

Can we make a difference?

Critical analysis of the results of the expert meeting 'Museums, Society & Development'

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Introduction

The National Museum of Mali in Bamako organizes Thursday afternoon concerts in its gardens. They carefully omit the word 'museum' in the marketing of the concerts, because that would deter a local audience. The new ethnographic museum in Gothenburg, Sweden, has done away with the term 'ethnographic'. It adopted the name 'Museum of World Culture'. It does not have a permanent exhibition anymore and many areas have been devoted to spaces for concerts, meetings and other means to involve the community. It is still called a museum, but it sees itself as 'a meeting place for dialogue'.

These are two examples of ethnographic museums that struggle with their burden, the common burden of a colonial history. They reflect the crisis of the ethnographic museum. It is a crisis that questions the very existence of these museums. But since they are still there, their staff struggle with the question 'can we make a difference'? At the recently held conference on Museums, Society and Development (15-17 May 2008), ten young and upcoming museum professionals from Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America gathered in the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam to reflect on that question.

Background

The role of museums is increasingly under public scrutiny, both in Europe and in countries in the South. The Royal Tropical Institute of the Netherlands (in cooperation with the German NGO CulturCooperation) organised an Expert Meeting on Museums, Society & Development. The meeting concentrated on ethnographic museums in Europe and their counterparts in the South, whose ethnographic collections are often housed in National Museums. These institutions often have a broader scope than just ethnography. What these types of museums do share is a founding history that relates to the colonial past, and the challenge to find ways to get beyond the institutional format and find new relevance for society.

In Europe this means: responding to changing populations and expectations, taking a position in debates around illicit trade, repatriation of collections and the ethics of (re-)presentation. In the South the debate revolves around the role museums play in national development: museums are challenged to contribute to the solution of problems ranging from conflict resolution to poverty reduction. In both Europe and the South an important issue is community involvement and reaching target groups. Even if we have our policies in order, does anybody care? Do museums attract audiences; do they play a role in public debate?

Questions

The topic of the Expert Meeting was the role of these museums within their society. Do they play a role? Which one(s) should they play? For European museums the question is whether it is enough for them to come to terms with their past and find ways to deal with the heritage in their custody. Or should they use the heritage to play a role in current debates on ethnicity and the multicultural society? And do they have a responsibility towards their counterparts in the South? If so, which?

For museums in the South the question is whether they should serve to enhance national prestige and help to form the identity of the nation, or critically examine the past. Should

they play a role in current debates around ethnicity and politics in their own country? Or should they orient themselves towards the future, making an active contribution to the development of the nation?

One of the participants, Paula dos Santos, devoted her paper to the very way of phrasing the questions by the organizers of the conference: why should museums in the South play a role in national development and should museums in the North only think about access and representation? Don't we all have problems? (as the title of her paper reads). According to her, museums in the North also have a role to play in the development of their own society.

These questions are not new in either Europe or the South; museums have been discussing them for years. We are interested to see whether there have been any tangible results. Can museums really make a difference within their own community or nation? Do museums matter?

The format

The Expert Meeting consisted of twenty participants working in museums and related cultural heritage institutions, evenly distributed between Europe and 'the South'. Their profile: young and upcoming museum professionals with a broad intellectual view. The Expert Meeting was followed by a symposium at the Reinwardt Academy for Museology in Amsterdam. At the symposium about seventy museum- and other heritage professionals drawn from various institutions in the Netherlands and neighbouring countries, engaged in a debate with the participants of the Expert Meeting.

The meeting was the end result of a much longer process of consultation and on-line discussion in a so-called D-group, which was carried out from April 2007 to February 2008. The topics of the conference were established through these internet discussions. An initial 25 professionals who met the profile were invited to participate in a first round of discussion. At a later stage one more round of discussions followed. This eventually led to the invitation of papers from a selected number of participants of the D-group. The participants were first asked to write a short note introducing themselves to the D-Group. This virtual chat room also had a special 'Resources' section, in which articles and papers written by participants were posted, as well as links to exhibitions or other cultural projects on which they are working.

One of the goals of this initiative was to create a new virtual community of young museum professionals. The idea was to offer the participants, through the D-Group and the Expert Meeting, a chance to become more familiar with each others work and research interests. The other goal is to share their combined knowledge with other colleagues in the field by means of a publication that will follow later this year, in which the papers and the results of the meeting will be published.

Results

The crisis of the ethnographic museum can lead to guilt-ridden soul-searching, but it can also lead to interesting philosophical debate. The meeting in Amsterdam basically centered around the question 'what is a museum'? It was organised around three topics, which will also organize the remainder of this paper.

Results of the expert meeting – highlights of the papers and the discussions.

1 Community participation and ownership of the museological processes

Topics for discussion:

In many countries, museums are not a part of the cultural vocabulary. The traditional concept of a museum as a 'storehouse for cultural treasures' does not speak to these communities. How do you engage a community when its members do not come to your museum?

What are our experiences with museums as active cultural centers/agents? What is the role of collections? What does it mean to focus on the preservation and even revitalization of traditional forms of craftsmanship as well as immaterial cultural expression (dance, theatre, song, story-telling, etc.). Is this what indeed is going on and how do you think about this?

Philip Segadika - Head of Archaeology and Monuments division of the National Museum, Botswana

Philip describes the grand scheme of the Botswana government to develop 10 site museums and 10 site offices and revamp the National Museum in Gaborone. 'The key issue is how well these developments will entail community participation and ownership.' He describes the history of museums in his country (all of them post-independence) and his own task of reviewing the pre-history section in the national museum. It was decided that the public must be involved in the review of the galleries, that the exhibitions needed to add value to the national visions and to have 'inclusive' interpretations, respecting multiple views. A questionnaire revealed that 70% of visitors found the information on prehistory offensive to their religions. Christian fanatics spray painted 'Jesus is coming soon' at a cave feared for mystical powers. It was decided that faith based and traditional viewpoints must be reflected with dignity alongside the scientific view.

Philip also offers a description of the Tsodilo site museum, where local stories and experiences are displayed together with those of the researchers. A festival is held each year in which the local community can 'talk back'. And the community is economically involved: 60% of the adult population (of 200) derive their livelihoods from the site. Philip concludes that museums everywhere must identify what makes them relevant. 'Sometimes the work may be uncomfortable for us', meaning the researchers who have been raised in a positivist/scientific way of thinking, who suddenly have to share power and ownership of the museological process with the community. 'With Botswana's envisaged revolutionary building of 20 site museums and site offices in the next 5 years, the time is now for research into community involvement on what is proposed for content and management'.

In the discussion about his paper the question was raised whether the Botswana museums were in a better position to avoid the pitfalls of a colonial legacy, since all museums date from the post-colonial era. Philip: although Botswana only established its first museum after independence (in 1967), the concept was imported wholesale. It has been a missed opportunity to make something different from the colonial institutions in the rest of Africa. A chair that was used by Queen Victoria was one of the first objects to be acquired. The Tswana were represented as 'the other' in their own museum. The current grand scheme of the Botswana government to develop 20 new site museums and offices and revamp the national museum in only 5 years time brings with it the risk that this can only be realized by importing foreign materials and expertise on a large scale.

Sophie Mew – SOAS (School of Oriental and African Studies), London, UK

Sophie describes the history and the current situation of museums in Ghana and Mali. She cites the advice that Ben Enwonwu, a young Nigerian sculptor and art historian studying in London wrote in the 1940's on the establishment of museums in West-Africa. It is probably one of the first recorded 'local' inputs in the still ongoing discussion on 'what museums for Africa?' 'Old art objects which the Nigerian government wishes to preserve (...) look dead in foreign museums (..) because they are placed in the wrong atmosphere (...) Their powers of mystery and ritual have been cut off'. His report was discounted: a museum was not meant to be a spiritual institution, but an educational institution, according to the responsible Europeans at that time.

In the current situation Sophie describes attempts at community participation of the National Museum in Bamako, Mali, like organizing the Thursday concerts. She also describes the Culture Bank initiative in the Dogon region of Mali, a widely publicized example. It started with the initiative of a US Peace Corps worker in Fombori village, who observed that the poverty in the region induced people to sell off their heirlooms and archeological artefacts that could be found in the region. To alleviate both problems a Culture Bank was founded, with assistance of the World Bank. Any member of the community can bring an object to the Culture Bank and receive a small credit in return, which can be invested in their – usually agricultural – enterprise. The amount of money you receive is directly related to the amount of information you are able to provide (to be evaluated by a local committee). Primary objective is to safeguard the heritage from looting and trade. There are now four Culture Banks in Mali, the newest has a cultural centre: a café, a theatre, but also classes for soap-making etc. The concept progresses. Making money is not the only goal: acquiring new skills is another.

Novia Sagita - Yayasan KOBUS Center (Information and Advice for the Culture of West Kalimantan), Indonesia

Novia describes a project to strengthen the revival of traditional *ikat* weaving. It is a cooperative, which provides the members with a supplementary income, but also stimulates research. 'It is considered urgent research, since many worry that knowledge about the *ikat* weaving tradition will soon be lost if not recorded. During her research she concludes: 'The museum community itself does not exist within a building'; 'Every time I enter a weaver's house in the villages, I feel like entering a museum!' and: 'We should work collaboratively with local people to create an institution that integrates the community, since it is the community itself who owns the culture and all of the resources'. The whole paper is in fact a plea for an eco-museum approach to preserve cultural heritage, although she never mentions the term.

The three case studies describe examples in three widely different countries and with a completely different time frame: in West-Africa museums were established in the colonial period (1950's mostly) and their concepts debated as early as 1916. In Botswana museums date from the post-colonial period and in Sintang the first museum is being built now, in 2008. In West-Africa already in the 1940's a Nigerian warned for museums in which 'old art objects from Nigeria would look dead'. In 2008 Sintang Novia Sagita sends out a similar warning: 'I have come to realize that the current style of top down museum management practices are not ideal for our community, because this approach does not provide the community with a sense of belonging or being integrated in the museum'. That brings us back to the question 'what is a museum?'

A museum is not necessarily a building with objects that are disconnected from their context, as Hugues de Varine already advocated in the 1970's. He coined the term eco-museum / *écomusée*. 'The term *éco* is a shortened term for *écologie*, but it refers especially to a new idea of holistic interpretation of cultural heritage, in opposition to the focus on specific items and objects, performed by traditional museums' (Peter Davis, 1999. In an eco-museum you may use all the heritage in the community, tangible, intangible, movable and immovable. It is first and foremost of and for the community: they take control, they decide on priorities. And in eco-museums the heritage is always

used as a means to an end: social cohesion, education or economic development. It provides a conceptual umbrella for initiatives as widely different as the Culture Bank in Fombori, the *ikat* cooperative in Sintang and the economic involvement of the community in Tsodilo.

What is also interesting in the case-studies is the distinction between community development and audience development. *Audience development* is about attracting audiences to the museum or the site, often with other means than exhibitions like festivals and concerts. *Community development* means responding to the needs of the community, needs which are often not primarily cultural, but economic. It would be interesting to further explore the commonalities and differences between audience and community development, both conceptually and in practice.

2 Museums as institutions about others and ourselves

Topics for discussion:

Established museums are dealing with problems associated with re-interpreting older, often colonial collections which were assembled and presented from a different mindset/perspective than now. Newer museums still tend to be designed according to Western museum models.

How important is it for our museums to examine the relationship between the objects, memories and identities of both past and present populations, in order to better reflect on both the historical and contemporary changes in society? What are the experiences with either openly or implicitly discussing histories of both the museum and its collections, as well as the intentions of those who originally collected for them?

Adriana Muñoz - Curator Latin America, Museum of World Culture in Göteborg, Sweden

Adriana describes the contested Bolivian collections in the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg, Sweden, where she is a curator. The Bolivian government of Evo Morales revives the old Indian heritage as national symbols and demands repatriation of the Bolivian collections in Gothenburg. Just at a time when there is a sizeable Bolivian community in Gothenburg who were to be engaged with these collections. Adriana seeks a way out of the dilemma: 'I believe that museums can not keep their collections isolated from the owners, secluded from the current world, and hidden in storages that in many cases are closer to mausoleums than museum archives. Museums need to have some kind of policy where the re-interpretation of collections can be adapted to current situations around the world.' In her opinion the Museum of World Culture in Sweden concentrates its attention on changing the praxis of exhibitions (the public part of the museum) but tends to disregard the policies towards collections. 'The dream situation is to use collections (assemblage of objects) as a library (assemblage of books). If people are allowed access to museums, then they have to be entitled to engage fully with museum collections, helping museums to reflect on the intricate histories of their collections giving new voices which can be heard (Curtis 2006: 125).'

Daan van Dartel - Collection Researcher Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Daan describes the history of the Tropenmuseum and its contemporary policies and confronts it with examples of other present-day ethnographic museums. According to Daan, 'museums are quite random in nature'. They are themselves a product of historical and social circumstances. She describes different models that ethnographic museums follow, like the temple of treasures (Quai Branly, Paris) or being part of the 'universal museum' (British Museum, London). Another option is trying to put colonial collections in new perspectives by including e.g. popular culture and expressions of intangible culture in collections and presentations, like the Tropenmuseum (Amsterdam) attempts. 'This means juxtaposing globalization processes with singularisation processes'. 'Most interesting is a museum that holds several of these presentation choices together in its building'. In her conclusion she suggests to dedicate a gallery to a museum's own past, its changing function, development and reinterpretation of collections and at the same time 'show the process through which curatorial judgements were made, and that those judgements are contestable rather than final, and that there are other stories that are not included but might have been (Ricoeur in Karp and Kratz, 2000)'. This should stimulate the visitor's abilities for critical analysis.

Paula dos Santos - Lecturer theoretical museology at the Reinwardt Academy, Amsterdam, the Netherlands

Paula presents an extensive overview of the issues at hand in ethnographic museums today. She describes the roots of the crisis, the traditional strategies of representation, but also the solutions that are sought, from pluralism and self-representation to 'reflexive representation'. Her main argument is about museums and development. We take for granted that museums in the South seek ways to contribute to development, but it is not the first that comes to mind if we deal with museums in the North. But, as the title of her paper reads, 'Don't we all have problems?'. Museums in the North also have a role to play in the development of their own societies, especially in the fields of access, representation and participation. The Musée du Quai Branly in Paris 'adopts a *sympathetic* approach towards the 'other', largely neglecting source communities in their context, knowledge and input.' 'The Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg is able to employ a more *emphatic* approach to intercultural communication, that is, the attempt to understand one's perspectives and experiences from one's own frame of reference.'

Larissa Förster - Department of Social Anthropology; University of Cologne, Germany

Larissa discusses the dilemma's of ethnographic collecting. 'Strictly speaking, they (ethnographic museums) do not represent foreign cultures as they are, but only as they were. They are not museums about the other, they are at most museums about the history of the other, or even more accurately about our past encounters with and perceptions of the contemporary other.' She describes an interesting collecting programme of the Frankfurt Museum of World Cultures in Germany for 'objects that could only originate from the encounter between the global North and the global South'. She pleads for making the historic character of the objects *and their acquisition history* explicit. This comes very close to Daan's argument. Larissa mentions an interesting example from Gothenburg: the cooperation with the National Museum of Kenya around the theme of contemporary urban cultures.

The discussion about the museum in the North centered around access and representation. Adriana talks about improving access to collections by opening them up as libraries. Daan has a concrete suggestion to tackle the problem of implicit ideological notions: describe yourself before you describe others. Discussing access also means: who will visit your museum? Not only in qualitative terms (do we include all relevant communities?), but also quantitative (do we attract enough visitors?). What does it mean that a museum that does not seem to have taken into account any of the current ideological discussions - Quai Branly - is a huge success? Daan thinks it also deserves a place under the sun. 'I loved the Quai Branly, exactly because of its grandeur and because I expected to be dazzled in that way. For contextualized exhibitions on culture I will visit somewhere else'. Larissa discusses new museums that do try to renew the concept of an ethnological museum: the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg with no permanent exhibitions, nor regional departments, soon to be followed by the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum in Cologne, that will open the doors in its completely new set-up in 2009. A section dealing with the history of their own museum is also foreseen. The Überseemuseum in Bremen, Germany, opened 'Schaumagazin ÜbermaXX' in 1999, an open store room where the entire collection is on display for the visitor, with touch-screens to retrieve digital information on the collection. So both Adriana's and Daan's suggestions are already put to practice. How they function in practice and how they are appreciated by the public would be an interesting topic for future research and debate.

3 Citizenship, education and the needs of the community

Topics for discussion:

Should museums respond to the needs of the community, promoting themselves as political and educational tools? Is it possible for museums to effectively address social and developmental problems within the community? The issue of museum politics is two-sided: it deals with the socio-political role museums play in society and the influence of the political arena on museum policies.

Deniz Ünsal - Assistant Professor at the Department of Art Management, Istanbul Bilgi University,
Turkey

Deniz reads both Turkish and Dutch, knows both the Dutch and the Turkish museum world from the inside. She gives an overview of the Turkish museum history and arrives in the course of the paper at the neo-liberal reforms that hit both the Dutch welfare state and the Turkish statist economy. In the Netherlands this led to more business-like management of museums on the one hand and more demands from the state for social inclusion on the other ('which comes close to the 19th Century civilizing mission'). In Turkey private museums appear to reform the sector. 'All this for sure will change the relation of the public museum with its public. For if the state fails to surpass the distance between the two, the market will'. In the discussions she expanded on the risks of this private-sector reform of the museum sector. It is not the needs of the community that are central here, but the interests of a small elite.

Aghan Odero Agan - Zamaleo ACT, Nairobi, Kenya

Aghan voices a strong plea for re-valuating African heritage, using folklore for conflict resolution, which is badly needed, especially in the light of the recent experiences in Aghan's own country Kenya. He weaves traditional stories through his analysis. Africa should try to find itself again through re-appropriation of histories, values and practices for peace and reconciliation. In Africa, folklore is the living repository of the people's worldview and philosophies of life. Understanding must begin with proper unravelling of the indigenous traditions. Museums should step in and blend performed folklore with artifact collections to intervene for conflict resolution and peace building. African museums must be in the forefront of initiatives aimed at taking the continent through the journey of re-imagining itself.

Victoria Phiri - Keeper of Ethnography, Livingstone Museum, Zambia

Victoria describes how the Livingstone Museum in Zambia set up a programme to stimulate the use of vernacular languages and folklore for the fight against the HIV/AIDS epidemic that hit the country very hard. Foreign researchers have blamed aspects of the Zambian culture for creating a conducive environment for the epidemic to spread. But Victoria shows how the same culture can be used to fight it. She describes programs targeted primarily at adolescents, who are the highest risk group, but which indirectly also targets adults by making use of their skills and knowledge in traditions and culture. What is applied in the programs is: folktales, folk music, proverbs, traditional poetry and ethnographic objects.

Three different experiences from three widely different countries offer insights in the way museums can respond to the needs of the community. Deniz shows how the market will force the Turkish museum sector into new avenues, Aghan and Victoria give concrete examples of how museums can help fight real problems. Aghan describes folklore, in particular in the form of story-telling and peace-making, Victoria folklore and HIV/AIDS-prevention. In the discussion Victoria was questioned about the term 'folklore'. Isn't it a

descriptor of immaterial heritage: folk – lore? Victoria answered: 'if I see an object in my museum I do not see just its material form, it only exists as a carrier of meaning, of stories, of songs.' The discussion then centered around the question of how to avoid nostalgia when using folklore. Aghan's adaptation of traditional stories for television was seen as an innovative way to deal with this risk. Still, the question which target groups are reached and with what effect remains an interesting topic for further study.

Conclusions

The question that arches over most of the papers and the discussions that were held at the Expert Meeting is: 'what is a museum?' The traditional concept has outlived itself, especially in the field of ethnographic museums. Paula describes why the broader criticism toward museum's work and authority hits the ethnographic museum especially hard. 'The crisis of ethnographic museums combines old problems related to their colonial legacy and newer challenges generated by social transformations.'

The one central concern has become: how to respond to the needs of the community. These can be economic needs, resulting in initiatives like the Culture Bank in Mali or the *ikat* cooperative in Indonesia or in the integration of local communities in the economic spin-off of a heritage site, as we saw in Botswana. In other places there are other, maybe even more pressing needs. Fighting the HIV/AIDS epidemic for instance, as the Livingstone Museum attempts. Or peace-building in Kenya, as Aghan describes. The other central concern is: how to attract audiences. We saw how the museum in Bamako organizes concerts and the site museum in Tsodilo organizes festivals. We saw how initiatives were taken in different times and locations to prevent collections from looking 'dead' but instead to endow them with new meaning and new life. The role of intangible heritage is essential: according to Aghan museums should blend folklore with artifacts, according to Victoria an object only exists as a carrier of meaning, of stories and of songs. Audience development should go hand in hand with community development. Museums have an obligation to reach people, not necessarily the largest numbers, but at least those that they intend to reach, also when community development is their primary focus.

Then there is the issue of representation and inclusion. This is not restricted to European museums. Philip describes how a great majority of the Tswana people does not feel represented by the Botswana museums, mostly because of the exclusion of different views regarding the origin of man. In the museums of Europe the issue of representation is acute. 'The other has become the neighbour', as Adriana puts it. Paula calls for 'power-sharing', but admits that change is not a simple question. 'Museums are to share power with whom? How?' While the current practice in most museums is still the representation of the 'expert's view', we could at least start with putting Daan's suggestion to practice and make our own ideologies explicit.

Students of social sciences, at least since the 1970's, have been raised in a post-modernist discourse, being constantly reminded of their own biases. Especially in the social sciences the person of the researcher and his context always influence the outcomes of his research. As a person he carries his personal history, creating his own selectivity, bias and error. And there is his institutional context, the influence of his employer, the funder of his research and his intellectual colleagues (who are often the very source and audience for his research). Students are taught to make this context as explicit as possible to offer the reader at least some background against which to evaluate the outcomes of the research, irrespective of the methodology used. Although most people working in museums have been raised in this post-modern tradition of the social sciences, they tend to forget it as soon as they start making exhibitions. Museums could at least – as the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum is preparing – make an exhibition about themselves. But why not also provide a background of the people involved, from the collectors of the past to the curators of the present?

Already more than ten years ago Jan Nederveen Pieterse called for 'reflexive representation'. Paula summarizes his views as follows:

It is a means to use exhibitions for problematizing the politics of representation itself. That is, it is not about displaying the others, but instead "the relationship between selves and others, about the process and the logics of othering" (1997:135). This strategy

includes the questioning of the colonial matrix of ethnographic museums, "practicing anthropology in reverse" (1997:135), and carrying out artistic interventions to criticize and reflect on the mechanisms of exhibition strategies, such as the work of the US artist Fred Wilson. Reflexive representation is, according to Nederveen Pieterse (1997:136), also effective in terms of deconditioning viewers' stereotypes. Finally, according to Nederveen Pieterse, something that ethnographic museums fail to do in their efforts to be reflexive, is to address power of representation itself, that is, the framework of power in which they function. For instance, colonialism as a subject is often neglected – not only by the museums, but by Western societies as whole (Note: Some exceptions are found in exhibitions in the Museum of World Culture and the exhibition about colonial society at the Tropen Museum. Interesting is that the Dutch Institute of Slavery History and Heritage is located in front of the Tropen Museum).

The Tropenmuseum has indeed taken initiatives in this direction, but can and will explore it further in the years to come. We should however not forget that describing 'the other' is usually the best mirror to see 'the self'. As centuries of art history, literature and anthropology have shown: each description or depiction of 'the other' provides at least as much insight in the way of life of those that produce the images as in the way of life of those depicted. I would like to paraphrase Larissa and take her argument one step further: strictly speaking, ethnographic museums do not represent foreign cultures so much as they do their own cultures. They are not only museums about the other, they are also museums about ourselves.

Crisis, what crisis?

The ten papers and the discussions during the Expert Meeting have shown that ethnographic museums still do make a difference. In every part of the world there are individuals and institutions that try and find innovative ways to make heritage of the past relevant for the present. There are striking similarities in the dilemmas that confront ethnographic museums around the world. Issues of representation are not confined to museums in the North, but play as much a role in museums of the South. Another common challenge is how to play a role in development, that is: how to respond to the needs of the community in whose service the museum works.

Solutions can be found by thinking 'outside the box'. Letting go of traditional roles and functions of a museum and daring to embrace new ones. Heritage can be safeguarded in a Culture Bank or a cooperative, sometimes even better than in a museum. Collections can be put to use in a 'library' instead of hiding them away in a storeroom. Reflecting on the 'self' can be as interesting as reflecting on the 'other'. Entering a museum ground to listen to a concert or engage in a dialogue is as valid as looking at an object in a showcase. The ethnographic museum has a bright future, in North and South, as long as we do not cling to the term 'ethnographic' or the term 'museum'.