processes and function of material conservation in the contemporary society. They concluded that the construction of generalised frameworks could provide a much-needed tool for conservators to understand and evaluate the effects that decisions regarding a multitude of aspects of conservation has for the contemporary and future sociological processes. To make it possible to understand how heritage is constructed, furthermore how cultural heritage and conservation is relevant. I think this is essential for Swedish conservators to address, as a professional formulation of ethics and practice similar to the one established by the conservator's association in New Zealand could provide an ethical platform to adhere to.

The Swedish approach has been to avoid definitions based on ethnicity, this is in line with the position of the Department of Culture as well as the legislation, *Kulturmiljölagen (cultural heritage law)* regulating cultural heritage management. Hence, the Sámi material has been incorporated in a National cultural heritage and the museums have avoided emphasising Sámi unless in a discussion about ethnic definition, borders and contact. The survey section 5.4 showed equally that the institutions housing Sámi material was reluctant to separate the material in any way, it was expressed that the material was protected and cared for, as all other material, that it was accessible for the community and that preservation was prioritised over cultural use and context. The relation to the Sámi community and information was by many of the institutions sought from Ájtte museum. A museum which interestingly according to the answers by Ájtte museum in the survey was not recognised as a Sámi museum by some in the Sámi community⁴¹².

⁴¹¹ *Tamarapa 1994:43* in; Clavir, M. (1997)

⁴¹² Ahlstöm, E. (2018) pers. com.

- Can conservators trained in a western tradition preserve cultural heritage related to indigenous people without compromising tangible/intangible values?

In contemporary international guidelines and charters a value-based conservation theory was presented which emphasised preservation of tangible and intangible materials and values. The overall preservation goal has shifted from the material object to the value of the object. In the added layer of professionalism lies a recognition of the fact that values change and that they are subjective. Values do change over time as well as within and between people and culture. Conservation is about decision-making and it is vital to obtain all needed information about context and value to make accurate decisions whether regarding preventive or remedial conservation. It is however vital to recognise that an objects deterioration is not automatically equal to deterioration of culture. The conducted research on preservation has identified a keyword; continuity. Continuity is a word or definition which is not often used within conservation terminology or definitions. The continuity aspect of preservation leads to questioning many of the standards and principles that are at the very core of cultural heritage conservation as it has developed and as we see it today.

M. Pommés-Tissandier has conducted research for a Masters in which she has formulated a guideline for professional conduct with regards to artefacts related to the Kanak people in Canada. It was concluded that institutionalised object had less cultural value than the ones managed by the community. The cause of this was how they had been and were handled and utilised. Without the cultural context and use they became powerless objects. Although some of the interviewed Kanak people wanted to repatriate all objects some believed institutionalised objects could remain and be cared for by curators and conservator as their inherent cultural value or power was already lost. It was also expressed that some of the power which the material held would be diminished when handled by uninitiated people, like conservators, and that this could be positive. M. Pommés-Tissandier quotes one of her subjects Patrice Moasadi saying *"The object won't play tricks on you"*⁴¹³. Meaning that the non-Kanak conservators detachment and professionalism would neutralise the object. Most subjects accepted general conservation practice if they were respectful and thoughtful. It was preferred that materials close to the original or traditional was used rather than chemicals or synthetic substances. Many did not necessarily approve of a minimalist approach but preferred the object to look like they were once intended. The research shows clearly that investigations like this will lead to accumulated knowledge about handling and conservation practice. It is also interesting that it did in general not restrict the conservator but rather ensured and provided the conservator with information enabling the conservator to make well founded and adequate conservation decisions. In museums with a more holistic approach, like Ecomuseums, the community and conservators has the opportunity to combine conservation practice with local traditions to strengthen the bond between objects and people. The object becomes relevant as they contribute to insight in traditional crafts, function and traditions. The accumulation of knowledge prevents intuitionism and the objects relevance and sensuality remains intact.

⁴¹³ Pommés-Tissandier, M. (2005) p.45

- What does co-curation with source communities mean for the preservation of tangible as well as intangible aspects?

Conservation has traditionally been defined by standards which cannot realistically be applied to cultural heritage. Muños Viñas was breaking down this complexity in his publication *Contemporary Theory of Conservation*. He argued that conservation as a *truth seeking* scientific field was a chimera. That validation and revelation of an objects *true nature* or *true state* is a false theory as it implies that there is an *untrue nature* of an object. Despite its biography an object is always *true*. A damaged or altered object is not less true, only damaged or altered. In here, in the more contemporary formulation of the profession lies the core of conservation and what makes conservation relevant.

In section 6 several co-curation projects were presented. For example, the *Hotunui* project (section 6.1) co-curation lead to unconventional (within Western conservation practice) decisions regarding the conservation of the structure, emphasising the need for in-depth understanding beyond a materials chemical and molecular property for a conservator to make informed and relevant decisions. The question was raised as to who has the right to control and expect certain outcomes of treatments and preservation strategies. A conservator is not the owner of an object; a conservator is executing a job which has been given. Ethics and guidelines for the profession are there to provide a framework which to some degree regulates what a customer can expect or demand from a conservator. However, as this thesis explored, the question of who that customer is, and equally who it *should* be when working with material heritage from indigenous source communities is of great importance and remains generally unresolved. Collaborations with specialists from different arenas, including people from source communities can enhance individual as well as collective understanding of the tangible and intangible heritage. M. Pommés-Tissandier concluded that interviews conducted provided new information about restrictions and values. These experiences can in turn potentially invigorate an understanding and reconnection or recreation of cultures whose connection to the past has been lost or marginalised. A. Muños at the World Culture Museum said that the museum and it staff were inclined to honour such request but they are to time restricted to seek out additional information from source communities about objects within their existing collection⁴¹⁴.

In section 4.2.1 a co-curational project of a sacred object was presented. The community representatives were continuously present in the *National Coordination of Conservation of Cultural heritage* (CNCPC) studio to ensure the safety of the object, the Niñoopa. The conservators involved were stating that the co-curation had led to the workspace transforming and that within the conservation studio the attitude changing. A communicative approach like in this example, with an open and mutually inclusive relationship between community and institution could be what makes conservation current. Standards for care and remedial conservation of material culture should ideally be defined by or sanctioned by originating community, safeguarding both tangible and intangible aspects of the material. As a conservator, following international ethical standards, it is possible to harm and endanger a productive relationship with source communities by our actions. Preventive strategies common for the management of cultural materials, involving passivating actions and remedial actions

⁴¹⁴ Muños, A. (2018) pers.com.

will often limit access and functionality which potentially can degrade intangible cultural heritage although protecting tangible.

Examples of collaboration between museums and indigenous communities highlighted the fact that separation of tangible and intangible values was undesirable. Interaction between museums and indigenous source communities means opening to the legacy of ethnic domination and colonialism. Museums with world culture collections are experiencing a reinstated academic and public interest in the materials potential as social markers and analytical tools. There is a need to continue exploring how past ethnological and anthropological categorisations can be contested. Co-curation has been put forward as the *middle way* solution to preservation and retained relevance for objects collections. The curators/conservators at NMAI stated that sharing of knowledge is not an extraction but a commitment built on trust and relations. The activity needed to create the much-needed bonds and relations is intricately connected with an investment of time. Curator A. Muños at the World Culture Museum in Gothenburg was also stressing this point, how time is a factor. The decision of co-curation and addition of cultural context to objects collections must however be well founded on all levels of cultural heritage management and within the state structure. These projects need to be financed to allow time to establish the much-needed relations. Museums housing a general collection of cultural heritage need to be aware and open about who's voice is being heard, the narration and aims of the museum. A Māori or Sámi governed museum can speak in terms of *we* and claim to represent a general voice of their cultural heritage. In multi-cultural countries like Sweden and New Zealand, if indigenous and/or minority cultures are separated from the general/state institutions then what happens with the general history of the country and of the history and heritage related to the Europeans in New Zealand and the Swedes in Sweden? Which history belongs in a National museum? If this question becomes a square needed to fit in a round hole maybe the need for National museums, as constructed today, is outdated?

To cite L.T. Smith once again *"Indigenous people want tell our own stories, write our own versions, in our own ways, for our own purposes. It is not only about giving an oral account [...], but a very powerful need to give testimony to and restore a spirit, to bring back into existence a world fragmented and dying."*⁴¹⁵

7.1 Discussion

At the core of the following discussion lies a concern and will to evaluate the role of conservation applied actions affect past and present ethnic identity and culture. The importance of culture and cultural heritage in the past, present and future of mankind is paramount. Without culture, people lose a fundamental tool for comprehending and coping with the world. Hence conservation of cultural heritage cannot be conducted in isolation, it cannot solely be about the material product. Objects housed in collections are important and the preservation of the fabric is equally important to preservation of knowledge and meaning.

As conservators are specialised in preservation it is more important than ever to analyse and acknowledge the impact of our actions. Objects conservators' relevance as *experts* on tangible material and preservation of such I think has been established. However, to preserve significant values associated with culture and cultural expressions and to enable association between object and society conservators cannot act in isolation. Nor with the sole aim to preserve a

⁴¹⁵ Smith, L.T. (1999) p.28

tangible past for posterity. It is the physical objects ability to convey meanings and symbolism which make its tangible features worth preserving. Conservation needs to be in communication with relevant people and communities to ensure relevance and to contribute to preservation and education about cultural values. Preservation strategies which incorporates functional as well as communicative values needs to be addressed. In light of this it's not only important to examine and understand the materiality and status of the object but also the wider purpose and meaning of the proposed interventions for source communities. Conservation actions, remedial or preventive, will not just affect the object at hand but also contemporary and future perception and identification with such material. The material should in every possible way be connected with its origin and be allowed to retain some of its function and sensuality. The objects are not needed to define for example past Māori or Sámi people but to function as a connection. As quoted; *"The diversity of cultures and heritage in our world is an irreplaceable source of spiritual and intellectual richness for all humankind. The protection and enhancement of cultural and heritage diversity in our world should be actively promoted as an essential aspect of human development."*⁴¹⁶

There is a need to strengthen the cooperative and the individual conservator, to discuss and formulate ethics which helps the conservator to make decisions where conceptual integrity is valued equal or in certain cases over the material one. A stronger ethical and professional positioning could or should also acknowledge a relation to or with the community, especially with regards to indigenous source communities as the relation remains imbued with unresolved postcolonial structures. National and international conventions and guidelines need to clarify a professional relation regarding ownership and client. Many of the objects housed in institutional or private objects collections have been accessioned with colonial means which today would be deemed unethical. Terms for if and how a current owner has the right to decide or decline certain access and/or conservation actions need to be established, possibly individually case by case, but a structural approach need to be defined. In a society where conservation is becoming a commodity it is extra vital that conservation does not remove themselves even further from the subject. At studios separated from institutional or community influence the objects risk to become more and more decontextualised and objectified. Without knowledge of context the only way a conservator can follow professional standards and guidelines is to approach the object in a positivist manner, i.e. using science, experiences and knowledge about material and applying these with an object rather than a subject in mind. Research within conservation and cultural heritage management has concluded that the construction of generalised framework enables professional conduct and an understanding of how heritage is constructed and how it is relevant. A generalised framework could provide a much-needed tool for conservators to understand and evaluate the effects that decisions regarding a multitude of aspects of conservation has for contemporary and future sociological processes.

There has been some examples and sections concerning repatriation. As a process, conservators usually do not have a lot of influence as repatriation is legislated and managed on a political level between states and not people. It is however very relevant for conservation as it reflects on ownership and material status. Repatriation and the moving of objects from *safe keeping* to a different context is a process where conservation needs to be engaged and involved. The Bååsted repatriation project in Norway is an example where a full-time conservator position was assigned to address preservation issues related to the project. The

⁴¹⁶ The Nara Document on Authenticity (1994) sect.5, p.46

Bååsted repatriation project as well as the co-curation between curators and Sámi representatives during the construction of the upcoming exhibit at Kulturen i Lund show examples where collaboration has led to a more confident and professional approach with regards to Sámi cultural heritage. I think approaches like these will be beneficial for society and the address issues of contemporality and relevance for conservation and cultural exchange. A more neutral standing, which many institutions, has expressed can create a biased position that will continuously be contested by source communities. An open communicative approach to past and present structures and actions can help build and restore trust and cultural identity. It could enable conservators and curators to develop their role and to participate in contemporary structures and processes with their accumulated competence of the material instead of conserving (retaining things as they were) themselves along with the objects.

A substantial, as presented and discussed, often seemingly incompatible part of conservation is preservation of significant value. I have here sectioned it into one which deals with values which changes independently of an objects physical condition and another dealing with values affected by physical change. Here it is once again vital to recognise that an objects deterioration is not automatically equal to deterioration of culture. I think that a primary goal for conservation and the role of conservators, with regards to indigenous source communities, could be more appropriately described as enabling continuity. The continuity aspect of preservation leads to questioning many of the standards and principles that are at the very core of cultural heritage conservation as it has developed and as we see it today. The presented co-curational cases has showed that communication and integration has led to projects where a mutual aim and a will to preserve and to enrich objects collections as well as the contemporary cultural context has been mutually beneficiary. And that an object despite alterations and possible adaptations is always true, adhered are new layers to the objects biography. In Sweden the Sámi community strive to establish a sense and establishment of cultural self-determination and I find it essential for the cultural heritage sector and conservators to acknowledged and enable such processes. Conservation needs to constantly reevaluate its positioning, to discuss ethics and to acknowledge its vital position in how cultural heritage is made. Cultural heritage objects are not static components in an objects collection, they are by definition essential for the understanding and development of mankind and valued as a significant part in international definition of human rights.

7.2 Possible contribution and future research

This thesis could be defined as a critical study of the conservation professions' dealing with indigenous cultural heritage, in the past and present. Co-operation between relations based on power and the potential for transformation into empowerment and self-governing are also discussed. This study does not explore or develop specific methods for preservation but rather analyses how conservation practice is relevant today through the examination of historical and contemporary ethics and values of the profession. As such it differentiates from the general research on bachelor and master level at the the Department of Conservation at Gothenburg University in Sweden, where I was trained. Over the last 10 years only a handful have been exploring ethical dilemmas or the role of conservation/conservators. With regards to the situation in Sweden a national positioning and declaration of ethical and professional conduct for conservators need to be formulated. Further research aimed to accumulate knowledge about the objects and to establish relations between Sámi community and conservators would articulate a base for such declarations.

In addition, cultural management in New Zealand has developed a situation where Māori cultural heritage is separated from the non-Māori. Māori influence and presence in cultural heritage management ensures that significant values are respected and preserved. I aimed to explore how people today are affected by strict separation of heritage, like in New Zealand, compared to a neutralised approach like in Sweden where cultural heritage management avoid separating or categorise heritage after ethnicity. Do these very different approaches influence contemporary notions of belonging and a relation beyond the colonial stigma? Many of the references including indigenous claims and repatriation processes are saying that the past is still too troubling, unresolved and the impact from the past still to present to move beyond. Reinstitution of pride and equality needs to be established, until then there can be no mutual sense of a collective heritage. Cultural heritage management in New Zealand is exemplified in countless articles and projects as being on the front line with regards to co-curation. Has this affected the collective contemporary society or does it strengthen the sense of us and them? Do we in Sweden need to establish a difference between Sámi and Swedish heritage, to separate them in political structure, professional conduct and cultural management or is there another way to achieve cultural self-determination? These are vital questions in which conservation and cultural heritage management needs to participate. I hope that this thesis can inspire and be a foundation for a more in-depth research and analysis of how cultural heritage is made and how it affects structure, perception of cultural identity and relation between people.

7.3 Summary

This research was exploring the contemporary challenges of cultural heritage preservation. The study was based in the segment of conservation traditionally called *ethnographical conservation*. The conservator's role in this context is profound. Conservation is part of a larger historical and contemporary context in which cultural heritage is made, as such there is need to acknowledge the impact of our actions and the responsibilities that comes with it. The multifaceted field of cultural heritage includes, amongst others, museology, archaeology, social studies, historical studies and natural history. The core for these humanistic and scientific fields lies in the evidence of past times and events. Material artefacts or *objects* are one of these evidences around which many institutions and research has evolved. There is an instituted belief in the objects' inherent value as carriers of information and meaning which can connect the past with the present – with the future. Traditional conservation has focused on retaining the material, the raw data which these objects contains. However, in an evolving society there is a call for relevance and the traditional ways in which culture is preserved and presented is challenged. This thesis has identified a lacuna in research, education and professional guidelines. There is a need for conservators to position themselves, to define the resources that we can provide in the organic arena which can be concludes as heritage preservation. The role of conservation becomes visual in relation to objects in collections which has been collected within an imperial/colonial system. These objects have been de-contextualised and resides in institutions with very little of their intangible values intact. For the objects, and the preservation of them, to remain relevant they need be allowed to participate in people's lives and current debates. They need to have meaning added to their biography and to be allowed continuity. The conservators' role in this context was in general perceived undefined, nationally and internationally. There is a need to acknowledge the impact of conservation actions and the adhering responsibilities. Through a minor survey along with a comparison of cultural heritage management, including conservation, regarding the Sámi and Māori cultural heritage I have

explored the underlying post-colonial structure affecting how these collections are perceived and managed today. The survey was based on a formalised questionnaire which was sent out to eight institutions housing Sámi objects collections. It included three national museums, two regional museums, two self-governed museums and one Sámi governed museum. The responses affirmed the findings of the literature review, that there is lack of positioning and structure in Swedish cultural heritage management regarding the Sámi cultural heritage, Sámi objects and potential Sámi claims. The reluctance to define and acknowledge the Sámi community, to grant a higher degree of self-determination has been noted on all levels of Swedish political and cultural structure. As remedial conservation, predominantly, has become more of a commodity there is a risk that these adaptations within conservation towards the contemporary context of a free market system moves the profession further away from the subject and the core objectives- preservation of value and significance.

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Fig. 15. Anna-Stina Svakko during the assessment at Kulturen i Lund. Foto: Sofie Bergkvist. <https://www.kulturen.com/blogg/besok-fran-sapmi-i-kulturens-samlingar/> (2018-05-11)

Appendix 1. Survey

The answers from the institutions have been modified for space, unanswered questions have been deleted and the additional information and examples provided has also been removed. Below is a transcript of the original document as it was sent out by the author. The survey was sent out to 8 institutions and 7 responded. It included three national museums, two regional museums (one did not respond), two self-governed museums and one Sámi governed museum. The questionnaire was initially sent to the institutional Head of Department of Collections and/or Conservation. They have then referred to or collaborated with relevant staff to supply answers representative for the institution.

Original document sent out to the institutions chosen for this survey;

In this thesis I am to examine and discuss the role of conservation/conservators regarding contemporary Cultural Heritage. Specifically, in nations with dual-heritage where colonial means and western traditions has dominated the relationship. Examples and comparisons will be drawn from the situation in New Zealand and Sweden. New Zealand Maori/Europeans – Sweden Sami/Swedes.

The main aim is to investigate how the conservation profession need to develop to work in a contemporary society and to be useful for contemporary cultures need for self-determination and self-governing of cultural heritage. Definition of professional ethics and values which acknowledge Sami and Swedish cultural heritage would hopefully enable co-curation and preservation of tangible and intangible values and material. The profession need to work on self-determination – not just a tool performing preservation but an equal and active practitioner in the co-curation of collections. Especially important as remedial conservation today is often outsourced, contracted and dealt with on a business level, equal to archaeology. Conservation at institutions deal more with preventive preservation and administration.

Frågeformulär:

- Vem är du och var jobbar du och vad är din roll?

Ja

Nej

- Har ni samiskt material i era samlingar?

Ja

Nej

- Har ni någon koordinator för samerelaterade frågor (liason officer).

Kommentar:

- Har ni någon samisk personal som hanterar det samiska materialet och/eller länkar mellan samlingar och samer.

Ja

Nej

Kommentar:

- Har ni uttalade och/eller dokumenterade anvisningar för hur samiskt material ska hanteras?

Ja

Nej

Kommentar:

- Anser ni att man bör skilja mer på samiskt och svenskt för att komma upp på en nivå där samer har kontroll över sitt kulturarv eller är det rimligt att materialet fortsatt är integrerat i det nationella kulturarvet?

Ja

Nej

Kommentar:

- Är allt samiskt material tillgängligt för samer? På ex. Nya Zeeland har Maori kulturell rätt till allt material oavsett legalt ägande vilket även definieras av muser i deras etiska och nationella rättsliga principer.

Ja

Nej

Kommentar:

- Har samer generellt några åsikter om hur materialet bör konserveras, förvaras och hanteras?
Ex. metod, inte använda enzymer(saliv), vissa personer/kön bör ej hantera vissa material, vissa material bör ej hanteras och förvaras tillsammans.

Ja

Nej

Kommentar:

- Händer det att ni går längre vad det gäller rengöring, stabilisering, rekonstruktion för att föremålet ska vara brukbart och/eller representativt i en kulturell funktion. *Finns det i så fall någon publikation/artikel/rapport som beskriver detta?*

Ja

Nej

Kommentar:

Tack! Om du har möjlighet kika gärna på de kompletterande frågorna.

Kompletterande frågor:

- Anser du att det finns stöd för intendent/konservatorer som jobbar med samiskt material i exempelvis konservatorutbildning, kollegialt, i etiska ramverk så som ICOM, ICOMOS, E.C.C.O eller liknande? Använder ni några särskilda dokument för att beskriva er verksamhet och ert ansvar.
NZ konservatorer (motsvarande NKf) har ett dokument som beskriver deras medlemmars värdegrund, inklusive ett specifikt avsnitt gällande Maorirelaterat kulturarv. Borde en sådan definition skapas och undertecknas av ex NKf medlemmar?
Ex. Māori customary concepts empower particular knowledge of heritage and conservation values to chosen guardians, with respect to particular places and artefacts. In adhering to this Code of Ethics all members of NZCCM shall recognize the special relationship of Māori to places and artefacts as described in the Treaty of Waitangi.
- Finns det behov av en lagstiftad särskiljning från övrigt material (ex Svenskt) eller fungerar t.ex KLM och den statliga fyndfördelningsprincipen – Ajtte har väl t.ex inte automatisk fyndfördelning av all samiskt material.
- Hur stor vikt lägger ni vid kulturellt ägande i relation till legalt ägande?
- Hur arbetar ni med samiskt material och med den samiska befolkningen? Hur förs dialog, finns det en struktur och kan ni relatera ert material till olika samiska grupper – för ni då dialog direkt med dem?
- Vad anser ni att konservatorer har för roll och ansvar gentemot den samiska befolkningen och materialet?

Ajtte museum, Eva Ahlström, konservator 2018-05-15

- Har ni samiskt material i era samlingar?

Ja

- Har ni någon koordinator för Samerelaterade frågor (liason officer).

Ja

- Har ni någon samisk personal som hanterar det samiska materialet och/eller länkar mellan samlingar och Samer.

Ja

Kommentar: *Styrkan för oss på Ajtte museum är just att vi har ett så stort kontaktnät i det samiska samhället. Att vi också ser okunskapen hos andra museer i Sverige med samiskt material, det kan vara fel benämningar, okunskap i områdestillhörighet, föremålets användning osv. Vi blir också i viss mån upprörda då sådana museer vill göra t ex en samisk utställning för att visa att de minsann jobbar med det samiska. Vi kontaktas och dräneras därmed på kunskap, tid och energi och "vad får vi igen, ingen ny kunskap". Det sistnämnda kan sägas vara ett citat från Ajtte personal.*

- Har ni uttalade och/eller dokumenterade anvisningar för hur samiskt material ska hanteras?

Ja

Kommentar: *1985 anställdes den förste kulturhistoriska konservatorn inför Ajttes tillblivande, det sas då att det skulle vara en person med bakgrund i den samiska kulturtraditionen och kunskap i samisk slöjd, "duodji", antingen kvinnoslöjden textil/skinn eller mansslöjden trä/horn. Det blev Elle Kuhmunen, samisktalande och uppväxt i en samisk renskötarfamilj på 50-talet. Då på 80-talet var konservering mer "hand on", det var mycket aktiv konservering! Elle experimenterade mycket med skinn, rengöring och mjukgörning, hur möjliga koltar skulle rengöras t ex, förvaring av olika materialgrupper osv.*

- Anser ni att man bör skilja mer på samiskt och svenskt för att komma upp på en nivå där Samer har kontroll över sitt kulturarv eller är det rimligt att materialet fortsatt är integrerat i det nationella kulturarvet?

Ja

Kommentar: *Eftersom Ajtte är ett ungt museum har vi lite äldre föremål, mer samtida. Därför skulle vi önska att fler äldre samiska samlingar skulle deponeras från andra svenska museer. Det skulle berika vår samling, men också föremålen i sig som skulle få en bättre dokumentation. Vi har ju också en stor efterfrågan, ofta får vi hänvisa till andra museer. Självklart ska det samiska samhället ha kontroll över sitt kulturarv. Sametinget har just bildat ett etiskt råd som har i uppgift att arbeta fram rådgivande riktlinjer i frågor som rör återföring, förvaring och återbegravning av samiska kvarlevor, men också heliga föremål. <https://www.sametinget.se/69689>, <https://www.sametinget.se/repatriering> <https://www.sametinget.se/1930>*

Sunna Kuoljok har för ett antal år sedan jobbat i det så kallade "Recalling projektet", tillsammans med samiska museer på norsk och finsk sida.

<http://www.samimuseum.fi/heritage/svensk/index.html>

<http://www.ajtte.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/recalling-seminarierapport-slutversion.pdf>

<http://www.ajtte.com/wp-content/uploads/2008/01/pressmeddelande-januari-20081.pdf>

- Är allt samiskt material tillgängligt för samer? På ex. Nya Zeeland har Maori kulturell rätt till allt material oavsett legalt ägande vilket även definieras av muser i deras etiska och nationella rättsliga principer.

Kommentar: *Så långt har vi nog inte kommit i Sverige, utifrån det jag vet. Ajtte lånar t ex på fem år i taget trummor från Nordiska museet till vår fasta utställning om samisk religion. För ett antal år sedan hade vi en historisk samisk trumma inlånad från biblioteket i Cambridge. Museiledning försökte med alla medel få denna trumma deponerad till Ajtte, men tyvärr gick inte det, den återlämnades 2008.*

- Har samer generellt några åsikter om hur materialet bör konserveras, förvaras och hanteras?

Kommentar: *Inget av det du räknar upp känner jag till. Det finns förstås en respekt i vissa fall för föremål, trumman är ju speciell, seiten likaså. Det fanns en tradition att om någon dog så brände man personens alla tillhörigheter. Men samerna lever ju idag i det moderna "västerländska livet", likaväl som vi svenskar har släppt traditioner från förr så har även samerna gjort det. När jag blev bekant med det samiska samhället på 1980-talet noterade jag att sånt jag hört från min mormors mor kunde jag känna igen hos min mans mor, alltså en förskjutning i två*

generationer. Missionen bland samerna förändrade mycket, redan på 1700-talet blev det förbjudet att jojka, använda trumman och liknade, de blev i hög grad starkt kristna.

- Händer det att ni går längre vad det gäller rengöring, stabilisering, rekonstruktion för att föremålet ska vara brukbart och/eller representativt i en kulturell funktion

Kommentar: *Elle intervjuade, då hon började som konservator, äldre personer om olika traditioner för att ta hand om föremål, som frystorkning, garvning av skinn, hon funderade över om det gick att "återgrava" torkat skinn. En sametjef från Nordnorge utbildade sig till konservator i Oslo någon gång 00-talet och fick en anställning på museet i Karasjokk, De samiske samlinger. Hon hade en idé att nu skulle museiföremålen tas om hand på samiskt vis, vilket "flöt ut i sanden". Jag vet att Elizabeth Peacock nämnde detta och var väldigt frågande. Materialen textil, skinn, päls, metall, trä, osv bryts ju ner på samma sätt vilken etnicitet de än tillhör. Det jag tänker på är att en "samisk" konservator kan ha kunskap i materialuppbyggnad/innehåll, t ex hur och med vad är skinnet garvat, vad är det för vitt "pulver" som lägger sig på ytan på skinnet!*

Kompletterande frågor:

- Anser du att det finns stöd för intendent/konservatorer som jobbar med samiskt material i exempelvis konservatorutbildning, kollegialt, i etiska ramverk så som ICOM, ICOMOS, E.C.C.O eller liknande? Använder ni några särskilda dokument för att beskriva er verksamhet och ert ansvar. NZ konservatorer (motsvarande Nkf) har ett dokument som beskriver deras medlemmars värdegrund, inklusive ett specifikt avsnitt gällande Maorelaterat kulturarv. Borde en sådan definition skapas och undertecknas av ex Nkf medlemmar?

Bra idé! Åjtte museum är inne i en nystart/omstart i samband med museichefsrekrytering. Under hela året jobbar vi med ett utvecklingsarbete, workshops, föredragshållare osv. Vi diskuterar värdegrund, samiskt perspektiv, omvärldsanalys, förändring i stadgar mm. Din fråga kan jag tänka mig borde ligga på Sametingsnivå. Kanske ska du kontakta t ex Susanne Idivuoma.

Stadgarna är föråldrade, skrevs 1982 och har sedan reviderats något några gånger

(<file:///K:/PERSONAL%20&%20POLICY/STADGAR%20och%20arb%20delegation/STADGAR%20040326.pdf>)

Stadgar för Stiftelsen Åjtte, svenskt fjäll- och samemuseum

INLEDANDE BESTÄMMELSER

§ 1 Stiftelsen Åjtte, svenskt fjäll- och samemuseum består av medel som tillförs stiftelsen enligt ett till stiftelseurkunden fogat avtal mellan staten, Norrbottens läns landsting, Jokkmokks kommun, Svenska Samernas Riksförbund (SSR) och Same Ätnam, samt medel som uppkommer i stiftelsens verksamhet eller tillförs av annan.

UPPGIFTER

§ 2 Stiftelsen ändamål är att dels bedriva specialmuseiverksamhet för fjällregionen i Sverige, innefattande att med riksperspektiv dokumentera och sprida kunskap om fjällvärldens natur- och kulturhistoriska utveckling liksom samspelet mellan naturförutsättningarna och olika former av nyttjande av fjällmiljön, dels bedriva huvudmuseiverksamhet i Sverige för den samiska kulturen, innefattande forskning kring denna kultur samt att dokumentera, belysa och informera om den samiska kulturens utveckling och de samiska traditionerna, och dels driva ett informationscentrum för fjällturismen.

§ 3 Det åligger stiftelsen särskilt att

- 1. vårda, förteckna, vetenskapligt bearbeta och genom nyförvärv berika de samlingar och det dokumentationsmaterial som har anförtratts stiftelsen,*
- 2. hålla ett urval av samlingarna och dokumentationsmaterial tillgängligt för allmänheten,*
- 3. bedriva forskning och undervisning inom stiftelsens verksamhetsområden,*
- 4. bedriva konserveringsverksamhet inom det samiska museiområdet,*
- 5. verka för en kanalisering av den växande fjällturismen och genom information och undervisning om fjällens natur och den samiska kulturen ge fjällturismen ett bredare innehåll, samt*
- 6. samarbeta och samråda med andra museer, statliga och kommunala myndigheter, kulturinstitutioner, organisationer och enskilda som är verksamma inom stiftelsens verksamhetsområden.*

I fråga om stiftelsens museisamlingar skall dock, i den mån annat inte har avtalats i samband med respektive förvärv, gälla följande. Föremål som har registrerats vid den samiska avdelningen skall med tillhörande dokumentation, bibliotek och förvaringsutrustning i sin helhet tillfalla den samiska institution eller det lokala eller regionala museum som styrelsen beslutar efter förslag av nämnden. Beslut om placeringen av samlingarna i övrigt fattas av styrelsen.

Alltså inte mycket samiskt perspektiv! Från samiskt håll ser man inte alltid Åjtte som ett samiskt museum!

- Finns det behov av en lagstiftad särskiljning från övrigt material (ex Svenskt) eller fungerar t.ex KLM och den statliga fyndfördelningsprincipen – Ajtte har väl t.ex inte automatisk fyndfördelning av all samiskt material.

Kanske också en fråga för sametinget!

- Hur stor vikt lägger ni vid kulturellt ägande i relation till legalt ägande?

Kanske också en fråga för sametinget!

- Hur arbetar ni med samiskt material och med den samiska befolkningen? Hur förs dialog, finns det en struktur och kan ni relatera ert material till olika samiska grupper – för ni då dialog direkt med dem?

Den här frågan tror jag du fått svar på, svaret är ju att vi har ett inifrånperspektiv

- Vad anser ni att konservatorer har för roll och ansvar gentemot den samiska befolkningen och materialet?

Borde någon annan än jag svara på, kanske återigen Sametinget

Kulturen Lund, Karin Schönberg, intendent 2018-05-18

- Vem är du och var jobbar du och vad är din roll?

En grupp: intendent och konservatorer.

- Har ni samiskt material i era samlingar?

Ja

- Har ni någon koordinator för Samerelaterade frågor (liason officer).

Ja

Kommentar: *Intendenterna har delat upp ansvarsområdena.*

- Har ni någon samisk personal som hanterar det samiska materialet och/eller länkar mellan samlingar och samer.

Nej, *inte kontinuerligt*

Kommentar: *Vi har inför kommande utställning tagit kontakt med Anna-Stina Svakko som besökt museet och gått igenom allt material och vi har fått ställa frågor. Vi har också fortsatt kontakt med bland annat Ájtte. Vi har också besökt samiskt informationscenter i Östersund och Ájtte Fjäll och Samemuseum i Jokkmokk. Tidigare har representanter från bl.a. Ájtte varit på museet och studerat hela samlingen bla 2009*

- Har ni uttalade och/eller dokumenterade anvisningar för hur samiskt material ska hanteras?

Nej

Kommentar: *Kulturen har inga mänskliga kvarlevor eller religiösa föremål såsom trummor.*

- Anser ni att man bör skilja mer på samiskt och svenskt för att komma upp på en nivå där samer har kontroll över sitt kulturarv eller är det rimligt att materialet fortsatt är integrerat i det nationella kulturarvet?

Nej, *inte avseende just Kulturens samling.*

Kommentar: *Genom kontakter mellan samiskt ansvarsmuseum och andra museer bör materialet ändå kunna vara tryggt och behandlas på rätt sätt på olika regionala museer. Det är viktigt att allt kulturarv behandlas med respekt. Kulturen har material från många olika kulturer i olika världsdelar. Här finns också material från koncentrationslägret i Ravensbrück samt fyndfördelat stora samlingar med skelettmaterial från Lunds danska katolska tid. Kulturen har också mindre samlingar med religiöst material från andra kulturer t.ex. judiska föremål. Det är viktigt att det finns möjlighet i resten av landet att se samiskt material och att föra kunskap ut till skolor bland annat. Det är viktigt att allt är digitaliserat så att man kan se det.*

- Är allt samiskt material tillgängligt för samer? På ex. Nya Zeeland har Maori kulturell rätt till allt material oavsett legalt ägande vilket även definieras av muser i deras etiska och nationella rättsliga principer.

Kommentar: *Materialet är tillgängligt att titta på vid planerade magasinsbesök om det inte är utställt. Materialet är inte tillgängligt för att använda. Många av föremålen är mycket känsliga och deras bevarande för framtiden skulle riskeras vid användande utanför museibruk.*

- Har samer generellt några åsikter om hur materialet bör konserveras, förvaras och hanteras?

Kommentar: *Ingen av de museikollegor från Ájtte eller andra samiska organisationer som besökt oss har uttryckt några särskilda rekommendationer eller åsikter. De har verkat nöjda med förvaringen i moderna textilmagasin med rätt klimat och förvaring liggande. Ájtte fotograferade i magasinet och redovisade sitt besök i rapporten "Recalling Ancestral Voices", där man också i sitt slutord konstaterar "Samtidigt får vi inte glömma att det finns ett fortsatt behov av att samiska föremål finns utställda på museer utanför Sápmi, för att där kunna berätta om den samiska kulturen." Materialet ligger samlat i magasin så att man i stort sett kan se det samlat.*

- Händer det att ni går längre vad det gäller rengöring, stabilisering, rekonstruktion för att föremålet ska vara brukbart och/eller representativt i en kulturell funktion. Finns det i så fall någon publikation/artikel/rapport som beskriver detta?

Nej och Nej

Kompletterande frågor:

- Anser du att det finns stöd för intendent/konservatorer som jobbar med samiskt material i exempelvis konservatorutbildning, kollegialt, i etiska ramverk så som ICOM, ICOMOS, E.C.C.O eller liknande? Använder ni några särskilda dokument för att beskriva er verksamhet och ert ansvar. NZ konservatorer (motsvarande NKf) har ett dokument som beskriver deras medlemmars värdegrund, inklusive ett specifikt avsnitt gällande Maorirelaterat kulturarv. Borde en sådan definition skapas och undertecknas av ex NKf medlemmar?

Det finns stöd för arbetet i dessa etiska ramverk. Kulturen använder inte särskilda dokument för dokumentation av verksamheten. Vi arbetar enligt ICOM och den nya museilagen men eventuellt kunde rutiner för konservering som speglade den gemensamma värdegrunden kunna vara värdefullt för olika kulturers föremål.

- Finns det behov av en lagstiftad särskiljning från övrigt material (ex Svenskt) eller fungerar t.ex KLM och den statliga fyndfördelningsprincipen?

Det är viktigt att ha kontroll på vad som är samiskt tex genom bra dataregister och uppdatering av fakta, fotografier och rätt sökmöjligheter. God katalogisering av materialet är viktigt.

- Hur stor vikt lägger ni vid kulturellt ägande i relation till legalt ägande?

Detta är en juridiskt mycket svår fråga som kräver mer tid och utredning i varje enskilt fall.

- Hur arbetar ni med samiskt material och med den samiska befolkningen? Hur förs dialog, finns det en struktur och kan ni relatera ert material till olika samiska grupper – för ni då dialog direkt med dem?

Vi vill gärna föra dialog med den samiska befolkningen och har även gjort det i den pågående planeringen av en utställning. Vi gör det i den mån vi kan med olika aktuella samiska grupper eller personer.

- Vad anser ni att konservatorer har för roll och ansvar gentemot den samiska befolkningen och materialet?

Konservatorn har en viktig roll och föremålen ska behandlas med respekt. Direkta konserveringsåtgärder är mycket sällsynt på museet istället använder vi preventiva åtgärder och förändrar inte föremålen. Bevarandet sätts i centrum. Även intendent och utställningsansvariga liksom guider ska behandla föremålen och den samiska kulturen med respekt vid tex utställningar. Det är viktigt med kunskap om den samiska historien. Kulturen har givit hela personalen en inledande information och föredrag inför utställningen.

Nordiska Museet, Cecilia Hammarlund-Larsson, intendent, 2018-03-26

- Vem är du och var jobbar du och vad är din roll?

Cecilia Hammarlund-Larsson. Intendent vid Nordiska museets avdelning Kunskap och förmedling. Jag är således inte konservator. Jag arbetar bland annat med den del av Nordiska museets föremålssamlingar som speglar de Nationella minoriteternas historia. Med detta avses att jag ska bidra med kunskap om föremålen, men min uppgift är till stor del också att svara på frågor om museets samiska samling, om dess tillkomst och innehåll. En del av mitt arbete innebär också att i möjligaste mån ta emot studiegrupper och forskare och visa föremålen i magasin.

- Har ni samiskt material i era samlingar?

Ja. Nordiska museets samling av samiska föremål är omfattande. (Museets definition av "samiska föremål" är att det är föremål som har tillverkats av, och/eller ägts och använts av samer.)

- Har ni någon koordinator för Samerelaterade frågor (lison officer)?

Vi har ingen tjänst som definieras som koordinator. Men delar av min tjänst är inriktat särskilt mot det samiska kulturarvet och arbetet innefattar kontakter med företrädare för samer, såväl enskilda som institutioner. Nordiska museet har även en intendentstjänst med inriktning mot mångfaldsfrågor.

- Har ni någon samisk personal som hanterar det samiska materialet och/eller länkar mellan samlingar och samer.

Museet inte har haft detta som kriterium eller krav för anställningar.

- Har ni uttalade och/eller dokumenterade anvisningar för hur samiskt material ska hanteras?

Inte särskilt för hantering av samiska föremål.

- Anser ni att man bör skilja mer på samiskt och Svenskt för att komma upp på en nivå där Samer har kontroll över sitt kulturarv eller är det rimligt att materialet fortsatt är integrerat i det nationella kulturarvet?

Jag antar att du avser möjligheterna att söka efter föremål med samisk anknytning? Detta är en fråga som är förbunden med klassifikationssystem. Klassifikationssystemens uppbyggnad är något som kan förändras eller kompletteras över tid. Konsekvenserna av att göra klassifikationer med utgångspunkt från etnicitet är en fråga som ibland också diskuteras och ibland också ifrågasätts. Vad gäller Nordiska museet är det möjligt att söka i museets databas med sökordet "Samisk historia", och då få träff på samtliga föremål med samisk anknytning i museets samlingar. (Obs min kommentar ovan om definitionen av "samiska föremål".) Samma möjlighet finns via Digitaltmuseum.se. Så den som har ett särskilt intresserad av samiska föremål i Nordiska museets samlingar kan således finna information om dessa.

- Är allt samiskt material tillgängligt för samer? På ex. Nya Zeeland har Maori kulturell rätt till allt material oavsett legalt ägande vilket även definieras av muser i deras etiska och nationella rättsliga principer.

Ja, men det krävs att kontakt tas i mycket god tid för att besöket ska kunna förberedas. Museet har drygt 9 000 samiska föremål i samlingarna och föremålen förvaras i olika magasin beroende på typ av material. I museets arkiv finns också omfattande material som berör samisk historia. Arkivet är öppet för allmänheten.

- Har samer generellt några åsikter om hur materialet bör konserveras, förvaras och hanteras?

"Samer generellt" anser jag vara en något vag och problematisk formulering. Vem eller vilka är "samer generellt"? Jag har vid några få tillfällen fått kommentarer om och synpunkter vad gäller placering av vissa föremål.

- Händer det att ni går längre vad det gäller rengöring, stabilisering, rekonstruktion för att föremålet ska vara brukbart och/eller representativt i en kulturell funktion Avser du med "kulturell funktion" en utställning, eller syftar du på att föremålet skall användas i sammanhang utanför Nordiska Museet eller den museiinstitution som lånat föremål av Nordiska museet?

Kompletterande frågor:

- Hur arbetar ni med samiskt material och med den samiska befolkningen? Hur förs dialog, finns det en struktur och kan ni relatera ert material till olika samiska grupper – för ni då dialog direkt med dem?

Ja det är möjligt att relatera föremålen till olika samiska områden, dock inte alltid.

Vi har inte någon dialog i organiserad form. Men när vi får förfrågningar är vår strävan alltid att vägleda frågeställarna in i samlingarna, bland annat via databaser och arkiv och eventuellt även ordna med besök i föremålsmagasin.

I samband med att museet utarbetade utställningen "Sápmi – om att vara same i Sverige" för lite drygt 10 år sedan, valde vi att knyta en referensgrupp med representanter för olika samiska organisationer till utställningsarbetet.

Museet har även kontakt med Ájtte i olika frågor.

Norsk Folkemuseum Káren Elle Gaup, konservator 2018-04-19

Hei

Så fint at noen engasjerer seg i konserveringsproblematikken som omhandler urfolk, og her samer. Det finnes svært få samer som har tatt konserveringsutdanning og dermed kunne bidratt til å belyse de metodene og utfordringene som ligger i behandling av samisk gjenstandsmateriale. Personlig synes jeg at det bør åpnes opp for å ta inn samisk kulturforståelse i konserveringsutdanningen, og i håndtering av samisk og urfolksmateriale. Det vil gi et tryggere grunnlag for de som jobber med slikt materiale til å håndtere de. Og selvfølgelig, det hadde vært ideelt at den som er konservator for en urfolkssamling, har noe kunnskap om den kulturen og historien. Det vil nok underlette formidlingen, samtidig som man også skaper en større autoritet i formidlingen av den. På de samiske museene i Norge er nok de fleste ansatte samer, og har dermed den nødvendige kunnskap om gjenstandsmaterialet. Men dessverre er det svært få (totalt i Finland, Sverige og Norge) samer som har en konserveringsfaglig utdanning, og i Bååstede prosjektet har konservatorene bidratt med råd og veiledning til de samiske museene om gjenstandshåndtering, på generelt grunnlag. Håper du får nok svar fra museene slik at du får et godt empirigrunnlag for dine studier.

Med vennlig hilsen / Dearvuodaiguin

- Vem är du och var jobbar du och vad är din roll?

Káren Elle Gaup og er prosjektleder for "Bååstede – tilbakeføring av samisk kulturarv", som er et nasjonalt prosjekt i Norge, mellom Norsk Folkemuseum, Kulturhistorisk museum og Sametinget, samt de 6 konsoliderte samiske museumsenhetene (12 museer) i Norge.

- Har ni samiskt material i era samlingar?

Ja *Ja, cirka 4200 gjenstander. Eierskapet til samlingen er Norsk Folkemuseum og Kulturhistorisk Museum i Oslo (KHM). Det meste av denne samlingen ble i 1951 overført fra Universitetets Etnografiske museum (nå: Kulturhistorisk museum) til Norsk Folkemuseum.*

- Har ni någon koordinatör för Samerelaterade frågor (liason officer).

Ja *Ja, en konservator for urfolks- og minoritetssaker, og vedkommende har ansvar for den samiske samlingen på Folkemuseet.*

- Har ni någon samisk personal som hanterar det samiska materialet och/eller länkar mellan samlingar och Samer.

Ja *I prosjekt Bååstede har det vært engasjert objektkonservator siden juni 2015 i 100 % stilling. Ingen av de som har hatt den stillingen er samer. Og ingen på konserveringsavdelingen på Norsk Folkemuseum og Kulturhistorisk museum er samer.*

- Har ni uttalade och/eller dokumenterade anvisningar för hur samiskt material ska hanteras?

Nej. *Det finnes ikke slike anvisninger på Folkemuseet.*

- Anser ni att man bör skilja mer på Samiskt och Svenskt för att komma upp på en nivå där Samer har kontroll över sitt kulturarv eller är det rimligt att materialet fortsatt är integrerat i det nationella kulturarvet?

Ja- *Ja, i den grad det er mulig å innlemme samisk kultur- og gjenstandsforståelse i den praksis som konserveringsavdelingen på Folkemuseet utfører sine oppgaver.*

- Är allt samiskt material tillgängligt för Samer? På ex. Nya Zeeland har Maori kulturell rätt till allt material oavsett legalt ägande vilket även definieras av muser i deras etiska och nationella rättsliga principer.

Ja- *alle har mulighet, på grunnlag av søknad, om å få se på gjesntander i studiesammenheng.*

- Har Samer generellt några åsikter om hur materialet bör konserveras, förvaras och hanteras?

Ja. *Dette gjelder spesielt tekstil, skinn og horn/bein – som er naturmaterialer. Samer har en lang tradisjon i å bruke denne typen ressurser; uttak, håndtering, behandling og tilvirkning av produkter fra disse materialene. Dette inkluderer også vedlikehold av disse produktene, som det finnes ulike typer metoder for – som i størst grad er bruk av ulike typer naturmaterialer.*

Norrbottens Museum, Lars Backman, arkeolog, 2018-04-26

- Vem är du och var jobbar du och vad är din roll?

Lars Backman, Norrbottens museum (Luleå). Arkeolog både i fält och med samlingarna

- Har ni samiskt material i era samlingar?

Ja

- Har ni någon koordinator för Samerelaterade frågor (liason officer).

Nej

Kommentar: Museet har en referensgrupp i samiska frågor och arbetar i övrigt nära alla möjliga inkl samiska organisationer och privatpersoner i länet i olika frågor.

- Har ni någon samisk personal som hanterar det samiska materialet och/eller länkar mellan samlingar och samer.

Kommentar: Förstår inte riktigt frågan. All personal som hanterar samlingarna gör det enligt professionell standard och med hög kvalitet oberoende av deras ursprung. Vi vill inte ha en värld där enbart samer får studera eller arbeta med den samiska historien, enbart svenskar den svenska etc.

Vem är same och vem avgör?

- Har ni uttalade och/eller dokumenterade anvisningar för hur samiskt material ska hanteras?

Nej Nej

Kommentar: Allt i samlingarna tas om hand efter typ av material tex trä, metall, textil. Även föremålets tillstånd avgör behandlingen.

- Anser ni att man bör skilja mer på samiskt och svenskt för att komma upp på en nivå där samer har kontroll över sitt kulturarv eller är det rimligt att materialet fortsatt är integrerat i det nationella kulturarvet?

Kommentar: Förstår inte frågan riktigt. Den samiska historien är en del av den svenska (norska, finska etc.) historien.

- Är allt samiskt material tillgängligt för samer? På ex. Nya Zeeland har Maori kulturell rätt till allt material oavsett legalt ägande vilket även definieras av muser i deras etiska och nationella rättsliga principer.

Kommentar: Förstår inte frågan riktigt. Vi är ett länsmuseum och allt vårt material är tillgängligt för hela allmänheten.

- Har samer generellt några åsikter om hur materialet bör konserveras, förvaras och hanteras?

Kommentar: Inga sådana åsikter har framförts.

- Händer det att ni går längre vad det gäller rengöring, stabilisering, rekonstruktion för att föremålet ska vara brukbart och/eller representativt i en kulturell funktion.

Kommentar: De åtgärder som görs bestäms av föremålets skick, proveniens och liknande. Syftar frågan på särbehandling av samiska föremål? Idag "rekonstrueras" inte föremål för att vara brukbara, vilket tidigare har hänt. Men ingen skillnad mellan samiska föremål och andra. "Representativt i en kulturell funktion"?

Kompletterande frågor:

- Anser du att det finns stöd för intendent/konservatorer som jobbar med samiskt material i exempelvis konservatorutbildning, kollegialt, i etiska ramverk så som ICOM, ICOMOS, E.C.C.O eller liknande? Använder ni några särskilda dokument för att beskriva er verksamhet och ert ansvar.

Allt material bör väl behandlas lika värdsamt och i enlighet med gällande lagar, förordningar och konventioner.

- Finns det behov av en lagstiftad särskiljning från övrigt material (ex Svenskt) eller fungerar t.ex KLM och den statliga fyndfördelningsprincipen – Ajtte har väl t.ex inte automatisk fyndfördelning av all samiskt material.

Förstår inte frågan riktigt. Hur ska vi skilja materialen? Tex Ajtte har ingen stående fyndfördelning eftersom de inte sökt någon. Vad är samiskt material? Man bör inte överdriva skillnaderna enbart i syfte att skilja dem åt.

- Hur stor vikt lägger ni vid kulturellt ägande i relation till legalt ägande?

Förstår inte frågan riktigt. Museets samlingar är ju i allmän ägo.

- Hur arbetar ni med samiskt material och med den samiska befolkningen? Hur förs dialog, finns det en struktur och kan ni relatera ert material till olika samiska grupper – för ni då dialog direkt med dem?

Museet har som nämnts en samisk referensgrupp. I olika utställnings/pedagogiska projekt arbetas det med olika samiska grupper och enskilda beroende på ämne. I kulturmiljöfrågor samarbetas med övriga museer på Nordkalotten inkl de samiska och enskilda samt organisationer beroende på vad projektet gäller.

- Vad anser ni att konservatorer har för roll och ansvar gentemot den samiska befolkningen och materialet?

Att göra ett professionellt arbete. Följa lagstiftning och konventioner. Vi har tyvärr inte någon konservator anställd hos oss.

Världskulturmuseet, (i samband med intervju av) Adriana Muñoz, arkeolog, 2018-04-20

- Vem är du och var jobbar du och vad är din roll?

Adriana Munoz – Arkeolog på Världskulturmuseet i Göteborg. Jobbar med samlingar och har jobbat med frågor som berör repatriering och hantering av material från ursprungsfolk. Jobbade ihop med Ajtte i projektet Recalling Ancestral Voices. I samband med projektet "sakernas tillstånd" dokumenterades allt material på Världskulturmuseet. I projekten ingick frågor som vad man bör göra med föremål med kolonialt trauma. Även om man inte ska generalisera om ursprungsfolk så var alla inbjudna överens om känslan inför det som hänt dem i kolonialiseringsprocesserna.

- Har ni samiskt material i era samlingar?

Ja – Materialet kommer framför allt från en samling från Kolahalvön (Gustav Hellström) samt en liten samling från Jokkmokk (Bovallius).

- Har ni någon koordinator för Samerelaterade frågor (liason officer).

Nej – VM har haft en liason officer för generella frågor som rör relationer med ursprungsfolk, man har det inte längre

Kommentar: Det fungerade inte jättebra

- Har ni någon samisk personal som hanterar det samiska materialet och/eller länkar mellan samlingar och samer.

Nej – Adriana tycker det vore bra och lämpligt att museer med större samlingar hade det.

Kommentar: De samarbetar mycket med Ajtte i samiska frågor.

- Har ni uttalade och/eller dokumenterade anvisningar för hur samiskt material ska hanteras?

Nej

Kommentar: Vi har inte fått några önskemål ifrån samer för hur materialet ska hanteras, om mvi fick det skulle vi säker följa dem. En samling hanteras annorlunda på VM (förutom allt humanosteologiskt) En liten samling från Dakota indianerna i Nordamerika förvaras samlad och övertäckt. Hantering och avtäckning sker endast efter det att tillstånd givits av Dakota indianerna.

- Anser ni att man bör skilja mer på samiskt och svenskt för att komma upp på en nivå där samer har kontroll över sitt kulturarv eller är det rimligt att materialet fortsatt är integrerat i det nationella kulturarvet?

Kanske -

Kommentar: Adriana menar att samhället idag och nyttjandet av samlingar, utställningsverksamhet är väldigt fokuserade på individen och individens relation till sin egen och andras kulturer. Att definiera sig själv och kultur är kanske inte centralt. Men kanske behöver vi definiera samernas rättigheter, de är stolta över att vara samer. Samtidigt så bemöts de ofta kollektivt. Denna relation mellan individer (ex antikvarie, konservator) och kollektiv ger en maktposition. Samtidigt kan så klart kollektivet också innebära en maktfaktor om man agerar i gemensam sak. Föremålen anges i databaser etc utifrån vem som samlat in dem och att de är samiska, ofta utan ytterligare information eller analys.

- Är allt samiskt material tillgängligt för samer? På ex. Nya Zeeland har Maori kulturell rätt till allt material oavsett legalt ägande vilket även definieras av muser i deras etiska och nationella rättsliga principer.

Ja

Kommentar: Materialet i dagens samlingar kan vara svårsökt trots viss digitalisering, det finns generellt väldigt lite information kopplat till föremålen

- Har Samer generellt några åsikter om hur materialet bör konserveras, förvaras och hanteras?

Nej

- Händer det att ni går längre vad det gäller rengöring, stabilisering, rekonstruktion för att föremålet ska vara brukbart och/eller representativt i en kulturell funktion. Finns det i så fall någon publikation/artikel/rapport som beskriver detta?

Nej – Vi gör generellt så lite som möjligt. Har inte blivit konfronterade med sådana förfrågningar eller krav.

Kommentar: *Tid, vi har inte tid att hantera eller vårda materialet, vi har bara tid med preventivt arbete. Vi kan inte så mycket om våra samlingar och vi har inte tid att bygga på kunskap. Betydelse och historia glöms och materialet blir mer och mer döda objekt.*

Kompletterande frågor:

- Anser du att det finns stöd för intendent/konservatorer som jobbar med samiskt material i exempelvis konservatorutbildning, kollegialt, i etiska ramverk så som ICOM, ICOMOS, E.C.C.O eller liknande? Använder ni några särskilda dokument för att beskriva er verksamhet och ert ansvar.

Världskulturmuseerna jobbar med etiska riktlinjer och riktlinjer för repatriering, dessa kommer att vara officiella och ligga på hemsida etc.

- Hur arbetar ni med samiskt material och med den samiska befolkningen? Hur förs dialog, finns det en struktur och kan ni relatera ert material till olika samiska grupper – för ni då dialog direkt med dem?

Vi samarbetar med Ajtte

- Vad anser ni att konservatorer har för roll och ansvar gentemot den samiska befolkningen och materialet?

Inte konservator - Kommunikation och öppenhet är viktigare än generella riktlinjer, att skapa relationer.

Samtal: *Vi har lättare att hantera andra länders kulturarv då det rent politiskt finns en tydligare struktur. Repatriering kan inte ske mellan folk utan måste ske mellan stater. Materialet på VM är generellt uppdelat efter material inte tillhörighet. Detta för den preventiva och klimatstyrda vården.*

Etisk separation av mänskliga kvarlevor samt samling från Dakota indianer. Täckta med röd textil.

Initialt jobbade VM mycket med etiska frågor men sedan det blev statligt är det helt beroende på regeringsuppdraget. Samlingsavdelningen jobbar idag mer med kommunikation och öppenhet än tidigare. Endel föremål har på eget initiativ tagits ur utställningar då det inte känts etiskt att presentera dem eller att kontexten känts fel. De har dock inte fått yttre krav på förändringar vad det gäller specifika material. Konflikter och repatriering är dyrt. VM undviker enligt sitt uppdrag att provocera, man undviker att ställa ut eller framhålla material som kan leda till processer. Många av föremålen står för ett kolonialt trauma, är resultat av en brottslig handling som är preskriberad.

Statens Historiska Museum, Elisabet Regner, enhetschef, 2018-05-04

- Vem är du och var jobbar du och vad är din roll?

Enkäten är sammanställd av Elisabet Regner, enhetschef, enheten för de arkeologiska samlingarna, Statens historiska museer. Svaren har tagits fram tillsammans med 1:e antikvarie Gunnar Andersson, 1:e konservator Jennie Arvidsson, intendent Andreas Olsson, intendent Sofia Nestor, konservator Ann Hallström, 1:e antikvarie Johnny Karlsson.

- Har ni samiskt material i era samlingar?

Ja. Historiska museet, Livrustkammaren och Sko klostets samlingar innehåller samiska föremål (Lrk & Sko har även material från andra ursprungsbefolkningar)

- Har ni någon koordinator för Samerelaterade frågor (liason officer).

Nej

- Har ni någon samisk personal som hanterar det samiska materialet och/eller länkar mellan samlingar och samer.

Ja: Myndigheten arbetar i dialog med Åjtte, och i förekommande fall med enskilda personer med specialkompetens om det samiska.

- Har ni uttalade och/eller dokumenterade anvisningar för hur samiskt material ska hanteras?

För humanosteologiskt material från minoritetsgrupper och ursprungsbefolkningar finns särskilda anvisningar för utställning och forskning där SHM följer ICOM:s etiska föreskrifter. Samråd ska i största möjliga utsträckning ske med berörda organisationer respektive efterlevande. För föremål gäller samma regler och förhållningssätt oavsett proveniens eller kontext.

- Anser ni att man bör skilja mer på samiskt och svenskt för att komma upp på en nivå där Samer har kontroll över sitt kulturarv eller är det rimligt att materialet fortsatt är integrerat i det nationella kulturarvet?

Kommentar: Hela det kulturarv som förvaltas i våra samlingar ska vara sökbart och tillgängligt för alla. Det samiska är idag tillgängligt på samma sätt som andra delar av samlingen. Om samiskt och svenskt ska skiljas åt mer är en fråga som ligger på myndighetsnivå.

- Är allt samiskt material tillgängligt för samer?

Ja Våra samlingar är idag tillgängliga för alla, men föremålen ska hanteras som museiföremål och därmed inte för vilka ändamål som helst. Enskilda har möjlighet att besöka samlingarna och studera de föremål som finns magasinerade, och föremålen kan göras mer tillgängliga lokalt genom utlån till andra museer som t ex Åjtte. På så sätt kan man säga att allt samiskt material (liksom förstås icke-samiskt material) som förvaltas av SHM är tillgängligt för samer.

- Har samer generellt några åsikter om hur materialet bör konserveras, förvaras och hanteras?

Kommentar: Vi har inte stött på detta, men det vore intressant att veta om sådana önskemål finns. Utifrån hur Åjtte förvarar vissa delar av sin samling skulle Historiska museet kunna göra förändringar för enstaka föremål i samlingen

- Händer det att ni går längre vad det gäller rengöring, stabilisering, rekonstruktion för att föremålet ska vara brukbart och/eller representativt i en kulturell funktion. Finns det i så fall någon publikation/artikel/rapport som beskriver detta?

Nej- I normalfallet betraktas våra föremål som museiföremål som inte ska brukas, oavsett proveniens. Detta styr även konserveringsinsatserna som ska vara så fåtaliga som möjligt för att inte styra tolkningsmöjligheter (reversibilitet).

Kompletterande frågor:

- Anser du att det finns stöd för intendent/konservatorer som jobbar med samiskt material i exempelvis konservatorutbildning, kollegialt, i etiska ramverk så som ICOM, ICOMOS, E.C.C.O eller liknande? Använder ni några särskilda dokument för att beskriva er verksamhet och ert ansvar.

Svar: I vår verksamhet används ICOMS etiska regler som generellt ramverk, medan dialog förs med Ajtte rörande specifika frågor.

- Hur arbetar ni med samiskt material och med den samiska befolkningen? Hur förs dialog, finns det en struktur och kan ni relatera ert material till olika samiska grupper – för ni då dialog direkt med dem?

Svar: Vid behov förs i ett första led dialog med Ajtte, som är en motsvarig part som representerar det samiska perspektivet och som vid behov hänvisar vidare. Detta har gjorts när behov uppstår.

- Vad anser ni att konservatorn har för roll och ansvar gentemot den samiska befolkningen och materialet?

Svar: Den centrala uppgiften är att vårda och bevara, och att inte använda metoder som leder till förvanskning. Man ska vara medveten om att föremålen ska kunna fortsätta att studeras.