

Museum Diplomacy:

Developing cultural partnerships between New Zealand and China

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Abstract

Museums play an increasingly important role in cultural diplomacy. New Zealand cultural organisations support international objectives by assisting cultural exchange, increasing mutual understanding and connecting key players. However, the intersection between museum and government activity is often regarded with scepticism, stemming from a general antipathy towards instrumentalism in museum and cultural policy studies literature. This research draws on recent work by Nisbett (2013), which revealed how British cultural organisations inverted instrumentalism—the use of cultural ventures by governments to help achieve goals in other areas—to achieve their own goals. The literature suggests that British museums strategically promoted their cultural diplomacy activity to formulate cultural policy and expand the scale of their international activity. This provides a useful model for the New Zealand cultural sector to build on, in its unique environment.

This dissertation addresses this gap in the literature by investigating the intersection of museum and government activity between New Zealand and China. Through a case study of the partnership between Te Papa and the National Museum of China the research explored the state of cultural organisation partnerships, and assessed to what extent museums benefit by acting instrumentally. Interviews were conducted with ten cultural sector professionals and grounded theory was used to analyse the data.

This research found that New Zealand's national museum positioned itself as willing and able to engage in cultural diplomacy activity, in order to develop its international activity, and offer benefits in return to its principal funder, the government. Results suggested that while the museum has not utilised instrumentalism to impact cultural policy in New Zealand, there is scope to develop this. Consequently, the research identifies an emerging area in museum practice, 'museum diplomacy', which I define as the developing practice of intersecting activity between international museum work and state-sponsored cultural diplomacy. The research contributes to museum and cultural policy studies literature by producing modest, yet original data about museum partnerships and cultural diplomacy in New Zealand, and provides insights for government and the cultural sector in international cultural partnerships. It echoes the critical view of the disjuncture between museum theory, policy and practice, and concludes by discussing some recommendations and calling for further research to be conducted on museum diplomacy.

Abbreviations

CEO – Chief Executive Officer

CM – Colonial Museum

Board – Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Board

DCC – Dunedin City Council

DM – Dominion Museum

MCH – Ministry for Culture and Heritage

MoU – Memorandum of Understanding

NM – National Museum

NAG – National Art Gallery

NMC – National Museum of China

NLNZ – National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa

NLC – National Library of China

NZ – New Zealand

NZAFA – New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts

MFAT – Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade

OCC – Otago Chamber of Commerce

OM – Otago Museum

PRC – People's Republic of China

ROC – Republic of China

SM – Shanghai Museum

TP – Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

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Introduction

A Symbol of Friendship

‘There is quite an interesting story about cultural diplomacy I can tell you’, said Liz Hay of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (TP). As part of the relationship building between the two museums, delegations from TP and the National Museum of China (NMC) each made several visits between Aotearoa New Zealand (NZ) and People’s Republic of China (China) in 2011 and 2012 to meet, face to face. Deputy Director Chen of NMC travelled to TP twice, as part of a delegation. On their first visit, NMC staff were received on TP’s Marae with a traditional Māori powhiri, ceremonially welcoming the guests. Museum staff told the Chinese delegation that the incoming party would usually sing a waiata, as part of the cultural practice. Deputy Director Chen said, “‘We are not comfortable to do that’, so TP said ‘okay because we don’t impose things’”.

By the time Deputy Director Chen next visited TP the relationship had developed. TP staff had grown to know their colleagues from NMC. Deputy Director Chen himself is a respected artist; TP staff arranged a surprise. On a tour of TP that featured the art galleries including contemporary art and photography, the party was shown the centrepiece work exhibited at the New Zealand Pavilion of the 2011 Venice Biennale, *He Korero Purakau mo Te Awanui o Te Motu: story of a New Zealand river*. The extraordinary artwork by artist Michael Parekowhai is an intricately carved, red Steinway concert grand piano. As the NMC delegation was escorted into the gallery, they were met by music. A TP staff member was playing the piano accompanied by another staff member, singing a famous Chinese love song, ‘Jasmine Flower’. Hay recalled ‘it was this aesthetic, beautiful music in a beautiful gallery with such an extraordinary artwork. Deputy Director Chen was absolutely blown away. So we were always doing things that were creative to build relationships’. The cultural partnerships between NZ and China are infused with anecdotes like this. The strength of the relationships between the two nations is supported by these gestures of friendship and understanding, carried out by the cultural organisations of NZ and China.

Introduction

Relationships between museums and governments can be complex, and differing values in museums and politics may cause tension. Museums can be seen as ideal organisations to support cultural diplomacy objectives because they are public organisations that display and promote culture.¹ Ethically, museums aim to collect, exhibit and interpret unbiased content, and being associated with government agendas may compromise an organisation's values and intellectual integrity.² Critics express valid concerns about the problematic expropriation of cultural organisations that are too closely involved with government objectives.³ Nevertheless, it is likely that museums involvement in cultural diplomacy will continue.⁴ In part, this phenomenon stems from globalisation, which has increased tourism and trade and generally compelled further economic and cultural interdependence between countries.⁵ The motivation to develop cultural understanding is even more important during periods of global unrest; this is evident in the refugee crisis in Europe and increasing tension between the West and the Middle East.⁶ In this dynamic environment, museums play an important role in building and maintaining relationships between nations.⁷ State-sponsored museum activities are a tangible product of a complex interaction between museums and governments. However, due to the difficulty of measuring its effects, there have been few critical studies of cultural diplomacy in the field of museum studies, internationally or in NZ.

¹ Melissa A. Johnson and William Sink, 'Ethnic Museum Public Relations: Cultural diplomacy and cultural intermediaries in the digital age', *Public Relations Inquiry* 2:3 (2013): 355.

² Melissa Nisbett, 'Protection, Survival and Growth: An analysis of international policy documents', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 19:1 (2013): 85.

³ Tiffany Jenkins, 'Why should artists be agents for the government?' *The Independent*, 28 February 2007, 30.

⁴ Melissa Nisbett, 'New Perspectives on Instrumentalism: An empirical study of cultural diplomacy', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 19:5 (2013): 558.

⁵ Henrik Zipsane, 'Instrumentalism in Heritage Learning', *Museum International* 63:1-2 (2011): 130-39.

⁶ Melissa Nisbett, 'The Art of Attraction: soft power and the UK's role in the world', *Cultural Trends* 24: 2 (2015): 183-185.

⁷ Li Yongping, 'Cultural Exchanges Promoted through Exhibitions on Silk Road Objects', *China & the World Cultural Exchange* 5 (2012): 1.

Context, Aim and Scope

NZ and China have developed a highly beneficial relationship, though it is often viewed mainly in economic terms.⁸ Relations between the two countries have a history of at least two centuries that was formalised in 1972.⁹ Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, information about NZ in China was primarily derived from missionaries or foreign sources.¹⁰ China's awareness of NZ began to grow in the 1860s when large numbers of Chinese emigrated to NZ, drawn by the opportunities of gold mining.¹¹ This marked the first substantial contact between the nations. Political interaction between NZ and China in the years between initial connection and formalising diplomatic relations did not progress quickly. In the first half of the twentieth century, China focused its attention internally rather than externally, as it contended with a series of unstable governments.¹² The NZ Government maintained cautious contact with China until formally recognising the PRC, after its appointment to the United Nations in 1971.¹³ During this period, non-governmental contact endured through individuals and organisations such as Rewi Alley and the New Zealand China Friendship Society.¹⁴ Sino-New Zealand interactions have varyingly focused on political, economic, social and cultural connections.¹⁵ In this context, NZ and Chinese cultural organisations have formed significant relationships at a regional and national level. This dissertation examines selected cultural organisation partnerships between NZ and China.

Museum and government activity combines in cross-cultural relationships that are organised to encourage political, economic and cultural understanding between nations. Cultural diplomacy and relationship building of nations through museum activity is not a new industry, but has existed since the development of the modern

⁸ Michael Powles, 'China and New Zealand at Forty: What's next?', *New Zealand International Review* 37: 6 (2012): 2-4.

⁹ Chris Elder, *Forty Years On: New Zealand-China Relations: Then, now and in the years to come: A digest of the proceedings of the 40th-anniversary symposia held in Wellington and Beijing, September and December 2012* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2013) 21.

¹⁰ William Tai Yuen, *The Origins of China's Awareness of New Zealand 1674 – 1911* (Auckland: University of Auckland, New Zealand Asia Institute, 2005) 41.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Chris Elder, *New Zealand's China Experience: Its genesis, triumphs, and occasional moments of less than complete success* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2012) 6-9.

¹³ Elder, *Forty Years On*, 7.

¹⁴ Elder, *New Zealand's China Experience*, 8-9.

¹⁵ Elder, *Forty Years On*, 21.

museum.¹⁶ There are currently several cultural partnerships between NZ and Chinese organisations, which provide an opportunity to investigate the intersection between museum partnerships and cultural diplomacy. In 2011, NZ's national museum, TP and China's national museum, NMC, formalised a relationship.¹⁷ Through this partnership, the organisations have completed significant activity, including exchanging four exhibitions. In 2012, TP sent two exhibitions to NMC to mark the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations between NZ and China. NMC reciprocated in 2014 and sent two exhibitions to TP. This partnership provides an ideal case study to focus on, in order to address the lack of empirical research conducted on international cultural organisation partnerships. In this research, I examine the state of cultural organisation partnerships, and assess to what extent TP utilises the concept of instrumentalism—the use of culture as an instrument to attain goals in other areas—in its partnership.¹⁸

The TP-NMC partnership is not the only cultural sector partnership between NZ and China. While it is not within the scope of this dissertation to examine all cases in depth, I present an overview of the relationships in the chapter that follows. I briefly examine the partnership between Otago Museum (OM) and Shanghai Museum (SM), and the partnership between National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa (NLNZ) and National Library of China (NLC). The main case study of TP-NMC provides a deeper understanding of the role of museums in cultural diplomacy.

There is a body of literature about international museum activities, cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism. To date, however, the *intersection* between international museum activity and cultural diplomacy has not been sufficiently examined. Therefore, research that is grounded in museum practice and focuses on museum staff is greatly needed. The aim of this study is to investigate the state of cultural organisation partnerships, and assess to what extent the organisations utilise the concept of instrumentalism in cultural partnerships between NZ and China. Thus, the research is set mainly at the national museum and focuses on TP's activities, experiences and perspectives. The scope of the research is limited to TP, and does not

¹⁶ Lisanne Gibson, 'In Defence of Instrumentality', *Cultural Trends* 17: 4 (2008): 249.

¹⁷ Elder, *Forty Years On*, 21.

¹⁸ Nisbett, 'Protection, Survival and Growth', 85.

include the perspectives of NMC, Embassy staff, museum visitors or community groups in the data collection. Further research is required to examine the different aspects and viewpoints of this case study. The introduction situates this dissertation within the relevant literature, discusses the theoretical underpinnings and establishes the research methodology, before providing an overview of the chapters of this dissertation.

Literature Review

There are three main bodies of theory in museum, international and cultural policy studies that underpin my research on museum practice and the intersections with government agendas. The first section of this literature review covers ‘International Museum Activities’ from the museum studies literature. Less writing is devoted to the description of museum partnerships than to the tangible outputs of partnerships, which include touring exhibitions, staff exchanges, repatriation, and object loans. The second and third theoretical bodies examined in the review are cultural policy and international studies, which are outlined in the section, ‘Cultural Diplomacy and Instrumentalism’. I have presented the literature concerning cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism as interweaving threads rather than distinct sections in this chapter, to reflect how the theories are encountered in practice. Firstly, I situate this dissertation in its academic fields, and define my key terms and concepts.

Museum studies is still a relatively young academic field. It is an evolving multi-disciplinary community which combines museological theory and museum practice.¹⁹ Though the modern museum was established in eighteenth century Europe, museum studies did not substantially develop until as late as the 1970s.²⁰ Redell Renetta Hearn noted that while museums fundamentally altered their philosophical and ideological values to become a public rather than private resource, this shift had little bearing on

¹⁹ Key museum studies texts, Bettina Messias Carbonell (ed), *Museum Studies: An anthology of contexts* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004); Timothy Ambrose and Crispin Paine (eds), *Museum Basics*, 2nd edition (Oxon: Routledge, 2006); Gerard Corsane (ed) *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An introductory reader* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005); Sharon Macdonald (ed), *A Companion to Museum Studies* (Malden: Blackwell, 2006).

²⁰ Kiersten Fourshé Latham and John E. Simmons, *Foundations of Museum Studies: Evolving systems of knowledge* (Santa Barbara: Libraries Unlimited, 2014) xiii.

the professionalisation of museum staff.²¹ Instead, the rise in education and training for museum workers coincided with the advent of the ‘new museology’.²² The new museology aimed to transform museums from didactic and elitist institutions to visitor-centric sites that are integrated with the wider community.²³ The pursuit of this goal both necessitated and facilitated greater public engagement and knowledge sharing within museums.²⁴ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill noted that this increased the educational responsibility to visitors and required that museums become more professional.²⁵ There is now a proliferation of museum studies programmes globally, but no standardised approach. Some are heavily weighted towards theoretical, academic training, some heavily focused on practical skills, and others are based on a particular discipline.²⁶ The fluidity in museum studies reflects the multifaceted nature of museums and allows for inter-disciplinary work and study. My research encompasses not only the field of museum studies, and in particular, current professional practice, but also draws on the field of cultural policy.

Cultural diplomacy is defined in a number of different ways in the literature, with no firm consensus on what it involves. Simon Mark writes that ‘there is considerable confusion about what precisely constitutes cultural diplomacy: a range of meanings, the interchanging use of terms, and overlapping concepts’.²⁷ Mark defines cultural diplomacy as the practice of ‘the deployment of a state’s culture in support of its

²¹ Redell Renetta Hearn, ‘From Practice to Theory: An exploratory research study of the relevance of museum studies curriculum to museum professionals’ (PhD Thesis: Syracuse University, 2012) 1.

²² Key texts on an evolving museology, Gail Anderson (ed), *Reinventing the Museum: The evolving conversation on the paradigm shift* (Plymouth: AltaMira, 2012); Andrea Witcomb, *Re-imagining the Museum: Beyond the museum* (London: Routledge, 2003); Richard Sandell (ed), *Museums, Society, Inequality* (London: Routledge, 2002).

²³ Vikki McCall and Clive Gray, ‘Museums and the ‘New Museology’: Theory, practice and organisational change’, *Museum Management and Curatorship* 29:1 (2014): 20-21 and Lee Davidson, ‘Visitor studies: Towards a culture of reflective practice and critical museology for the visitor-centred museum’, *Museum Practice*, ed. Conal McCarthy, volume 2 in the series *International Handbooks of Museum Studies*, eds. Sharon Macdonald and Helen Rees Leahy (Oxford and Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2015) 503-527.

²⁴ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge* (London: New York: Routledge, 1992) 210-214.

²⁵ Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, *Museums and Their Visitors* (London: Routledge, 1994) 2.

²⁶ Gary Edson, *International Directory of Museum Training: Programs and practices of the museum profession* (London: New York: Routledge, 1995) 9-10.

²⁷ Simon L. Mark, ‘A Comparative Study of the Cultural Diplomacy of Canada, New Zealand and India’ (PhD thesis: University of Auckland, 2008) 3.

foreign policy goals or its diplomacy'.²⁸ It is a type of public diplomacy or 'soft power', and a meeting point between various political and academic fields including cultural policy, international relations, public relations, and diplomatic studies.²⁹ Through events or activities between countries, cultural diplomacy aims to strengthen bonds, which may have flow-on effects on the country's economic or political interests.³⁰ Nicholas Cull states 'cultural diplomacy may be defined as an actor's attempt to manage the international environment through making cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad'.³¹ In this dissertation, cultural diplomacy is the term used for the act of facilitating cultural exchange and interaction between nations, in order to strengthen relationships and increase mutual cultural understanding.

As cultural diplomacy is either directly or indirectly connected with government, it is often associated with overtly political agendas, including at the extreme end of the continuum, colonialism, imperialism and propaganda.³² Historically, cultural diplomacy was a country's policy to facilitate the export of examples of its culture.³³ More recently, there has been growing discomfort within cultural organisations connected to overtly political or diplomatic objectives, leading some to distance themselves from the term cultural diplomacy.³⁴ While some extreme instances occur within the spectrum of the field, it is widely acknowledged that cultural diplomacy is a way of positively interacting with other nations, and fostering awareness and understanding of different cultures.³⁵

Instrumentalism is defined as the tendency to use culture as an instrument to attain goals in other areas.³⁶ It is a distinct theory and practice, yet a close relative of cultural diplomacy. Instrumentalism relates to the cultural sector through the implementation

²⁸ Simon L. Mark, 'Rethinking Cultural Diplomacy: The cultural diplomacy of New Zealand, the Canadian Federation and Quebec', *Political Science* 62:1 (2010): 62.

²⁹ Guy J. Golan et al., *International Public Relations and Public Diplomacy: Communication and engagement* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2015) 1.

³⁰ Natalia Grincheva, 'Cultural Diplomacy 2.0: Challenges and opportunities in museum international practices', *Museum and Society* 11:1 (2013): 39

³¹ Nicholas J. Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past* (Los Angeles: Figueroa Press, 2009) 19.

³² Nisbett, 'New Perspectives on Instrumentalism', 558.

³³ Cull, *Public Diplomacy: Lessons from the past*, 19.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Grincheva, 39.

³⁶ Nisbett, 'Protection, Survival and Growth', 85.

of policies and strategies to achieve impact in cultural diplomacy activities. Considerable discussion has emerged in cultural policy and museum studies literature in the past decades concerning the instrumentalisation of cultural organisations.³⁷ It has been widely perceived as a threat, due to interference in cultural recreation through prescriptive targets, measurements and evaluations.³⁸ Instrumentalism was seen as bureaucratic, and primarily designed to benefit governments, and less so for cultural organisations. While it is outside the scope to discuss here, it is worth mentioning that a considerable amount of the debate on the use of instrumentalism in museums stems from conflicting opinions on the instrumental versus intrinsic functions of culture.³⁹

An important concept employed in this dissertation was taken from the work of Melissa Nisbett, who has reconceptualised instrumentalism for the cultural sector. A lecturer in cultural policy and arts management at Kings College London, Nisbett has conducted significant research on cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism in the context of cultural diplomacy activity of cultural organisations. Cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism are frequently viewed with suspicion by cultural commentators who question how museums benefit from involvement in government agendas.⁴⁰ Many authors have focused on instrumental cultural policy, and critiqued it as excessively prescriptive.⁴¹ Nisbett's research has demonstrated how British cultural organisations have *inverted* the traditional view of instrumentalism, from a top-down to a bottom-up approach.⁴² These organisations engaged in political rhetoric and strategically lobbied government to create cultural policy, which expanded their international work.⁴³ This recent research diverges from conventional opinion, and suggests positive outcomes for organisations that engage in instrumentalism. This dissertation examines instrumentalism and the state of cultural partnerships in NZ, from an emerging perspective in cultural policy studies that questions the common negative perception.⁴⁴

³⁷ Ibid, 247.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Stuart Davies, 'Intellectual and political landscape: the instrumentalism debate', *Cultural Trends* 17: 4 (2008): 259.

⁴⁰ Nisbett, 'New Perspectives on Instrumentalism', 557.

⁴¹ Ibid, 558.

⁴² Ibid, 557.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Gibson; Nisbett (2012, 2013).

International Museum Activities

Museums are increasingly recognised as playing a significant role in cultural diplomacy, through building and strengthening international relationships.⁴⁵ This is based on the ability of museums to foster understanding between cultures, as they display cultural heritage and have the capacity to transcend cultural or language differences, and act as sites of discovery and discussion. Museums can represent a nation and its assets, while facilitating cultural exchange, and building relationships, understanding and influence.⁴⁶ Despite this, there have been few critical studies that examine the processes, purposes and effects of museum partnerships and cultural diplomacy in the cultural sector internationally, and none in NZ. This could be attributed to the fact that the effects of museum activity and cultural diplomacy are difficult to quantify. The outcomes of museum partnerships are likely to be intangible and emerge over an indeterminate period of time.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the relationships are likely to be politically sensitive, which creates a complex environment for conducting research. While there is limited research on the intersection between museum activity and cultural diplomacy, there is a body of literature that examines organisational partnerships, touring exhibitions, staff exchanges, and museum activity that is affected by international activity. The international and NZ literature is outlined in this section.

Cultural Organisation Partnerships

While there is little empirical research describing museum-to-museum partnerships, museums do collaborate with, and forge relationships with other museums. This may be through specific projects or programmes, informal arrangements, or formalised memoranda of understanding. The British Columbia Museums Associations describe the benefits of organisational partnerships as,

Partnerships with other museums of like interest can be extremely beneficial for the exchange of exhibits, ideas, artifacts, and “tea and sympathy.” Two or more museums can also form partnerships for the

⁴⁵ Yongping, 1.

⁴⁶ Nisbett, ‘New Perspectives on Instrumentalism’, 557.

⁴⁷ Mark, ‘Rethinking Cultural Diplomacy’, 64.

purpose of joint marketing, sharing of personnel or expertise or exhibit production.⁴⁸

The literature that covers outcomes of museum partnerships frequently references exchanging exhibitions, objects and personnel. However, joint services such as marketing, human resources or finance, and the idea of ‘tea and sympathy’ are two aspects that are often overlooked. The latter is an important activity to develop for museum staff, particularly in smaller institutions, to encourage collaborative problem solving, and personal and professional development.

An example of museum partnerships is the National-Regional Museum Partnerships in the United Kingdom. National Museums and Major Partner Museums work with partners to organise programmes for museum professionals to share and develop specific skills.⁴⁹ As well as encouraging dialogue and collaboration between organisations and personnel, the main outcomes of the partnerships are object loans and touring exhibitions.⁵⁰ The National Museum Directors’ Council, a membership-based group that advocates for the sector, has completed projects to examine the activity and effects of partnerships between organisations in the United Kingdom. It found that museum partnerships are often based on the short and long-term object loans, exhibitions, public programming and sharing skills and expertise.⁵¹ The Council states that ‘museums continue to adapt the focus and nature of partnership working as a way of managing the impact of cuts to public funding and developing greater resilience’.⁵² This example demonstrates some key reasons why museums develop relationships with other organisations.

⁴⁸ British Columbia Museums Association, ‘Strategic Partnerships’, 2005, accessed 15 August 2015, <http://museumsassn.bc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2013/07/BP-8-Strategic-Partnerships.pdf>.

⁴⁹ National Museum Directors’ Council, ‘Partnerships: Sharing Skills and Collections across the UK’ 2014, accessed 15 August 2015, <http://www.nationalmuseums.org.uk/what-we-do/sharing-skills-and-collections/>.

⁵⁰ National Museum Directors’ Council, ‘Partnerships: an NMDC briefing’, 2014, accessed 15 August 2015, http://www.nationalmuseums.org.uk/media/documents/nmdc_partnerships_briefing_2014.pdf.

⁵¹ Bernadette Lynch, *Whose cake is it anyway?: museums, civil society and the changing reality of public engagement* (London: Paul Hamlyn Foundation, 2012) 1-12.

⁵² National Museum Directors’ Council, ‘Partnerships: an NMDC briefing’.

Touring Exhibitions

Touring exhibitions are the most common and visible output of national and international organisational partnerships. One of the first significant pieces of research on international touring exhibitions was ‘Assessing International Museum Activity: The Example of International Travelling Exhibitions from Canadian Museums, 1978-1988’ by Tamara Anastasia Tarasoff in 1990. She observed that while museums frequently engage in international activity, the literature only describes the specific event, and not the international nature.⁵³ The research also found that international museum activity is pursued with the idealistic notion that museums are innately capable of increasing intercultural understanding and communication,⁵⁴ but that the practice occurs without quantifying this ability, and without guidelines or evaluation.⁵⁵ These observations still have currency, 25 years after Tarasoff’s research.

Tarasoff’s study aimed to determine the philosophical motives for pursuing, and development of assessment criteria for, international museum activity.⁵⁶ The scope of the research was limited to federally-funded Canadian exhibitions that toured internationally between 1978 and 1988.⁵⁷ She compared the ideal and actual outcomes of 132 exhibitions, assessing the variables such as quantity, subject, degree of outside constraints, geography, medium, message and long-term effects of these exhibitions.⁵⁸ Tarasoff found the results were overwhelmingly unbalanced and differed greatly from the idealistic projections articulated in the literature.⁵⁹ A major influence on the shortcomings of touring exhibitions was the lack of ‘freedom from outside constraints’, specifically from the federal funding agencies. Tarasoff concluded,

The support agencies [have significant influence in the] ways the exhibitions are travelled. These constraints are negative for museums, since they make it very difficult for them to pursue the ideals in subject

⁵³ Tamara Anastasia Tarasoff, ‘Assessing International Museum Activity: The example of international travelling exhibitions from Canadian museums, 1978-1988’ (Masters Thesis: University of Toronto, 1990) 3.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 23.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 82.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 6.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 5.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 59-73.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 73-74.

type, object type, message and long-term effects ... These pressures should not have such widespread negative results. That they do indicates museums and support agencies have different objectives for international museum activity, differences that must be reconciled.⁶⁰

This critique raises awareness of the tensions between museums and their sponsors about the objectives, development, and evaluation of international projects. However, Tarasoff did not address how to encourage ways for museums and support agencies to work together more positively.

Throughout Tarsoff's investigation, she highlighted the need for further research and detailed studies of individual examples. Dr Lee Davidson responds to this appeal in her 2015 chapter 'Border Crossings and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Touring Exhibition: An Aotearoa New Zealand – Mexico Exchange', which presents two ongoing, long-term studies of touring exhibitions from TP.⁶¹ Davidson examines how museum professionals and audiences experience international touring exhibitions through cross-cultural museum practices in a 'mobile contact zone'.⁶² She usefully summarises the key motives for international touring exhibitions stating,

At the institutional level, museums develop touring exhibitions programmes to fulfil strategic objectives such as relationships building with major overseas counterparts, enhancing international reputations, sharing expertise, engaging international audiences and enabling future exhibitions exchanges.⁶³

Davidson expands upon this description of the positive attributes of international touring exhibitions, adding that by hosting international exhibitions, museums make cultural heritage available to local audiences and contribute to the museum through boosting visitation, engaging new audiences and increasing tourism.⁶⁴ Furthermore,

⁶⁰ Ibid, 71-72.

⁶¹ Lee Davidson, 'Border Crossings and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Touring Exhibition: An Aotearoa New Zealand – Mexico Exchange' in *Transpacific Americas: Encounters and engagements between the Americas and the South Pacific*, eds. Eveline Dürr and Philipp Schorch (New York: London: Routledge, 2015) 3.

⁶² Ibid, 2-3.

⁶³ Ibid, 1.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

recent literature discusses how international touring exhibitions can increase cross-cultural understanding,⁶⁵ and expand the scale and scope of museum activity.⁶⁶

However, there remains a persistent counter-argument for international touring exhibitions.⁶⁷ This literature focuses on the exhibited content, arguing that blockbuster art exhibitions are often ‘politically safe’ self-promotions⁶⁸ that deter rather than facilitate a deeper cross-cultural connection, due to the superficial representation of the exhibited culture.⁶⁹ This area requires further investigation and both Tarasoff and Davidson note that though there is scholarship on international museum activity,⁷⁰ including touring exhibitions,⁷¹ the research is largely descriptive and lacks critical analysis. By conducting a case study of TP-NMC, this dissertation contributes to this gap in museum studies literature.

Staff Exchanges

Another way to develop connections and strengthen relationships is through staff exchanges. There is little museum literature detailing staff exchanges, apart from the article ‘Trading Places: An International Museum Staff Exchange’. This paper provides an evaluation of the exchange of staff in 1994 between Museum of Science and Industry in Manchester and Museum of Victoria in Australia. Staff who traded places felt that one significant benefit was the different perspective they gained on their position and organisation. Their managers commented that the staff exchange did not merely affect the two participants, but also their colleagues and wider organisation.⁷² Staff gained experience through distributed tasks during the period

⁶⁵ Kirsten Bound, John Holden, Rachel Briggs and Samuel Jones, *Cultural Diplomacy: Culture is a central component of international relations: It's time to unlock its full potential* (London: Demos: 2007) 77.

⁶⁶ Nisbett, ‘New Perspectives on Instrumentalism’, 557.

⁶⁷ Davidson, ‘Border Crossings and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Touring Exhibition’, 1.

⁶⁸ Tarasoff, 36.

⁶⁹ Brian Wallis, ‘Selling Nations: International exhibitions and cultural diplomacy’ in *Museum Culture: Histories, discourses, spectacles*, eds. Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) 279.

⁷⁰ Tarasoff, 4.

⁷¹ Davidson, ‘Border Crossings and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Touring Exhibition’, 2.

⁷² Jenny Wetton et al., ‘Trading Places: An international museum staff exchange’, *Museum Management and Curatorship* 14:4 (1995): 409-418.

their colleague was on exchange, attending presentations from visiting staff, and bonds forged between the organisations.⁷³

Exchanges can be time-consuming to arrange, and will likely have a disruptive impact of the personal life of professionals. This aspect of museum practice also has links to cultural diplomacy activity as an example of ‘dialogue and collaboration’ between nations.⁷⁴ As exchanges have the potential to advance communication and understanding between people, one between two people or two organisations may have trickle-down effects and result in change of perception of peoples or nations. This dissertation aims to explore this occurrence, in the context of cultural partnerships and exchanges between NZ and China.

Impacts of International Museum Activity

Touring exhibitions are the most frequently discussed aspect of international museum activity, but the contentious area of restitution and repatriation has also been impacted by international museum activity. The return of cultural material from museums to its country of origin has been a significant enterprise since the 1960s.⁷⁵ A marked increase of cases followed the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property.⁷⁶ This convention represented a significant development in the area of cultural restitution by introducing basic provisions to help solve disputes, and setting expectations for museums and governments.⁷⁷

Practice is moving away from conventions like the UNESCO framework to resolution through organisational relationships, which allows for tailored agreements.⁷⁸ This type of institutional negotiation is seen in repatriation at TP through the Karanga Aotearoa

⁷³ Ibid, 414-415.

⁷⁴ Chiedza Michelle Mutsaka, ‘Changing Foreign Public Perception through Culture: Comparative Study of the Cultural Diplomacy of France and China in the Mekong Sub-Region’ (Masters Thesis: Webster University, 2013) 18.

⁷⁵ Irini Stamatoudi, ‘Mediation and Cultural Diplomacy’, *Museum International* 61:1-2 (2009): 120.

⁷⁶ Piotr Bienkowski, ‘“You’re Gonna Make Me Lonesome When You Go”: A critique of museum restitution and repatriation practices’ in *Museum Practice*, ed. Conal McCarthy, volume two of *The International Handbooks of Museum Studies*, eds. Sharon MacDonald and Helen Rees Leahy (Oxford and Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2015) 11.

⁷⁷ Stamatoudi, 120.

⁷⁸ Ibid, 117.

Repatriation Programme, which is funded and mandated by the NZ Government.⁷⁹ This program involves the repatriation of Māori and Moriori human remains from international institutions to NZ.⁸⁰ In this programme, TP acts on behalf of the government and initiates dialogue with international organisations. This example elucidates the importance of maintaining relationships with international organisations.

Museum relationships can also help facilitate the return or loan of cultural objects. In 2013, the Kahu Huruwuru (Māori feather cloak) that had been gifted to Chairman Mao Zedong in 1957 was temporarily loaned from NMC to TP.⁸¹ Former TP CEO Michael Houlihan acknowledged the importance of museum partnerships stating,

We have built a strong collaborative relationship with the National Museum of China. That friendship and trust has resulted in us being able to loan this valuable piece of history shared by two cultures.⁸²

Object loans are a significant outcome for museums and their communities. In this instance, visitors to TP were able to experience a taonga (cultural treasure) that permanently resides overseas as a cultural gift. For both Māori and Chinese, gifting cultural treasures is a significant custom for sealing honoured relationships. There are several crossovers in cultural values between NZ and China, and people may develop greater awareness of their commonalities and points of differences through cultural heritage objects. The museums also took the opportunity to create a staff exchange. Awhina Tamarapa, TP Curator Textiles, Weaving and Māori instruments travelled to NMC and undertook information exchange on the cloak. Fostering connections between peoples is an important aspect of museum activity and cultural diplomacy.

⁷⁹ Te Herekiele Herewini, 'The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa (Te Papa) and the Repatriation of Kōiwi Tangata (Māori and Moriori skeletal remains) and Toi Moko (Mummified Maori Tattooed Heads)' *International Journal of Cultural Property* 15:4 (2008): 405.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Hamish Rutherford, 'Cloak Gifted to Chairman Mao Returns', *Dominion Post*, 12 April 2013, A.2.

⁸² Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa 'Māori Feather Cloak (Kahu Huruwuru) Starts Journey to Te Papa', press release, 8 April 2013.

Cultural Diplomacy and Instrumentalism

As defined in the introduction, cultural diplomacy is used here to describe the cultural exchange and interaction between nations, in order to strengthen relationships and increase mutual cultural understanding. As a type of public diplomacy, cultural diplomacy is utilised by nations to interact and engage with a foreign nation, and significantly, a foreign public.⁸³ Cull writes that ‘unlike other forms of Public Diplomacy, Cultural Diplomacy works best at arm's length from government and its benefits are clearest in the medium to long term.’⁸⁴ Adding a further layer of complexity to cultural diplomacy is the practice of instrumentalism. The extent to which it affects cultural diplomacy in museums differs between nations and organisations. Museums and other public cultural organisations are routinely partly funded by local or central government; this means they are subject to the tendency of instrumentalism, as are all public sector organisations.⁸⁵ Referring to the United Kingdom, Stuart Davies states that it is necessary to ‘employ instrumental policies towards the cultural sector as a vehicle for accountability because the cultural sector is non-statutory’.⁸⁶ In other words, as there are minimal legal obligations for performance in the cultural sector, governments tend to use instrumental policies to ensure that the outcomes of museum activity justify the monetary investment.

The use of instrumentalism in museums is nothing new, but there is a consensus among academics that the frequency and intensity of instrumentalism in the cultural sector has increased since the 1980s.⁸⁷ This is also when the term ‘public diplomacy’ first emerged in the museum studies literature, which recognised ‘the informal diplomatic results of increased international exposure and communication’.⁸⁸ After being largely dominated by opinions, the topic of instrumentalism in cultural organisations is increasingly the topic of empirical research. The following section

⁸³ Mutsaka, 14.

⁸⁴ Nicholas J. Cull, ‘Jamming for Uncle Sam: Getting the best from cultural diplomacy’, *CPD Blog* 26 July 2010, accessed 11 June 2015, http://usepublicdiplomacy.org/blog/jamming_for_uncle_sam_getting_the_best_from_cultural_diplomacy.

⁸⁵ Davies, 260.

⁸⁶ Ibid, 259.

⁸⁷ Ibid, 260.

⁸⁸ Tarasoff, 42.

provides an overview of cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism, and considers its potential benefits through research conducted in the United Kingdom, China and NZ.

Strategic Cultural Diplomacy: United Kingdom

United Kingdom think-tank Demos published an advocacy report in 2007 that demonstrated the potential of instrumentalism in international museum activities. The report argued that while cultural diplomacy has long been a component of international relations, the practice is increasingly vital to help people appreciate commonality and difference amongst cultures.⁸⁹ This notion is echoed across cultural policy literature, with theorists calling for a revitalisation of cultural diplomacy.⁹⁰ The Demos report was primarily concerned with six British memory institutions, British Library, British Museum, Natural History Museum, Royal Botanical Gardens, Tate and Victoria & Albert Museum.⁹¹ It encouraged government and cultural institutions to embed a systematic and strategic approach to cultural diplomacy.⁹² The report was successful in raising governmental awareness of cultural diplomacy, and has been credited with securing funding for the World Collections Programme (WCP) that saw six cultural organisations receive a £3 million grant to undertake cultural diplomacy initiatives globally, from 2008 to 2011.⁹³

Despite the report's success, doubts have been expressed about its objectives, methodology and reporting. According to Nisbett, the Demos report was really an advocacy document, not an objective or independent piece of research. This is seen by the fact that the organisations that were the recipients of the WCP funding were the same organisations reviewed by the Demos report, with the only exception being the Tate.⁹⁴ Nisbett came to this conclusion by using the theoretical framework of instrumental policy-making to examine the findings of the Demos report, the WCP, and several significant policies relating to cultural diplomacy in her report.⁹⁵ Through interviews conducted as part of her case study, museum staff revealed that the

⁸⁹ Bound et al., 11.

⁹⁰ Grincheva; Bound et al.; Gibson; and Nisbett, 2012, 2013.

⁹¹ Bound et al., 16.

⁹² Ibid, 82.

⁹³ Nisbett, 'New Perspectives on Instrumentalism', 559.

⁹⁴ Ibid, 560.

⁹⁵ Ibid, 557.

institutions in fact commissioned the report by Demos, which indicates that ‘the cultural institutions utilised the concept of instrumentalism as a vehicle for their own interests’.⁹⁶ Nisbett argued that by commissioning the report, the organisations were ‘either seeking to be instrumental or wanting to be perceived as such’.⁹⁷ Nisbett takes the position that instrumentalism has beneficial implications for cultural organisations *themselves*, which is a new perspective on the subject.

Nisbett’s investigation revealed how cultural diplomacy can be beneficial to museums. In the case of the Demos report and her subsequent research conducted on instrumentalism, Nisbett discusses how museums are becoming key players in cultural diplomacy, and how they can take control of this process to their advantage.⁹⁸ This position is at odds with other academic literature on the issue, which criticises instrumentalism as quasi-propagandistic and asserts that museums that engage in cultural diplomacy objectives are politically subservient organisations.⁹⁹ Through interviews with staff from organisations that were recipients of the WCP funding Nisbett concluded,

Those within the cultural organisations acted as the makers of policy, its implementers and the recipients of the funding. Through exploiting an instrumental approach to cultural policy-making, it was the museums themselves that defined the parameters and principles of a new, innovative policy, which in turn enabled expansion of their existing work. This evidence challenges conventional top-down perceptions of policy-making, which fail to recognise the power and influence held by some organisations and individuals within the cultural sector...¹⁰⁰

The findings from this research contradict the common accusations about prescriptive policies that are levelled against cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism. This example demonstrates the flexibility acquired by the organisations to mould policy and strategy to benefit their aims. Nisbett calls for a rethinking of cultural diplomacy in the context of instrumentalism.¹⁰¹ This would see cultural organisations become

⁹⁶ Ibid, 563.

⁹⁷ Ibid, 560-561.

⁹⁸ Ibid, 557.

⁹⁹ Ibid, 572.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 571.

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 571.

more involved with developing the cultural policy that informs their practice, in order to better support their needs.

National Image: China's Cultural Diplomacy

A 2013 thesis by Chiedza Michelle Mutsaka provides a salient examination and evaluation of the cultural diplomacy of China. The research demonstrates how China is heavily investing in cultural diplomacy activity, and how the outcomes have been directed towards changing China's national image from a 'threatening communist presence to be a forward-thinking, leading market with a fascinating history'.¹⁰² Mutsaka found that despite advances being made, China's 'actions' speak louder than its cultural diplomacy, and its territorial disputes, hard power intimidations, and relationships with authoritarian leaders have negatively impacted China's legitimacy and credibility.¹⁰³ Mutsaka frequently referenced the work of Cull on cultural diplomacy. Cull states that China's central message within its public diplomacy is that China is back as a world power, and that 'Chinese culture is admirable and that China's intentions are benign'.¹⁰⁴ Here, we are reminded that it is important to be critical about the political motivations of a nation, which are softened through cultural diplomacy.

Mutsaka presents a useful table of Cull's types of diplomacy vs Lencowski's cultural tools (see Figure 1), which demonstrate the activities covered by cultural diplomacy. Cull has divided the types of cultural diplomacy into four major groups.¹⁰⁵ These are: the 'prestige gift', 'cultural information', 'dialogue and collaboration', and 'capacity building'.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Mutsaka, 29.

¹⁰³ Mustaka, 77.

¹⁰⁴ Nicholas J. Cull, 'Nicholas Cull on the Range and Impact of Chinese Public Diplomacy Efforts, Testimony at a hearing of the US-China economic and security review commission' 20 April 2009, accessed 10 February 2016, <http://china.usc.edu/nicholas-cull-range-and-impact-chinese-public-diplomacy-efforts>.

¹⁰⁵ Mustaka, 16.

¹⁰⁶ Cull, 'Jamming for Uncle Sam: Getting the best from cultural diplomacy'.

Figure 1: LENCOWSKI'S CULTURAL TOOLS VS. CULL'S TYPES OF CULTURAL DIPLOMACY

The prestige gift		Cultural information	
These spread the most cherished essence of their history and culture to foreign publics around the world.		These spread the largely unknown/uncommon aspects of a culture	
Example: Travelling 'King Tut' museum exhibition funded by the government of Egypt	Example: Japanese 'Kabuki' theatre & New Zealand traditional 'Haka' (war cry dance) The Arts (Performaing and Fine Arts)	Example: Popular novel Mukiwa: A White Boy in Africa by white Zimbabwean author Peter Godwin shows the life of a white african growing up in the 1960s.	Literature, broadcasting, history, religious diplomacy, arts and exhibitions
Dialogue and collaboration		Capacity-building	
Scientific/Cultural/Museum exhibitions		This increases the number of people around the world with access to the national literature, music and news broadcasts.	
Example: Engagement of Foreign publics in human rights advocacy.	Example: International conferences - a useful tool for igniting dialogue on important international issues.	Example: Cultural centres like Alliance Francaise and the Goethe Institute Language teaching	This increases the number of people with the same beliefs and values, increasing the influential power of the state
Example: Promotion of ideas, values and social policy and religious diplomacv	Example: Cultural exchanges, educational programs, dialogue, gifts		Example: Good governance and women's rights
		Language teaching	The promotion of ideas, values and social policies

Mutsaka argues that China tends to focus on Cull's 'dialogue and collaboration' category of cultural diplomacy, mainly through educational and cultural partnerships.¹⁰⁷ If we apply Cull's cultural diplomacy groups to the methods used

¹⁰⁷ Mutsaka, 29.

between NZ and China we can see that NZ mainly utilises the ‘prestige gift’ in the form of exhibitions and fine arts, as well as ‘dialogue and collaboration’, seen in cultural exchanges, programmes and educational partnerships.

Soft Power: New Zealand’s Cultural Diplomacy

Following a symposium held in NZ in December 2012 to mark the 40th anniversary of NZ-China relations, a digest was published containing key discussions on the political, economic and cultural relations. In a chapter titled ‘Cultural Diplomacy’ Wen Powles states how important this form of ‘soft power’ is to NZ, considering its lack of ‘hard power’.¹⁰⁸ Powles discusses the ability of museums to ‘not only enhance the international reputation of their nations but also have a direct human impact’.¹⁰⁹ This effect is precisely the strength of cultural diplomacy as it is a method of intercultural communication that reaches the public, not merely the high-level officials.¹¹⁰ This is seen through its employment of museums like TP-NMC to build relationships and strengthen national image externally.

Simon Mark conducted a comparative examination of the cultural diplomacy of NZ, Canada and India within the theoretical framework of public diplomacy in his doctoral thesis.¹¹¹ Mark examines cultural diplomacy in relation to projection of a national image abroad, nation branding, the protection of cultural sovereignty, and how it can advance domestic objectives.¹¹² This included analysis of museum exhibitions, namely the tour of *Te Maori* across the United States in the 1980s. He observes that Māori culture plays an important role in the cultural diplomacy of NZ, and that the *Te Maori* tour of Māori taonga was arguably the nation’s most successful cultural diplomacy event.¹¹³ This example demonstrates the role cultural diplomacy plays in the presentation abroad of a national image, while offering an opportunity to explore the extent to which that image is tied to its national brand. Mark’s research findings demonstrate parallels with Mutsaka’s. Both NZ and China primarily engage with cultural diplomacy to develop their national image or brand.

¹⁰⁸ Elder, *Forty Years On*, 78.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Mutsaka, 77.

¹¹¹ Mark, ‘A Comparative Study of the Cultural Diplomacy’, 2.

¹¹² Ibid, li.

¹¹³ Ibid, 122.

Mark's thesis includes a summary of the Cultural Diplomacy International Programme (CDIP) established by Prime Minister Helen Clark in 2004.¹¹⁴ Mark's overview covers 2004 to 2008 and includes the objectives and principles, reason for geographic focus and issues arising.¹¹⁵ Mark concluded that the CDIP had a distinct focus on the projection of a 'modern' rather than a 'distinctive' NZ, as its national image.¹¹⁶ He also noted that 'the cultural diplomacy of New Zealand has taken the instrumentality of New Zealand to a new level'.¹¹⁷ In this statement, Mark references the explicit aim of the CDIP to 'help New Zealand's diplomacy abroad and help achieve foreign policy goals'.¹¹⁸ Mark states that the reasoning for bold instrumental policy is because NZ relies heavily on cultural diplomacy for economic reasons, as it is a small nation with little economic or military power, and therefore reliant on trade.¹¹⁹ The CDIP sponsors NZ's cultural presence overseas, it contributed funding to TP's exhibition exchanges in 2012.

Summary of Theoretical Framework

The literature review has shown that relationships between museums and governments are complex, and differing values and political agendas may cause tension on each side. Museums can be seen as ideal organisations to support cultural diplomacy objectives because they display and promote culture.¹²⁰ While museums ethically aim to collect, exhibit and interpret unbiased content, we must acknowledge that museums operate within a particular social and historical construct, and continue to contend with issues of representation and inclusion.¹²¹ Being associated with government agenda may compromise an organisation's values and intellectual integrity.¹²² While critics express valid concerns about the problematic expropriation of museums that are too closely involved with government policies and objectives, it

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 152.

¹¹⁵ Ibid, 153-180.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 225.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 179.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Bound et al., 15.

¹²¹ Janet Marstine, 'The contingent nature of the new museum ethics' in *The Routledge Companion to Museum Ethics*, ed. Janet Marstine (Oxon: Routledge, 2011) 3-25.

¹²² Nisbett, 'Protection, Survival and Growth', 85.

is likely that museums will continue to be involved in cultural diplomacy.¹²³ In part, this dependence on museums as relationship builders stems from globalisation, which has increased tourism, trade and generally compelled further economic and cultural interdependence between countries.¹²⁴ Considering that museums will likely continue to be key players in cultural diplomacy, it seems wise for museums to take advantage of the opportunities presented and engage with governments and policies to increase funding, advocacy and the scope of museums.

A recurring theme is the difficulty of qualifying statements about the ability of museums to increase intercultural understanding. This does not mean that museums are not capable of achieving this, but that it is difficult to empirically prove they do. There can be significant outcomes for museums and governments from engaging in cultural diplomacy. Governments may utilise museum activity such as exhibitions to promote a clear and engaging national image or brand.¹²⁵ This can be effective on a large scale because museums are capable of displaying both ‘high’ and ‘popular’ cultures of a nation, which helps assimilation of a projected national image by a wide range of audiences.¹²⁶ International exhibitions are recognised for their potential to enhance intercultural awareness and understanding.¹²⁷ For museums, participation in cultural diplomacy activity can facilitate ongoing inter-museum relationships that can result in exhibition exchanges, collection expansion, object loans and shared expertise.¹²⁸ In addition to potentially engaging new audiences, these outputs may also generate revenue for the museum. This area requires further research, to determine effective ways to measure the possible benefits for museums and governments.

Throughout the literature reviewed, authors have called for further research to determine the outcomes of cultural organisation partnerships, and contribute to growing a body of literature (Tarasoff, 1990, Davidson (2015). Contemporary researchers are making strides in the fields of cultural diplomacy and cultural policy (Gibson, 2008, Nisbett (2013), but the academic field of museum studies continues to lack critical analysis of museum partnerships and cultural diplomacy. It would be

¹²³ Nisbett, ‘New Perspectives on Instrumentalism’, 558.

¹²⁴ Zipsane, 130-139.

¹²⁵ Johnson and Sink, 358.

¹²⁶ Mark, ‘Rethinking Cultural Diplomacy’, 64.

¹²⁷ Tarasoff and Grincheva.

¹²⁸ Nisbett, ‘New Perspectives on Instrumentalism’, 557.

valuable to examine museum partnerships through both preliminary scoping exercises and in-depth case studies, and determine if and how they engage in cultural diplomacy. The majority of research that has been conducted on this topic has focused on the outcomes of relationships. While my study considers the outcomes, the main focus is on the development of museum relationships, in itself.

This survey of the literature concerning museum activities, cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism has informed aspects of my topic, research design and theoretical framework. I will contribute to the foundation laid by Mark's work on the cultural diplomacy of exhibitions in NZ by adding a case study of TP. Nisbett's research on how British cultural organisations have engaged with cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism to develop aspects of their core business has informed my decision to investigate if this is applicable in NZ. My research examines Nisbett's approach to instrumentalism in the context of NZ and its diplomatic relations with China, and in doing so addresses a gap in the literature on the topic. There are several cultural NZ organisations that have developed relationships with counterpart organisations in China. In investigating these partnerships, this dissertation provides an understanding of the rationale, benefits, challenges and effects of the intersection between museums and cultural diplomacy.

Research Design

As this dissertation builds upon Mark's study of cultural diplomacy in NZ and Nisbett's reconceptualisation of instrumentalism in the British cultural sector, I utilise similar qualitative research methods. Both museum partnerships and instrumentalism are under-examined topics and this research contributes to developing the literature by investigating to what extent museums utilise the concept of instrumentalism in cultural exchange partnerships. This will be examined through a case study of TP-NMC, and framed by an overview of cultural diplomacy partnerships between cultural sector organisations in NZ and China.

As stated in the literature review, my research is an interdisciplinary study that combines museum and cultural policy studies; the research design and methodology

reflects this approach and draws from aspects of humanities and social sciences. It was conducted through a case study, and employed documentary analysis and in-depth interviews to gather data. Denzin and Lincoln state that ‘qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them’.¹²⁹ In their guide to designing qualitative research, Marshall and Rossman note that research which seeks to describe culture benefits from a qualitative approach.¹³⁰ As my research requires examination in its natural environment, and strives to describe culture in the practice of cultural organisation partnerships, qualitative methodology is appropriate.

The principal focus of my research design is a case study of TP-NMC. A case study is suitable for this research because ‘studies focusing on society and culture in a group, a program, or an organization typically espouse some form of case study as a strategy’.¹³¹ Case studies are the ideal strategy to use for an intensive study of a single or small numbers of examples.¹³² The case study was selected through purposeful sampling, as this type of determined selection is a defining aspect of qualitative research.¹³³ Within the overarching method of purposeful sampling, I have utilised the strategy of intensity sampling. Patton describes the essence of an intensity strategy as ‘information-rich cases that manifest the phenomenon of interest intensely (but not extremely)’.¹³⁴ As intensity sampling seeks to clarify an area of interest and evaluate the outcome or success of the example it is an appropriate method for my study, which aspires to elucidate the effects of instrumentalism in museum partnerships.¹³⁵ Through engagement with staff from TP and other relevant organisations I was able to complete such an intensive study.

I began the investigation by completing a documentary analysis. The documents included the TP-NMC relationship agreement, TP’s International Strategy, MCH

¹²⁹ Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage, 2011), 3.

¹³⁰ Ibid, 91.

¹³¹ Catherine Marshall and Gretchen B. Rossman, *Designing Qualitative Research* (Los Angeles: SAGE, 2011), 93.

¹³² John Gerring, *Case Study Research: Principles and Practices* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 37.

¹³³ Michael Quinn Patton, *Qualitative Research and Evaluation Methods* (Thousand Oaks, Calif: Sage Publications, 2002), 230.

¹³⁴ Ibid, 234.

¹³⁵ Ibid.

policy documents on the CDIP, funding applications, and TP and MCH progress and evaluation reports. I also reviewed policy, reports and background documents from the Dunedin City Council (DCC) to gain information on the OM-SM relationship. I was granted access to all these internal documents through Official Information Act requests. The documents obtained were a mix of primary and secondary sources. The primary sources of funding applications, board papers and strategy were crucial as they were assembled at the time of the event and therefore highly reliable.¹³⁶ Secondary sources were also used to present another view of the same information, such as evaluation or summaries in annual reports. The findings of the documentary grounded theory analysis informed the next aspect of my research design: in-depth interviews.

In-depth interviewing is a significant method of data collection in case studies¹³⁷ as it allows the participant to offer the researcher thorough responses about their personal experiences, perceptions, opinions, feelings, and knowledge.¹³⁸ This is beneficial to my dissertation as those involved had valuable responses from their personal experience. As interviews enable direct contact between the researcher and participant, information can easily be checked for accuracy and relevance.¹³⁹ There are four main categories of research interviews: the informal, conversational interview; the interview guide or topical approach; the standardized open-ended interview; the co-constructed or the dialogic interview.¹⁴⁰ I combined the informal, conversational interview and the standardized open-ended interview.

The combination of open-ended and conversational interview techniques resulted in a semi-structured interview that allowed a list of questions to be addressed, but enabled flexibility for the interviewee to elaborate on points of interest.¹⁴¹ With the participants' permission I took notes and audio-recorded the interviews. From the recordings, I completed transcriptions, which were given to the participants to check.

¹³⁶ Gary McCulloch, *Documentary Research in Education, History, and the Social Sciences* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 327.

¹³⁷ Bill Gillham, *Case Study Research Methods* (London: Continuum, 2000), 59.

¹³⁸ Patton, 4.

¹³⁹ Martyn Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide: For Small-Scale Social Research Projects* (Maidenhead, England: McGraw-Hill/Open University Press, 2010) 192.

¹⁴⁰ Marshall and Rossman, 144.

¹⁴¹ Denscombe, 175.

This step helped ensure accuracy of the information, in case a participant mistakenly provided inaccurate information, or a comment was misinterpreted.¹⁴² Because the interviewees were high profile figures I was unable to offer anonymity for their responses. For this reason, I gave the participants full editing rights over their transcriptions with the ability to add, edit or delete any part of the interview.

The interviewees were predominantly present or former staff of TP. The participants selected were professionals involved in the initiation, implementation, and future of cultural partnerships. They are all high-level professionals who Marshall and Rossman define as ‘elites’ as they are people in positions of power and influence.¹⁴³ In the case of my research, the individuals are also specialists and decision-makers in their fields, and highly regarded among their peers. The selection of these participants in my research brings advantages and disadvantages. A benefit of interviewing elites is that they have valuable information, as they are experts in their field and will often have a unique and valuable perspective on a situation.¹⁴⁴ Possible disadvantages are that they are often busy and it may be a struggle to contact them.¹⁴⁵ Another possible difficulty is that interviewing elites places significant pressure on the researcher to display adequate knowledge and competence on the discussion subject or else risk alienating the participant.¹⁴⁶ To mitigate this I conducted significant document analysis to inform my interview questions, and developed my interviewing skills.

Once I had identified key people in cultural diplomacy and museum partnerships between New Zealand and China I sent a written request to interview. I interviewed the following ten people:

- Dr Arapata Hakiwai | Kaihautū | Te Papa
- Athol McCredie | Curator Photography | Te Papa
- Bill Macnaught | National Librarian | National Library of New Zealand

¹⁴² Ibid, 189.

¹⁴³ Marshall and Rossman, 155.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Marshall and Rossman, 156.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

- Dougal Austin | Curator Taonga Tuturu 19-20th Century | Te Papa
- Liz Hay | Manager Business and Market Development | Te Papa
- Michael Houlihan | Former Chief Executive Officer | Te Papa
- Rick Ellis | Current Chief Executive Officer | Te Papa
- Dr Rebecca Rice | Curator Historical New Zealand Art | Te Papa
- Dr Simon Mark | Former Public Diplomacy Advisor | Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade
- Wen Powles | Former International Strategy Advisor | Te Papa

The data generated through interviews was prepared for analysis through transcribing and annotating the audio recordings of interviews. I used grounded theory to analyse the transcriptions, coding and categorising the text, allowing concepts and theories that encapsulate meaning to be extracted from the data.¹⁴⁷ This method allows the identification of key concepts and provides understanding of the data that enable conclusions to emerge.

Considering Limitations and Ethics

I acknowledge that there are limitations to this research. The study lacks Chinese representation; this is due to pragmatic reasons of language barriers, geographical distance and difficulty in accessing documents or staff from NMC or the Chinese government. Another potential limitation to my research methods may be the document analysis. As Patton notes, documents and records may be incomplete or inaccurate, and I have been reliant on the organisations capability to find and provide

¹⁴⁷ Denscombe, 283.

all relevant records.¹⁴⁸ Using an additional method to obtain information can help mitigate such possible disadvantages of document analysis.¹⁴⁹ Conducting interviews with key staff reduced the impact of insufficient primary and secondary sources.

This research was originally intended as a comparative examination of the topic of museum partnerships and cultural diplomacy through comparing and contrasting two case studies, TP-NMC and OM-SM. However, I was declined access to documents or to interview museum staff when I approached OM in May 2015. Through primary research of documents obtained through DCC and some sparse secondary sources, I have been able to include a brief overview of the OM-SM relationship. It would have been valuable to examine this case more thoroughly. It is an example of a regional, rather than national partnership, and it is one of the oldest bilateral relationships in the cultural sector between NZ and China.

There are many other museum and government professionals that it would have been valuable to interview. Cross-cultural partnerships require significant staffing resources and it would be valuable to conduct broader research than was viable in this research. In particular, museum professionals other than curators, who assist with exhibition development, could offer useful insights. Likewise, staff working in the regulatory area of the MCH could offer a different perspective on the activities. Ambassadorial staff and others involved in the political or diplomatic aspect to the relationship would be highly valuable to interview. And of course, museum visitors, who could comment on the outputs of the relationships, the exhibitions, events, objects and stories represented in the museums. Due to the practical reasons of the limited time and scope of this dissertation, I was unable to interview everyone involved in the cases surveyed.

Interviewing was the ideal method for obtaining my data, however there are limitations. Patton states that:

Interview data limitations include possibly distorted responses due to personal bias, anger, anxiety, politics, and simple lack of awareness since interviews can be greatly affected by the emotional state of the interviewee at the time of the interview. Interview data are also subject to

¹⁴⁸ Patton, 306.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 307.

recall error, reactivity of the interviewee to the interviewer, and self-serving responses.¹⁵⁰

A disadvantage is the time-consuming nature of interviewing, and due to the small scale of this research I was therefore restricted to interview no more than ten people. A potential risk in this research was the unavailability and/or refusal of interviewees. This was encountered with the OM, and my request to interview OM Director, Ian Griffin was declined. To mitigate the interview limitations, I implemented a critical reflexivity and was aware of my personal biographical aspects, in relation to the research.¹⁵¹

Before I commenced data collection in 2015, I was already a paid employee of TP. From 2011, I held a permanent part-time position in TP's library, Te Aka Matua Research Library. And between 2011 and 2016 I held a number of casual and contract positions in several areas of TP. Additionally, one of the interview participants, Athol McCredie, is a family member. These potential conflicts of interest were openly disclosed to the Victoria University of Wellington Ethics Committee. I outlined that it was appropriate to interview McCredie because we had maintained a professional relationship for 5 years at TP, and frequently interacted in an academic setting, as student and teaching associate. As curator of an exchange exhibition between TP-NMC, the participant had unique information of value to this dissertation. We are both accustomed and comfortable interacting in a professional capacity. The participant was recruited in the same manner as the others, and asked the same questions as other Te Papa curators. The Ethics Committee did not raise any conflicts and the research project was approved.

To avoid confusion between my roles of employee and researcher, I arranged one-on-one interviews with participants, and asked their permission to use details from the interviews for research purposes. However, it was unavoidable to occasionally observe or be told something as a colleague rather than a researcher. In these instances, I had to carefully negotiate my roles as employee and researcher, and learn to recognise which capacity I was acting in when I learned something. To maintain

¹⁵⁰ Ibid, 306.

¹⁵¹ Jane Elliott, *Using Narrative in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), 31.

my professional responsibilities for confidentiality, and my integrity as an academic researcher, I did not include details in this dissertation gained through my status as employee.

While being an employee had advantages such as being able to contact other staff members more easily, and in some cases, an existing rapport with participants, it also placed constraints on my research. I was exposed to information as an employee, which extended beyond the information collected as researcher, possibly influencing my perception. In some instances, participants were more forthcoming with their opinions than they may have been, if I were an external researcher, for example, volunteering certain information but requesting that it not be recorded or used. Also, writing critically about delicate or contentious issues was difficult because as an employee I needed to maintain good relationships with my colleagues and management. I acknowledge that my professional involvement with TP created a relationship of trust that enriches my research, but it also gave me access to material that was accessible to staff only and required an extra level of sensitivity in relation to certain controversial issues relating to the research. While this limits what can be reported directly, I am aware that this background knowledge has influenced my interpretation of the research data and, ultimately, the conclusions reached.

In compliance with the Victoria University of Wellington's Human Ethics Policy, ethical approval was required for this dissertation, as it involves human subjects in the form of interviews.¹⁵² The most important way that social research can reduce the possibility of hardship for research participants is the principle of informed consent.¹⁵³ This requires that the research participant be given the opportunity to agree or refuse to participate, without force or coercion once the participant is advised what the qualities and intentions of the research are. I obtained interviewee's approval and throughout this investigation I have upheld the practices of ethical research. I did this by providing participants with information sheets, consent forms and interview outlines prior to conducting an interview. I obtained participants' permission to be

¹⁵² Victoria University of Wellington, 'Victoria University of Wellington Human Ethics Policy', accessed 14 June 2015 <http://www.victoria.ac.nz/documents/policy/research-policy/human-ethics-policy.pdf>.

¹⁵³ Roger Homan, *The Ethics of Social Research* (New York; London: Longman, 1991), 69.

interviewed and recorded and provided them with contact details of my supervisor, should they wish to ask questions. These measures ensured an ethical and considerate approach was brought to my research.

Chapter Outline

I conclude this introduction by outlining the contents of this dissertation, which is divided into three chapters and a conclusion. Chapter One provides further background to the unique environment that this investigation of museums partnerships and cultural diplomacy is set in. It describes the history of engagement between NZ and China. Chapter Two outlines the key results from the interviews with professionals and provides an in-depth case study of the relationship between TP-NMC. I consider the development of the relationship, the key events of the exhibition exchanges, and look to the future of the partnership. Chapter Three discusses and analyses the results of the case study, identifying the major themes of the findings with respect to scholarship and current practice. These arguments consider the potential of instrumentalism, in whose best interests museums and cultural diplomacy operates, and looks towards an emerging practice of museum diplomacy. In the conclusion, I reiterate the major findings, and discuss the contribution this dissertation makes to museum studies, as well as recommendations for further academic research and the development of museum diplomacy.

Chapter One:

Setting the Scene: New Zealand and China

Introduction

This chapter examines the development of NZ and China's relationship, and examples of cultural organisations partnerships. It provides the context and historical background for Chapter Two, the case study of TP-NMC. I consider the impact of Rewi Alley, Confucius Institutes, New Zealand China Friendship Society, and New Zealand China Council as supporting the NZ-China engagement. I present two examples of organisational partnerships, demonstrating the high level of activity currently taking places in the cultural institutions of NZ and China. The partnership between OM-SM is examined, before an overview of the partnership between the NLNZ-NLC. Lastly, I introduce TP and outline its ethos, activities, and history of engagement with cultural diplomacy, and with China.

Charting the Relationship: New Zealand and China

NZ and China have a long history of engagement that has varyingly focused on trade, economics, tourism and culture. The first influx of contact between the nations occurred in the 1860s with the advent of the gold rush in NZ, but there are recorded instances of Chinese contact and emigrated to NZ as early as 1842.¹ It is estimated that around 8,000 Chinese immigrants arrived in NZ during the gold mining area from 1865 to 1901.² By the late nineteenth century the tide of travel was beginning to turn and New Zealanders began travelling to China.³ This was predominantly for religious motives through the church missionary societies, until China became a republic in 1912.⁴ Following this, a small number of New Zealanders began to arrive in China,

¹ Elder, *New Zealand's China Experience*, 7.

² Tai Yuen, 41.

³ Elder, *New Zealand's China Experience*, 25.

⁴ Ibid, 8.

including individuals such as Rewi Alley, who began to develop better understanding between the nations. In the early twentieth century, political relations between NZ and China were relatively stable, albeit undeveloped.⁵ During this period, China experienced significant political changes, with the separation of Taiwan from mainland China in 1949.⁶

Following the Chinese Revolution and the advent of the PRC in 1949, relations with NZ temporarily declined. The missionary effort ended, NZ technical experts left China, and individuals or delegations traveling to China were regarded with suspicion.⁷ From 1949 to the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1972, NZ-China ties were dampened by their opposing views on the Cold War conflict.⁸ However, there was no formal break between the nations; the NZ Government took a ‘hands-off’ approach and travel and trade bans were relaxed.⁹ This period ended when 28 countries including NZ officially recognised Beijing in 1972.¹⁰ The relationship has deepened since then, in particular the trade relationships cultivated have been highly successful. Since the mid 1990s, a new wave of Chinese migration into the South Pacific, including NZ, occurred.¹¹ In 2008, the historic NZ-China Free Trade Agreement was signed, greatly increasing NZ exports to China.¹² More recently, the people-to-people links are increasing with high numbers of Chinese arriving in NZ for education, and a flourishing tourism market.¹³ NZ has a strong desire to maintain positive ties with China for trade opportunities, and China enjoys a relatively favourable image and has an ally in NZ.¹⁴ Sister city relationships were created, including Wellington and Beijing and Xiamen, and Dunedin and Shanghai.¹⁵ In this dynamic environment, cultural organisations play a role in advancing awareness and understanding between the nations.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Council on Foreign Relations, ‘China-Taiwan Relations’, August 2011, accessed 11 January 2016, <http://www.cfr.org/china/china-taiwan-relations/p9223>.

⁷ Elder, *New Zealand’s China Experience*, 9.

⁸ John Key in Elder, *Forty Years On*, 9.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Zhiqun Zhu, *China’s New Diplomacy: Rationale, strategies and significance* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010) 139-140.

¹² John Key in Elder, *Forty Years On*, 11.

¹³ Tourism New Zealand, ‘Market Trends’ 5 June 2015, accessed 16 October 2015, <http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/markets-stats/markets/china/market-trends/>.

¹⁴ Zhu, 143.

¹⁵ Phillipa Reynolds, *Rewi Alley: From Canterbury to China* (Christchurch: The Caxton Press, 1997) 82.

Bridging the Gap: Individuals and Organisations

A key figure in the history and development of diplomatic relations is Rewi Alley, who became a symbol of NZ-China relations through his humanitarian and diplomatic work over six decades.¹⁶ NZ-born Alley arrived in China in 1927 and became involved in the Chinese Revolution.¹⁷ His political awareness developed from witnessing the working and living conditions of the poor in China, particularly those of children.¹⁸ Alley wrote prolifically on the PRC, which was not always welcomed by the NZ Government, but after tensions had eased between the countries Alley was recognised as an asset to the relationship.¹⁹ He had travelled extensively throughout China, understood Chinese culture, language and customs, and had political connections.²⁰ Through a natural progression, Alley became an unofficial ambassador for NZ in China.²¹

An expert on Alley, Anne-Marie Brady wrote of his most prominent role, that of ‘friend of China’.²² Brady stated

The foreign friends of the People’s Republic of China (PRC) have an important role in China’s distinctive foreign affairs system, which incorporates state-to-state diplomacy with so called ‘people’s’ diplomacy, foreign propaganda and the management of the foreign presence in China. The friends are also symbolic of the highly politicised status of the foreigner in the PRC and the Chinese Communist Party’s (CCP) ongoing attempts to control Sino-foreign relations in the abstract and most literal sense.²³

This was an important outcome of Alley’s efforts in China, who assisted in softening NZ’s perception of China from hard power communist, to ally and partner.

¹⁶ Anne-Marie Brady, *Friend of China – The myth of Rewi Alley* (London: Routledge, 2003) 1.

¹⁷ Willis Airey, *A Learner in China: A life of Rewi Alley* (Christchurch: The Caxton Press & The Monthly Review Society, 1970) 48.

¹⁸ Wilfred Burchett with Rewi Alley, *China: The quality of life* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1976) 54.

¹⁹ Reynolds, 81.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Brady, 1.

²³ Ibid, 1.

Alley's strong voice, which promoted China externally, in particular to NZ, was widely recognised and respected by the Chinese.²⁴

The cultural organisations of NZ and China draw on the rich story of Alley to communicate cultural awareness and understanding. There is currently significant work being undertaken to raise awareness this connection. A Marsden Fund was awarded in 2013 to Dr Bullen of University of Canterbury for the project, 'Selling New Zealand to China: Rewi Alley and the Art of Museum Diplomacy'.²⁵ From this, a symposium is planned for April 2016 provisionally titled, 'Museums, Art and Chinese Cultural Diplomacy in the Pacific'. This will include discussion on Alley in the context of NZ-China diplomatic relations. Subsequent publications and exhibitions are likely, and cultural organisations including Canterbury Museum have collections on Alley. His early presence in China is a bridge between the two nations, and cultural organisations can tell this story of the NZ-China relationship.

One method China has utilised to develop its cultural diplomacy and international image is the establishment of Confucius Institutes. The first Confucius Institute opened in 2004 in Seoul to promote and teach Chinese language and culture.²⁶ The initiative has grown exponentially and by 2015 over 470 Confucius Institutes have been established worldwide.²⁷ These cultural institutions are a centrepiece of Chinese cultural diplomacy by increasing the number of Chinese language speakers, as well as providing space for cultural displays of art, music and Chinese holidays.²⁸ From these outcomes, Confucius Institutes can sit inside two categories of Cull's cultural diplomacy. The institutes promote 'capacity building' by teaching Chinese language, assisting China's drive to increase Chinese speakers globally.²⁹ As space is provided for the performance and celebration of Chinese cultural activities and events the

²⁴ Xinhua News Agency, 'Rewi Alley's successors carry forward China-New Zealand friendship', *Xinhua News Agency*, 17 November 2014, accessed 10 February 2016, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA390367655&v=2.1&u=vuw&it=r&p=ITOF&sw=w&asid=4a761efbd2b4aa5502342c76a2d66911>

²⁵ The Royal Society of New Zealand, 'Marsden Funded Awards 2013', accessed 11 November 2015, <http://www.royalsociety.org.nz/programmes/funds/marsden/awards/2013-awards/>.

²⁶ Oxford Analytica Daily Brief Service, 'International: Confucius Institutes exert soft power', *Oxford Analytica Daily Brief Service* (Oxford: Oxford Analytica, 2006).

²⁷ University of Auckland Confucius Institute, 'About Us', accessed 4 January 2016, <http://ndhadeliver.natlib.govt.nz/ArcAggregator/arcView/frameView/IE25266796/http://ci.ac.nz/>.

²⁸ Mutsaka, 31.

²⁹ Ibid, 30.

institutes provide 'cultural information' within their region. The Confucius Institutes in New Zealand are connected with three universities: Auckland University, Victoria University of Wellington, and Canterbury University.

When opening the Confucius Institute in Christchurch in 2009, Chinese Vice Premier Li Keqiang noted that the 'already existing partnership between the two countries would be further strengthened through more cultural exchanges such as the establishment of Confucius Institutes'.³⁰ In 2015 around 24,000 New Zealand primary school children were learning Chinese language.³¹ The focus on language capability is also reflected in the cultural sector; TP offers Mandarin tours and participates in Chinese language week. This is significant progress made through the combined efforts of groups concerned with the development of bilateral relations between NZ and China, such as the New Zealand China Council, Asia New Zealand Foundation, New Zealand Asia Institute, and New Zealand China Friendship Society.

The New Zealand China Friendship Society was formed in 1952 to encourage understanding of China.³² The aim of the Society is

To promote friendship, understanding and goodwill between the peoples of China and New Zealand by encouraging visits and exchanges of ideas, information, culture and trade between the two countries.³³

At the time of its creation the organisation was viewed suspiciously in NZ; today it is highly respected.³⁴ Its ethos, objectives, and methods have not changed in this time, but perception of the organisation and NZ-China relations have. The Society supports specific projects such as people-to-people exchanges, the study of Chinese language,

³⁰ Xinhua News Agency, 'Feature: Confucius Institute to bridge cultural exchanges between China, New Zealand', *Xinhua News Agency* 1 November 2009, accessed 3 January 2016, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA210955081&v=2.1&u=vuw&it=r&p=ITOF&sw=w&asid=fc8d03795657e742a07eef0e7f3461c5>.

³¹ Xinhua Economic News, 'Interview: New Zealand, Chinese leaders focus on future of relationship', *Xinhua Economic News*, 21 September 2015, accessed 3 January 2016, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA429349844&v=2.1&u=vuw&it=r&p=ITOF&sw=w&asid=aa926051eb04c6a4b259a04cb2f99205>.

³² Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Chairman Mao's Cloak', accessed 10 December 2015, <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/WhatsOn/exhibitions/Pages/ChairmanMaoscloak.aspx>.

³³ New Zealand China Friendship Society, 'Our Aims and Constitution' accessed 11 November 2015, <http://nzchinasociety.org.nz/about-the-new-zealand-china-friendship-society/>.

³⁴ Elder, *New Zealand's China Experience*, 9.

and fosters sister city links between NZ and China.³⁵ An example of their activity was when NZ film-makers Ramai and Rudall Hayward were invited to visit China in 1957 with other members of the New Zealand China Friendship Society. On this trip, the Society delegation presented a Kahu Huru hū (feather cloak) to Chairman Mao on behalf of the Māori King Korokī, on the anniversary of the founding of the PRC.³⁶ This was a significant gesture of goodwill between the nations and deepened their relationship. Through the TP-NMC partnership, this cloak was temporarily loaned to TP in 2012, so that the NZ public could view the taonga. The New Zealand China Friendship Society played an important role in the cloak's temporary return to NZ.

In 2012, the New Zealand China Council was launched as a government organisation to strengthen ties between the two countries.³⁷ This is part of the New Zealand Inc China Strategy launched by Prime Minister John Key. Chairman of the New Zealand China Council, Sir Don McKinnon said that the aim of the organisation is to coordinate the efforts of public and private sector to increase impact.³⁸ He stated,

New Zealand has good linkages with China across the business, science, education and cultural communities. The council will build on these connections, strengthening New Zealand knowledge of China and contributing to public discussion of the New Zealand China relationship.³⁹

This move to coordinate the approaches by individual organisations is encouraging. The objective of the Council, to strengthen knowledge and public discussion, is a notable aim. It is relatively uncommon for diplomatic relationships to be prominently discussed and awareness raised in the wider community. The directness of this approach is novel, and a leading example of how organisations can raise confidence and support through greater awareness and understanding of their efforts in bridging the gap between NZ and China.

³⁵ New Zealand China Friendship Society, 'Our Aims and Constitution'.

³⁶ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Chairman Mao's Cloak', accessed 10 December 2015, <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/WhatsOn/exhibitions/Pages/ChairmanMaoscloak.aspx>.

³⁷ New Zealand China Council, 'What we do', accessed 16 December 2015, <http://www.nzchinacouncil.com/#!/the-council/c3z7>.

³⁸ Xinhua Economic News, 'New Zealand China Council launched to strengthen links', *Xinhua Economic News*, 4 July 2012, accessed 3 January 2016, <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/i.do?id=GALE%7CA295268413&v=2.1&u=vuw&it=r&p=ITOF&sw=w&asid=d5c4e0fed3b04b89444199a7e381ee0b>.

³⁹ Ibid.

Otago Museum

There is a particularly deep connection between Dunedin and Shanghai, created through the history of Chinese immigration and settlement in the Otago region. The first wave of Chinese immigrants arrived in NZ in 1866 to pursue goldmining, in response to an invitation issued by the Otago Chamber of Commerce (OCC).⁴⁰ The majority of Chinese settlement in the late nineteenth century was in the South Island, especially Dunedin.⁴¹ However, the number declined after 1881 due to the exhaustion of the gold fields and a poll-tax on Chinese immigrants, limiting the numbers entering NZ.⁴² The country's Chinese community has grown exponentially since the first wave of immigration, though the trend was for settlement in the North Island, particularly Auckland and Wellington, after the gold rush ended.⁴³ The strong connection remains from early settlement in Dunedin, and the local councils have built strong relationships from this foundation.

In October 1994, Dunedin and Shanghai formalised a sister city relationship and signed a Memorandum of Understanding to reflect the influence of early Chinese settlement in Dunedin, and enhance economic and cultural opportunities.⁴⁴ There have been a number of projects resulting from the initial relationships between the cities. These have included projects of business development supported by the OCC, a NZ Pavilion at the World Expo in Shanghai 2011, and the development of the Dunedin Chinese Gardens, next to Toitū Otago Settlers Museum (Toitū). These opportunities and projects that have been possible due to the MoU, which 'highlights Dunedin's strong relationship with Shanghai, the result of a 15 year investment with a country where relations outweigh size.'⁴⁵ The sister city partnership has fostered collaboration between major Dunedin cultural organisations. The OM, Toitū and the Dunedin Public Art Gallery (DPAG) have all engaged with the region's history of Chinese settlement. Toitū has a Chinese settlers exhibition, DPAG has toured a Chinese art

⁴⁰ Elder, *New Zealand's China Experience*, 20.

⁴¹ Tai Yuen, 41-42.

⁴² Elder, *New Zealand's China Experience*, 20.

⁴³ Tai Yuen, 41-42.

⁴⁴ Regina Maniam, 'Report on the Dunedin-Shanghai Sister City Relationship' (Dunedin: Otago Polytechnic and Otago Chamber of Commerce, 2011) 5.

⁴⁵ Dunedin City Council, 'Shanghai EXPO: Dunedin Business Delegation Programme Summary', 2009, 4.

exhibition and the organisations have arranged staff exchanges to SM and the Shanghai Museum of Science and Technology.

The relationship between OM-SM has been active for 15 years, and the two museums formalised a partnership in 2010.⁴⁶ The exhibitions exchanged by OM-SM have enabled cultural exchange between the museums, their staff, and communities. Further, because the museums do not pay touring fees, but only freight and associated costs involved in mounting the exhibitions, there are financial benefits for the hosting museum. In 2008, the OM hosted the exhibition *The Emperor's Dragons*.⁴⁷ The exhibition displayed treasures from SM's collection and coincided with the opening of the Dunedin Chinese Gardens.⁴⁸ To reciprocate, OM sent the exhibition *Te Ao Maori*, to SM in July 2011, which showcased Māori taonga and attracted a staggering 611,000 visitors during its four-month display.⁴⁹ These exhibitions helped build awareness and understanding of the two cultures, as well strengthening the organisational ties. Staff exchanges have also been a feature of the museums' relationship, with OM hosting Shanghai Science and Technology Museum staff member for two months in 2013.⁵⁰ Staff exchanges are prominent in NZ-China relationships. They focus on professional development, capacity and relationship building, but without the intensive resourcing required in larger projects such as exhibition exchanges.

An earlier exchange exhibition made possible through the Dunedin-Shanghai sister city agreement was the 1999 exhibition of *Chinese Splendour: 5000 years of art from the Shanghai Museum* at the DPAG.⁵¹ For the accompanying exhibition catalogue, Shanghai Museum Director Ma Chengyuan said 'it is our sincere hope that through this exhibition the peoples of the Pacific region learn about each other's pasts, make

⁴⁶ Maniam, 7.

⁴⁷ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'Staggering success for exhibition in Shanghai Museum', 30 Nov 2011, accessed 6 February 2016, <http://www.mch.govt.nz/news-events/news/staggering-success-exhibition-shanghai-museum>.

⁴⁸ Eleanor Roy, 'Taonga travel to China', *Sunday Star Times*, 26 June 2011.

⁴⁹ Radio New Zealand, 'Maori expo big attraction at Shanghai Museum', 6 Dec 2011.

⁵⁰ Dunedin City Council, 'Project Shanghai: Delegation to China Report', 2014, 16.

⁵¹ Date in Dunedin City Council reports is listed as 1995, the date of the exhibition in the catalogue published at the time of the exhibition is listed as 1999.

cultural exchanges, and consolidate our friendships for the twenty-first century'.⁵² This was an early demonstration of the importance of the relationship between the cities and was instrumental in the development of the Dunedin Chinese Gardens. A 2009 report on the relationship commissioned by the OCC, stated that 'the period of planning kept communication open between Dunedin and Shanghai during a time when there was a lack of formal delegations...'⁵³ This example both suggests the importance of continual communication and how cultural organisations support the larger relationship and its objectives.

For Dunedin, the cultural organisation have been a vital part of the sister city relationship. The MoU between Shanghai and Dunedin 2013-2015 proposes that the cities,

Agree to strengthen the long-term relationship between Shanghai Museum and the Otago Museum through on-going exhibition exchanges and staff exchanges. This will extend to various other Shanghai museums, including Shanghai Science and Technology Museum and its branch museum Shanghai Natural History Museum.⁵⁴

The museums continue to engage through staff exchanges, though exhibition exchanges are currently on hold.⁵⁵ The OM's Annual Report 2013/14 notes that an exhibition was planned at the Shanghai Natural History Museum.⁵⁶ The exhibition, *Aotearoa: Ngā taonga o te taiao/New Zealand: The wonders of the natural world* was scheduled for 2015 but this has not eventuated, with no indication as to when the project will resume. In this time period, there have been leadership changes at OM with the former Director Shimrath Paul succeeded by Dr Ian Griffin. Naturally, changes in the leadership of an organisation often impact the focus and allocation of resources. But when there is a long history of engagement between the cities and museums, it could be argued that OM risks diminishing its relationship by suspending its programmes with SM.

⁵² Ma Chengyuan, *Chinese Splendour: 5000 years of Chinese art from the Shanghai Museum* (Dunedin: Dunedin Public Art Gallery, 1999).

⁵³ Maniam, 7.

⁵⁴ Dunedin City Council, 'Memorandum of Understanding on Cooperation and Exchange between Shanghai and Dunedin 2013-2015', April 2013.

⁵⁵ Otago Museum, 'Annual Report 2014-15' (Dunedin: Otago Museum, 2015) 43.

⁵⁶ Otago Museum, 'Annual Report 2013-14' (Dunedin: Otago Museum, 2014) 49.

In the OCC report on the Dunedin-Shanghai relationship the author recommended that the ‘view of the relationship be extended beyond Dunedin-Shanghai to New Zealand-China to gain a greater benefit from the sister city relationship.’⁵⁷ Since this report, partnerships and activity between the countries and cultural organisations have continued to grow. Activity has become more intensive and focused in China arising from the NZ-China Free Trade Agreement signed in 2008, the NZ Government’s China Strategy of 2012, and the establishment of the New Zealand China Council in the same year. Government emphasis on the China relationship has a strong impact on where organisations are concentrating their international efforts and it seems likely that this will continue to grow. In the 2013-2015 MoU, cultural sector planning included exchange and cooperation between Dunedin Public Libraries and Shanghai Libraries. It proposed increasing the number of Dunedin and Shanghai cultural institutions working together, to develop greater understanding between the two nations.

National Library of New Zealand Te Puna Mātauranga o Aotearoa

NLNZ and NLC formalised a partnership in 2006 under the leadership of former National Librarian, Penny Carnaby. Like the other cultural sector partnerships connected with government, this was set up as a five-year agreement through a Letter of Arrangement between the organisations. National Librarian Bill Macnaught recounted that Carnaby,

Could see that as the New Zealand government was getting more serious about building a relationship with the Chinese government, that the cultural sector was seen as one of the areas where we could build bridges between the two countries.

This example demonstrates the influence of leadership on an organisation’s focus and activity. It also demonstrates the willingness of an organisation to engage with cultural diplomacy and wider government objectives, without explicitly being asked by government.

⁵⁷ Maniam, 17.

When Macnaught assumed leadership in 2011 he considered the renewal of the partnership with NLC. While the relationship had a strong start in 2006 with visits to and from China, it had not developed much in the first five years. Macnaught stated,

There was not much evidence of anything tangible that flowed from that. So that was my position... if we were going to sign up for another five years, we were going to need to work a bit harder to ensure there was some tangible benefit for New Zealand.

While considering the potential of the relationship, the NLNZ sought advice from the NZ Ambassador in Beijing who reiterated that it was beneficial for the NZ Government for the libraries to continue their partnership. NLNZ accepted this suggestion, but asserted that the organisations must work harder to create practical and tangible outcomes, for the benefit of both the organisations and countries. The activities and outcomes are slowly developing, but Macnaught reiterated that the relationship is still ‘investing in the early stages’.

The exhibition *Nian Hua: New Year Pictures from China* which was developed through the relationship was displayed in Auckland from December 2015 to March 2016. Showcasing woodblock prints loaned from the NLC collection the exhibition has been well received by members of the Chinese community in Auckland. For NLNZ, this has been the key outcome of the exhibition. Macnaught summarised this by saying, ‘we brought this material from China, but the real benefit for us is in building the conversation in Auckland with other New Zealanders’. However, while the organisations do engage in exchange of objects and exhibitions from their collections, they acknowledge that this is not their strength, and that other cultural organisations are better placed to undertake this activity. Reflecting on TP’s contribution to cultural diplomacy Macnaught said,

It is great that they can reciprocate and bring in treasures of Chinese museums and the National Museum of China to New Zealand. And that is not the activity that we want to pursue. So it is much more about professional exchange for us, and building a friendship.

While exhibitions have and will continue to feature as an aspect of the partnership, NLNZ believes the focus of their practical outcomes should be more directed to

professional development of staff. There have been several staff exchanges to date with two members of the NLNZ conservation team recently travelling to NLC to develop expertise in Chinese paper conservation techniques. There is potential for professional development of NLC staff to learn from NLNZ about digital preservation, as NLNZ is a world leader in this area. However, there are practical difficulties to facilitating this due to governmental firewalls and security issues. In the meantime, NLC intends to send a staff member to NLNZ to complete some research into the collections and explore what may be digitised.

During their most recent meeting in December 2015, NLNZ and NLC agreed to begin development of an exhibition about Rewi Alley. This idea has been considered since the beginning of their relationship, as Alley is a key figure in the development of the special relationship between the nations. Macnaught said it is ‘about what we have got in our collection that we could share with them to help them see more of the character [of Rewi Alley] who is well respected in Chinese society’. This idea is still in the very early stages but will be a strong contribution to both the development of the relationship between the organisations, and the wider goals of increasing mutual understanding between the nations.

While visiting the NLC, the NZ delegation also visited the National Science Library in Beijing. This organisation is recognised as excelling in knowledge sharing across a number of organisations; NLNZ is interested in their experience as an aspirational example. However, collaboration or partnership with the National Science Library is not currently a priority. Macnaught explained this by saying ‘until we have got the National Library relationship working well, I don’t want to disperse our energy’. In the future, the organisation could utilise its relationship with NLC as a springboard to other ventures, but this is currently outside the scope of the relationship. As a five-year arrangement, the partnership will be subject to renewal by NLNZ and NLC in 2016. While the relationship has provided NLNZ with some opportunities, there is a need for growth to ensure the partnership is *meaningful* for the organisations, their staff and public, and not just document without impact.

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa

New Zealand's national museum is the result of the merging of two histories and collections from the national museum and national art gallery to become the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, commonly known as Te Papa. The museum had its beginnings in 1865 as the Colonial Museum (CM), in the newly appointed capital city, Wellington.⁵⁸ After New Zealand became a dominion of the British Empire in 1907, the museum was known as the Dominion Museum (DM).⁵⁹ Plans for expanding national cultural institutions including a museum, gallery and library were put on hold due to the events of World War I.⁶⁰ By 1936, the National Art Gallery (NAG) and DM were opened in a new building in Buckle Street, Wellington; and in 1972 the museum was renamed the National Museum (NM).⁶¹ In 1992, the NAG and NM were joined to create the national collection.⁶² Te Papa opened in a new building on the Wellington waterfront in 1998. It is internationally renowned for its bicultural organisational model and collaboration with its indigenous community.⁶³ The museum is multi-disciplinary, with its core areas focusing on Art, Mātauranga Māori, Museology, Natural Environment, and New Zealand and Pacific Cultures. As the national museum, TP naturally operates in an international context. It is both an internal waharoa (gateway) for international visitors to NZ, and a key organisation representing NZ culture overseas. TP engages internationally through programmes of touring exhibitions, object loans, repatriation, conferences, and professional networks. As a host of international exhibitions, TP makes globally significant heritage available to local audiences, while aiming to enhance their visitation, diversify audiences and generate revenue through tourism.⁶⁴ However, international museum activity does not necessarily signify cultural diplomacy. Through political or diplomatic engagement, TP's international museum activity is elevated to cultural diplomacy activity. Some of

⁵⁸ Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 'A history of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa', accessed 2 February 2016, <http://www.mch.govt.nz/news-events/news/history-museum-new-zealand-te-papa-tongarewa>.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Our History', accessed 1 February 2016, <http://www.tepapa.govt.nz/AboutUs/history/Pages/default.aspx>.

⁶² Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A history of colonial cultures of display* (Oxford: Berg, 2007) 169.

⁶³ Tanja Schubert-McArthur, "'Walking the Talk'? An ethnography of biculturalism at Te Papa', (PhD Thesis: Victoria University of Wellington, 2014) 2.

⁶⁴ Davidson, 'Border Crossings and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Touring Exhibition', 1.

the national museum's engagement with state-sponsored cultural diplomacy is outlined below.

While it is outside the scope of this research to provide an in-depth examination, the ground-breaking exhibition of *Te Maori* must be acknowledged. Drawn from collections around NZ, the exhibition of Māori taonga opened its United States tour at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, 10 September 1984.⁶⁵ The objectives of the NZ Government for *Te Maori* were to enhance Māori mana, increase America's understanding and awareness of NZ, and provide opportunity to further NZ's trade, investment and tourism interests.⁶⁶ The exhibition became a phenomenon; it had high profile media coverage and broke attendance records in the United States and NZ.⁶⁷ From a cultural diplomacy perspective, the exhibition was used to advance NZ interests, by showing NZ's cultural richness.⁶⁸ Mark added, 'the exhibition was used by some Maori to use the power of international recognition for the benefit of Maori interests at home, to improve the mana and power of Maori in New Zealand, and to change the relationship between Maori and Pakeha'.⁶⁹ When the exhibition returned, there was a homecoming tour, *Te Hokinga Mai*, or 'The Return', which has been credited with a number of significant changes in NZ museum practice.⁷⁰ Some of these include recognition of a Māori perspective on objects as taonga, recognition of kaitiakitanga (guardianship) in decisions about taonga, and adoption of Māori protocol to open and close exhibitions. The tour of *Te Maori* is arguably NZ's most successful cultural diplomacy event, with a lasting domestic, as well as international impact.

History of exhibition exchanges between New Zealand and China

Cultural exchanges between NZ and China at the national museum have a considerable history prior to the formalisation of the relationship of TP-NMC in 2011. Exhibitions of Chinese art, history and culture have been displayed at TP and its predecessors from private collections, touring exhibitions from China, and

⁶⁵ Mark, 'A Comparative Study of Cultural Diplomacy', 127.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 134-135.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ McCarthy, 61.

governmental and ambassadorial sanctioned shows since 1937. Naturally, the exhibitions presented in NZ have been affected by the shifting political situation in China. NZ has held exhibitions on Chinese art and history from the governments of PRC, referred to here as China, and from the Republic of China (ROC), referred to here as Taiwan. From the activity listed below, we see there has been substantial representation of and interaction with China's cultural heritage in NZ, at the national museum.

The first recorded national exhibition on Chinese art in NZ was the *Exhibition of Chinese Art*, from April to May 1937 at the NAG.⁷¹ It contained art from British private collections of Chinese art, which were brought to NZ by Captain G. Humphreys-Davies, honorary curator of the Oriental section of the Auckland Museum. The exhibition showcased approximately 800 examples of Chinese art, porcelain, pottery, bronzes, jade, calligraphy and embroidery. The objects were presented chronologically, from 25th Century BCE to 18th Century ADE. A catalogue was produced in conjunction with the exhibition, which toured the major metropolitan centres of NZ.

The New Zealand Academy of Fine Arts (NZFAA) is a distinct organisation, but it operated closely with the NAG and DM and provided temporary exhibition space on occasion. The NZFAA presented a number of Chinese art exhibitions. From December 1957 to January 1958 it displayed *Chinese Painting*. The exhibition showcased 60 facsimile reproductions of famous Chinese paintings, covering 2000 years of Chinese art. The exhibition, *Contemporary Chinese Calligraphy and Painting* opened at the NZFAA in December 1960. It was sponsored by the Taiwan government, with prints of older works from the national collection. The Governor-General, Lord Cobham officially opened the exhibition. This is the first recorded instance of diplomatic involvement in touring exhibitions between NZ and Taiwan. In 1965, an Ambassador from Taiwan officially opened the exhibition *Contemporary Chinese Earthenware from Taiwan* at the DM.

⁷¹ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Collated Museum Exhibition List' and 'Collated Art Exhibition List.' Internal Document ID# 847610. All material in this section is from this source, unless otherwise stated.

In October 1970 an exhibition *Contemporary Chinese Art* opened at the NAG with works from the Taiwan National Art Gallery, which was organised in conjunction with the Taipei Economic and Cultural Office. The 'National Art Gallery Review' reported in January 1971 that the Taiwanese Embassy indicated its interest in co-operating with the NAG to sponsor an exhibition of contemporary Chinese paintings. The works were from the national collection of Taiwan. A successful opening, which was held to coincide with the Chinese National Day celebrations, was held in the gallery, before the exhibition toured nationally.

In 1975 the NAG hosted two Chinese focused exhibitions, *Chinese Photographs* that was organised in association with the Chinese Embassy, and *Chinese Crafts*. During the Wellington Festival of 1976, the DM hosted a display of *Ivory, Jade and Ceramics*, made possible by the PRC.

The first recorded instance of the DM touring an exhibition in China was *Māori Artifacts*, which travelled to Guangzhou, Changsha and Beijing from April to June in 1978. Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT) had suggested that the DM send an exhibition of Māori cultural heritage to the PRC. The Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries offered to host the exhibition and TP staff member Ross O'Rourke, for a fortnight each at the three venues.⁷² TP staff selected 110 artifacts and graphic materials to illustrate the full range of traditional Māori life, and prepared a booklet on Māori cultural history to accompany the exhibition. This tour was significant for diplomatic relations at the time, and an important milestone for NZ's cultural diplomacy.

From December 1986 to February 1987, the NM and NAG co-operatively produced, *The Buried Army of Qin Shihuang*. There was a free introductory section of the exhibition, which featured an introductory video and Chinese clothing and domestic items. The introductory section encouraged visitors to buy a ticket to the main exhibition, which showcased the terracotta warriors. The exhibition was very popular and attracted approximately 69,000 visitors.

⁷² For more information, see interview with Ross O'Rourke on this in Te Papa Archives. Referenced in Conal McCarthy, *Exhibiting Māori: A history of colonial cultures of display* (Oxford: Berg, 2007).

In 1995, TP mounted an exhibition of New Zealand photographer *Brian Brake: China, the 1950s*. There were 61 black and white photographs, 47 colour images and nine coloured murals selected from Brake's visits to China in 1957 and 1959. Some of images shown in this exhibition are likely to have also been shown in *Brian Brake: Lens on China and New Zealand* when the exhibition toured to NMC in 2012.

From August to October 1996, TP hosted *The Heritage of Genghis Khan: Treasures of Inner Mongolia*. The exhibition was a result of a partnership between TP and Wellington City Gallery. It spanned 3500 years of Inner Mongolian history and culture from 2000BC to the 14th Century. The exhibition was realised as a result of collaboration between the Natural History Museum of Los Angeles County and the Inner Mongolia Museum of China, with the exhibition comprising artefacts from the collections of ten Chinese museums.

In the Community Gallery at TP *The Making of a Chinese New Zealander* was exhibited from 1998 to 2000. The exhibition examined daily life for Chinese immigrants in New Zealand and explored issues such as racism suffered by Chinese immigrants, their involvement in World War II, and how the type of Chinese migrant has changed over the years. Touring exhibitions between the nations have developed, with *Dinosaurs from China* exhibited from December 2003 to April 2004, drawn from the national collections including Beijing Natural History Museum and Zigong Dinosaur Museum.

In April 2007 the CDIP funded TP to produce the exhibition *New Zealand, New Thinking* which was organised to present NZ to China in an unconventional and exciting way.⁷³ The exhibition toured to shopping malls in Beijing, Shanghai, Wuhan and Guangzhou. It featured the land, the people, and New Zealand's place on the Asia-Pacific rim and its innovative and creative industries through film, images, interactive experiences, and a Weta Workshop model. Each day, there were performances by Strike, a NZ percussion group, and a kapa haka group from

⁷³ Annette King, 'New Zealand New Thinking' exhibition opens in Guangzhou', press release 27 April 2007, accessed 16 February 2016, <https://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/quotnew-zealand-new-thinkingquot-exhibition-opens-guangzhou>.

Whitireia Polytechnic's Performing Arts School.⁷⁴ Mark commented on how this collaboration between CDIP and TP was an innovative approach to cultural diplomacy, by trying new venues and approaches to widen the potential audience. By presenting NZ culture in Chinese malls, it was engaging with an increasingly important audience, young consumers, with potential impact on trade and tourism through increased awareness of NZ.

In 2012, TP was invited to participate in an international art exhibition to mark the reopening of China Art Palace in Shanghai. TP exhibited a selection of New Zealand's foremost contemporary artists in the exhibition *Meridian Lines: Contemporary art from the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*. TP was one of seven major international museums, including the British Museum, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam and the Whitney Museum of American Art. This was a very prestigious exhibition, and attendance was reported at over 500,000 visitors.⁷⁵ This exhibition is significant as it departed from the usual ethnographic and historically focused exhibitions of NZ, previously shown in China.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the political and social history of NZ and China and surveyed some of the key organisations and relationships. The range of activities and agents in the history of cultural engagement between NZ and China has been diverse, encompassing governments, trade, business, libraries, gardens, galleries, and museums. While this overview has not included all of the relationships or even all of the exhibitions that have occurred between NZ and China, it shows the high level of interaction between the two nations. This brief overview provides the context in which to examine the current state of collaboration and partnerships between cultural organisations of NZ and China. As NZ's national museum, TP has a strong sense of

⁷⁴ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Past Touring Exhibitions: New Zealand New Thinking' accessed 13 June 2015, <https://www.tepapa.govt.nz/WhatsOn/TouringExhibitions/PastTouringExhibitions/Pages/NewZealandNewThinking.aspx>.

⁷⁵ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Board 162, Item 4.4. Final Report on Cultural Diplomacy Funding', June 2013.

its responsibility to be the leading agent of NZ's cultural representation, domestically and internationally. This is explored in the next chapter, through a case study of TP-NMC.

Chapter Two:

Te Papa and the National Museum of China

A symbol of friendship

Following TP's presentation of the 'Jasmine Flower' opera performance in its art galleries for the NMC delegation, Deputy Director Chen told TP, 'Do not worry about the waiata for the opening, I've got it under control'. Before the NMC exhibition opening of *Kura Pounamu: Treasured stone of Aotearoa New Zealand* and *Brian Brake: Lens on China and New Zealand* in October 2012, Deputy Director Chen asked the staff to stand in a row and he proceeded down the line. Liz Hay recalled that he 'Went along, shaking all their hands and taught them how to hongī' in preparation for the exhibition opening.

The next day was the formal opening of the exchange exhibitions. When it was time for the waiata, a large operatic choir emerged, and sang a beautiful rendition of 'Te Aroha' in Māori. It was amplified throughout the entire museum. Hay recalled the experience,

It was really quite powerful. The New Zealand Embassy staff had tears in their eyes and they said 'this is such an incredible moment for us'. I'm using that [story] as an expression of where this ultimately has to go to work well, which is somehow a level of relating and insight and understanding which takes you a long way from where you started.

The thoughtful gestures made by TP and NMC staff to bridge cultural differences and show respect are invaluable in developing the relationship between the museums, peoples and nations of NZ and China.

Introduction

This chapter examines the case study of TP and summarises the results of my interviews with cultural sector professionals. The interviews gave participants the opportunity to express their views on the TP-NMC partnership and activities, as well as reflect on the role of museums in cultural diplomacy. After analysis of the interview data, the results were organised into themes. These are strategic objectives, positioning the museum, challenges, successes, and developments. These themes provide the basis for my discussion in the following chapter.

A Museum Partnership: Strategic Objectives

There has been a long and productive relationship between cultural organisations of NZ and China, but the activity and level of the engagement between TP-NMC was bolstered with the arrival of Michael Houlihan. Houlihan assumed the role of CEO of TP in August 2010 and quickly went about developing a relationship with NMC. Houlihan had held several leadership positions in the United Kingdom museum sector before taking over as CEO of TP. As Director of Amgueddfa Cymru National Museum of Wales, he had led the museum in signing a MoU with the Three Gorges Museum in Chongqing. This experience contributed to his international vision for Te Papa. Houlihan recalled the initiation of the partnership saying,

I requested a formal visit to the National Museum of China and met with the Director and senior colleagues in November 2010, following the ICOM Triennial Conference that had been held in Shanghai. As a result of that meeting, the Director proposed that we establish a Memorandum of Understanding or Relationship Agreement between our two museums.

This development was consistent with Chinese policy of arranging formal relationships with institutions that carried comparable national status within their own country. Houlihan recalled that while it was the 'Director of NMC that was the first to broach the proposal and he accepted my invitation to visit Te Papa.... in the light of my experience in Chongqing, I had gone to Beijing ready to suggest a formal relationship!'. Following their meeting, the organisations signed 'An Arrangement

between The National Museum of China and The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa to Establish a Cooperative Relationship' in April 2011.

To facilitate the plans, Wen Powles was seconded to TP from MFAT in February 2012. Powles' experience as a diplomat at the New Zealand Embassy in Beijing and her role as the New Zealand Consul General in Shanghai greatly assisted the TP-NMC relationship. Powles described her role as advisory; she was employed to help facilitate plans in place, '[giving] confidence to the whole project, both to the TP side and the Chinese side who had not dealt with New Zealand museums before.' A key objective for Powles was to create an International Strategy, which would outline the guiding principles for the museum's international activity.

Powles developed TP's International Strategy through consultation with Houlihan, and other key TP staff. The strategy also drew on aspects of NZ's Foreign Policy, and considers trade relationships, tourism, and New Zealand's multicultural community. Powles explained,

I believed the strategy could be meaningfully linked to what the rest of the country was doing in the international sphere... We have a foreign policy that sets out clear priorities and I placed those priorities against what Te Papa had done, and what Te Papa could do to manifest Aotearoa's cultural heritage and contemporary arts more broadly in the world.

The Strategy outlines the context, the mechanisms to achieve its aims, and the priority areas to direct TP's international activity. Powles described it as 'a base to support other parts of the museum to do international work'. The Strategy covered the reasons for international engagement that contributes directly to TP, and indirectly to government.

For TP, the Strategy is an expression of its responsibility as a national cultural institution to share collections and knowledge through national and international connections. It contributes to achieving the museum's Strategic Priorities 'to make collections and exhibitions available to audiences throughout New Zealand and internationally'.¹ The Strategy provides direction on how TP can uphold and grow its

¹ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Te Papa's International Strategy', 2012, 1.

international reputation and brand, and increase revenue generation opportunities. By showcasing the nation's identity and value, creativity and uniqueness, TP can promote cultural understanding.

For government, the Strategy acknowledges its responsibility to align the organisation's objectives and activity with the goals of the government. NZ's international interests prioritise key relationships in Asia, in particular China. TP stated that it is advancing in the cultural sphere in China and would support 'wider national objectives of improving economic growth and productivity through the establishment of stronger cultural links'.² It is also noted in a paper to the Board on its China Strategy that,

Te Papa can leverage its already strong brand to provide added value in helping to connect New Zealand strategically to Asia, and vice versa... which could underpin wider economic transformation and growth.³

Here TP has positioned itself as willing and able to engage in the cultural diplomacy of NZ. This articulation strengthens the previously informal understanding, to a more concrete expression of its diplomatic abilities.

Although government input is kept relatively light, an excerpt from the Minister's Letter of Expectations 2013 to TP Board is included in the Strategy,

I also encourage you to pursue outreach opportunities to make your collections and expertise more widely available around New Zealand and internationally. Recent initiatives in China are a good example of your innovative outreach strategy which aligns well with some of New Zealand's international priorities.

The Strategy declares that 'relationships with museums of national significance tend to be more formal in the non-Western world, at times requiring an official cooperation agreement'.⁴ Due to limited resources, it is necessary to prioritise countries, regions, and museums. China was chosen as the most appropriate region for TP's focus, for its alignment of museum and government objectives. However, it must be noted that the

² Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Board 151, Item 3.2. International Strategy: China', January 2012, 1.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Te Papa's International Strategy', 2012, 2.

articulation of an International Strategy and the co-option of Powles occurred after TP had already developed a formal partnership with NMC.

The Strategy acknowledges that not all international partnerships or collaborations require formal relationships to facilitate activity. Since opening, TP has maintained a range of institutional relationships that variously rely on commercial, professional, and personal connections. The museum has longstanding relationships in Australia, United States, Canada, Europe, Japan and Latin America. These are kept alive by ongoing work through exhibitions and object loans, repatriation projects, collaborative research, museums forums and conferences, as well as international visitation.⁵ Powles observes that these countries and relationships will always be important to NZ and TP, but there are few issues conducting business with them, except when they become large in scale. These relationships can continue, albeit on a relatively small scale, due to established connections, often a shared language, and similar museology.

TP Kaihautū Arapata Hakiwai expressed the view that while activity in China is important for TP and government, it remains important for TP to continue to engage widely in the international community. He said,

It is important to foster relationships with a large number of national museums in different countries for different reasons. As part of the alignment with the government initiative in terms of China being a great sphere of influence, there is that dimension.... But my view is that we should be open to any country in the world, any national museum that is keen on learning about who we are, and sharing that experience.

While there is strong impetus for deepening relations with China, there is a risk that over concentration on one organisation or country could detract from other relationships. Hakiwai conveyed that TP relied on international relationships for many reasons, but it is very important for facilitating dialogue and relationship with organisations in terms of repatriation. TP also utilises these networks altruistically, to share its expertise about bicultural governance and stakeholder engagement.

⁵ Ibid

Through the TP-NMC relationship four exhibitions have been exchanged to date. In October 2012, *Kura Pounamu* and *Brian Brake* opened at NMC. Following the success of the exchange exhibitions to NMC, two exhibitions from NMC were sent to TP in March 2014, *Shi Lu: A revolution in paint* and *Throne of Emperors*. Because Justine Olsen, curator of *Throne of Emperors* was not interviewed for this research due to lack of time, the exhibition is not extensively described.

Proactive Diplomacy: Positioning the Museum

There are myriad factors that contributed to TP establishing a relationship with NMC. The partnership was created to enhance cultural exchange between NZ and China, and for TP and NMC to co-operate in collections, conservation, exhibitions, public education, museum management and information sharing in the form of exchanges between museum professionals.⁶ Houlihan articulated this intersection between museum and government agenda stating,

National institutions are both expected, and many are eager, to participate in this international discourse. The motivations can be varied on each side. Some – especially in China – will be worked within the context of a highly orchestrated programme of government-led initiatives and targets that plug in directly to a political agenda. That might not be the case for other organisations that will see a reputational advantage amongst peers to be derived from building linkages and organising exhibition tours, internationally.

This assertion that national museums can be enthusiastic about engaging in international discourse through cultural diplomacy is an innovative perspective. Houlihan clearly saw the importance of the role of the national museum in terms of supporting and adding richness to the diplomatic and economic activity in China. This demonstrates how TP took a *proactive* approach to engage in cultural diplomacy for NZ.

⁶ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Arrangement between The National Museum of China and The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa to Establish a Cooperative Relationship', April 2011.

As CEO, Houlihan was a driving force behind the museum's engagement with NMC. Powles stated that the fact that Houlihan visited the Director of NMC, Lu Zhangsen was a very strong start to the partnership. She said it demonstrated two key points,

[It demonstrated] that Houlihan had his heart, his mind and his museum focused on wanting to have a real relationship with this particular museum in China. Secondly, it shows that he was bringing with him the commitment of the museum to do this. So it is relationships, but it is also commitment.

This is an important factor when creating relationships in China, as hierarchy and personal relationships are important protocols to respect.

While the relationship with NMC was developing, TP appealed to the CDIP for a financial contribution to support the exhibition exchanges. The CDIP was established to fund cultural diplomacy activity in NZ and overseas, with a regional focus on North Asia. The programme is run and approved by the Minister for Culture and Heritage (MCH), but operates with a steering group that comprises members of MCH, MFAT, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, Tourism New Zealand, Education New Zealand and Te Puni Kōkiri. The programme does not accept open applications from organisations or groups for funding of projects. The CDIP funds projects that are arranged through the relationships of the government agencies. For TP to secure funding for the exhibition exchanges, Houlihan promoted the project to key people in government. Houlihan said 'I had discussions with the ministries in charge of CDIP funding, MFAT, MCH... and as the proposed project met CDIP's criteria, it was agreed to grant Te Papa a sum of money in 2012.' An application outlining the project details was completed once the project was provisionally accepted by the CDIP.

In TP's application to the CDIP for funding, the exhibition exchange objectives are closely aligned with cultural diplomacy aims. TP described its central concept of the project as,

Te Papa is taking two exhibitions to the National Museum of China in Beijing: Brian Brake: *Lens on China and New Zealand* and *Pounamu*. They will mark the 40th Anniversary of Diplomatic Relations in late 2012,

when the Prime Minister plans to visit China. The aim is to further the Government's broader aims for the China relationship.⁷

The museum was successful in its application and received \$100,000 from the CDIP fund to assist with the costs associated with the exhibition exchanges travelling to China. The potential outcomes of the exhibition exchanges were bolstered by the opportunity presented through coinciding with the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations between NZ and China. Here, the museum activity could be utilised as a platform for diplomatic events, as well as deepening the relationship between TP-NMC. The realisation of CDIP funding demonstrates how TP successfully leveraged its activities with NMC to gain support from government.

As part of the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations, events were held in Beijing. The CDIP funding that TP received was partially in recognition of the opportunities the exhibitions presented for a Prime Ministerial meeting between NZ and China. There are practical difficulties for museums to connect with political events and schedules. Naturally, the Prime Minister's schedule is subject to change, and the New Zealand Prime Minister John Key was unable to attend the exhibition opening. However, he did visit NMC as part of his trip to China in April 2013. John Key was part of the delegation presented with Chairman Mao's cloak, temporarily loaned from NMC to TP. This was an incredible opportunity for the museum and there was significant media coverage as a result. Museum activity where diplomatic events take place is part of what the museum can offer the government.

Shortly after the Agreement between TP-NMC was created, Houlihan requested that Te Papa Touring prepare four exhibition proposals to present to the Director of NMC to spark a dialogue around exhibition exchanges. Museum staff presented NMC with four concepts that were iterations of previous exhibitions. TP expected that one exhibition would be selected, but NMC immediately confirmed acceptance of two, *Kura Pounamu: Treasured Stone of Aotearoa New Zealand* and *Brian Brake: Lens on China and New Zealand*. The exhibitions have clear cultural ties between NZ and China. Pounamu would be of interest as both nations have strong history as jade

⁷ Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade application for Cultural Diplomacy International Programme funding for the Te Papa Project', 2012.

cultures; Brian Brake had extensively photographed both countries in the late 1950s, and was one of the first Westerners to depict China in the modern era. Hay stated that ‘it was putting those concrete ideas in front of the Director that resonated, which moved the whole commitment and relationship along’.

A Strong Relationship: Highlights and Successes

Kura Pounamu was developed by Dougal Austin, TP Curator Taonga Tuturu 19-20th Century and displayed at TP from September 2009 to July 2011. It was an unexpected but welcome surprise when the exhibition team learned that *Kura Pounamu* would be shown at NMC, and that they would explore the possibility of it touring throughout China. Austin says that TP staff ‘had a sense of excitement about going to China but also a strong sense of the unknown, like it was new territory for us’. The redevelopment of the exhibition for China took less than a year, with the original concept of the exhibition remaining the same. As it was the second iteration of the exhibition, TP staff took the opportunity to streamline and improve the exhibition.

The central idea of the exhibition is ‘Pounamu, an enduring treasure’. *Kura Pounamu* acknowledges the mana as well as the spiritual, geological, and physical origins of pounamu. When redeveloping the exhibition for NMC, the introductory segment had to be significantly expanded, as many visitors were assumed to have little knowledge about NZ or Māori culture. A segment about the history, and growing presence, of Chinese in NZ was also added. When reworking the exhibition, the exhibition team took advantage of the larger venue to showcase large landscape images of NZ that displayed the source localities of pounamu.⁸

And so we were also thinking in the back of our minds, that this had commercial implications as well in terms of promoting New Zealand for tourism. But the use of those landscapes was also absolutely in line with

⁸ Research conducted by Davidson as part of two on-going, long-term studies of touring exhibitions produced by Te Papa on the exhibitions, *E Tū Ake: Standing Strong* and *Aztecs: Conquest and Glory*, is summarised in ‘Border Crossings and Cross-Cultural Encounters in the Touring Exhibition’. This includes description of how *Mauri Ora* and *E Tu Ake*, TP exhibitions rooted in the history of Aotearoa New Zealand’s indigenous people, Māori, negotiated issues around redeveloping content for an international audience. Davidson notes how exhibition themes can change when moved out of the specific institutional, political and social background, to a different context overseas.

Kaupapa Māori - Recognising the importance of the land to Māori as well as emphasizing the beautiful landscapes, which in turn were complementing the incredible beauty of pounamu itself. So we had a happy alignment, a nice alignment.

In this example, the intersecting components of museum activity in cultural diplomacy not only coexist, but also harmonise. This demonstrates some of the beneficial outcomes for both the museum and the NZ government.

Austin remarked that *Kura Pounamu* strongly resonated with the Chinese audience and described the project as ‘a means of cultural exchange and learning, one jade culture to another’. The exhibition raised the profile of NZ as well as being an important relationship building exercise between the museums and countries. Austin said,

Our work in China was an important exercise in soft power diplomacy. This is the means by which one of the world’s smallest nations exerts influence upon one of the largest and most powerful nations, through cultural means. So the exhibitions lead to greater cultural understanding and appreciation on both sides, on many levels.

The exhibition found an alignment between the museum’s and cultural diplomacy objectives. The tour added mana to the exhibition and the objects, shared the collections of TP with a wider audience, and raised the profile of Māori culture, TP and NZ. It was also a centrepiece of a cultural diplomacy initiative to celebrate the 40th anniversary of diplomatic NZ-China relations, and contributed to deepening the relationship. After the display at NMC, *Kura Pounamu* went on to tour four senior regional museums in China. It was exhibited at Liangzhu Museum, Guangdong Museum, China Three Gorges Museum, and Shaanxi History Museum. This tour would not have been possible without the inaugural exhibition at NMC. While it is outside the scope of this research to discuss this, further research is warranted to examine the *Kura Pounamu* tour in China.

Brian Brake: Lens on China and New Zealand was also an extract of an exhibition originally developed for TP. Curator of Photography, Athol McCredie recalled that as the oeuvre of Brake depicted many countries and as the exhibition at NMC would be an extract of the TP show, it was debated what should be included and excluded from the second iteration. Houlihan recommended that the exhibition should showcase

Brian Brake's work in both NZ and China. From this direction, McCredie selected the images that would showcase China and NZ historically. The photographs taken in China were selected from Brian Brake's two visits, in 1957 and 1959. The images of China were shown alongside photographs Brake had taken in 1960 in NZ. The object list of photographs selected was submitted to NMC, which was in turn submitted to the Foreign Affairs Office in China for approval. The China photographs that depicted anything political, whether any political inclusion was the focus of the photograph or incidental, were carefully scrutinised and discussed between NMC and TP staff. Some images were removed from the object lists due to the political content and TP accepted the suggested changes in the object lists and content. This is an example of a situation where political sensitivity had an impact on the level of curatorial freedom.

In March 2014, TP opened the NMC exchange exhibition *Shi Lu: A revolution in paint*, which explored 20th century China against the backdrop of Shi Lu's artwork. An important audience to connect with was Chinese New Zealanders and *Shi Lu* was well received by visitors. From the Visitor Market Research data collected, this quote from a Chinese New Zealander demonstrates a key objective.

I'm very impressed with some of his works as I've never come across them before even though I'm Chinese. That also means I need to improve my knowledge on Chinese culture and art after living in NZ for over ten years. I expect more similar exhibitions in Te Papa in the future. Thanks!'⁹

Reflecting on the exhibition, Rice stated 'that's hugely beneficial and I think any opportunity you have to grow your audience and to make connections with different people is vital'. The exhibition attendance was 18,518, with its twinned exhibition *Throne of Emperors* recording 22,684 visitors.¹⁰

The incoming exhibition exchanges presented significant opportunity for the professional development of museum staff. Rice said that through the exhibition academic, professional and personal relationships were built. This was not solely with NMC, but also with academic and museum staff engaged in Chinese culture and art

⁹ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, 'Visitor Market Research Wrap Report Final Throne of Emperors' (Wellington: Te Papa, August 2014) 11.

¹⁰ Ibid, 3

throughout Australasia. An advisory support group assisted TP with experts based at Victoria University and the Confucius Institute consulted with TP staff on the exhibitions. Rice appreciated the opportunity to work outside of her usual portfolio and said it was great professional development.

Cross-Cultural Lessons: Challenges and Opportunities

Overall, the exhibition development and installation of *Kura Pounamu* ran smoothly between the two museums, despite language barriers, time differences and cultural and museological differences. An aspect of *Kura Pounamu* that experienced a small misunderstanding between TP-NMC was the installation of over 70 hei tiki (ornamental pendants made from pounamu). The hei tiki affixed to panels, were intended to be joined together creating a double spiral motif, but this was incorrectly installed at NMC. The panels displaying the hei tiki were widely separated in the installation, which detracted from the original meaning. It was too close to the exhibition opening to change the installation, so a compromise was reached between TP and NMC. Close by the hei tiki panels, NMC displayed an image of how the installation was intended to look, and explained the significance and symbolism of the double spiral in Māori culture. This action was well received, and the relationship was not only preserved, but strengthened.

Following the success of the exhibition exchanges from TP to NMC, two exchange exhibitions were opened at TP in 2014. For the NMC exchange exhibitions, the TP curators leading the exhibition development were drawn from TP's main subject areas, which differed from NMC. At the time of the exchange there were no TP curators whose portfolio included international art. Fortunately, Rebecca Rice, Curator Historical New Zealand Art stepped into the role of curating *Shi Lu*. Similarly, Justine Olsen, Curator of Decorative Arts took on the role of curating the history-focused exhibition, *Throne of Emperors*. While neither had previously specialised in the subject matter, they became experts throughout the course of the exhibition development. The curators interviewed expressed gratitude for the experience of working on the exhibition exchanges that had provided opportunities for

professional development. A potential drawback to this opportunity is the impact of drawing experienced curators away from their specialist subject areas to work on other projects. While those involved overall viewed the experience optimistically, it is worth acknowledging that the exhibition exchanges from NMC involved redistributing TP's resources from other aspects of its activity.

During the exhibition development, Rice reported that they began to have almost weekly conference calls between TP and NMC, which were crucial to the success of the exhibition development. Rice stated,

We had almost weekly conversations where I would bring the Chinese interpreter in and we would sit down in a room on the speaker phone and just talk through our expectations, talk through what we needed from her in terms of text, because email communication was not always proving to be satisfactory. We found that if we just had a time every week to sit in a room and do that we made much more progress and we were all a lot clearer.

Using videoconference calls to work through issues was a key learning for staff in managing the relationship. This is a valuable piece of advice for museums engaging in cross-cultural partnerships and activity.

McCredie recalled that he experienced relatively little collaboration in developing the *Brian Brake* exhibition. While no other curators mentioned this specifically, there was little mention of collaboration on the exhibitions between TP-NMC, apart from essential collaborative tasks such as text translation. McCredie said 'if I'm cynical about it, I would say that the Chinese didn't really care, and what they wanted was a show. All they wanted was a partnership with another country'. He felt that the NMC was interested in the partnership and exhibition exchanges for political reasons, and not necessarily in the best interest of TP. This criticism illustrates the chief concern expressed by academic critics about museum engagement with cultural diplomacy. The main detracting arguments against museum's engagement in politics is that it can develop into an exercise that does not adequately serve the museum and its visitors, but acts a box ticking exercise for the government.¹¹ Other interviewees did not

¹¹ Tiffany Jenkins, 'Artists, resist this propagandist agenda' *Spiked online*, 27 October 2009, accessed 13 July 2015, <http://www.spiked-online.com/newsite/article/7629#.VtT08JN968U>.

express this view. However, it is possible the opinion may have been felt more broadly than is represented in the small amount of data collected.

During the exhibition development, it became apparent that the scale on which the organisations operated was vastly different. Rice said TP ‘had to temper those expectations of scale... making the argument that the requirements for our audiences would be quite different than the requirements for an audience in Beijing’. This was not unexpected as TP is very small compared NMC, the largest museum in the world.¹² Rice stated ‘we can’t deny that when New Zealand is dealing with China there are two very different kinds of forces of scales—political, cultural and otherwise—in place’. Rice and McCredie both indicated that this was the most complex aspect of the relationship and exhibition exchanges, that it is difficult to maintain an even balance between the two institutions. In this context, Rice said ‘it can be tricky to negotiate so having really good advice, having Wen Powles as that kind of go-between person was absolutely crucial’. This example highlights the importance of museum staff having access to training and support to be culturally informed in this type of cross-cultural activity.

Related to the matter of vastly different scales, the museums negotiated the physical location and layout of the incoming exchange exhibitions. TP occupies a significantly smaller building than NMC. TP originally suggested that both exhibitions be held in their temporary gallery space, but NMC were uncomfortable with the exhibitions being shown in the same space. A compromise was reached between the museums and it was decided that *Thrones* would be shown in the touring exhibitions space and *Shi Lu* would occupy a brand new art gallery space. NMC had also suggested a biographical section related to *Shi Lu* be displayed in a third gallery space. However, TP knew that a separate display on the biographical context would not resonate with TP’s audience. The museums reached a positive compromise, by integrating the biographical content into the exhibition.

¹² AT008.com, ‘The World’s Largest Museum – National Museum of China officially opens to the public’, accessed 18 December 2015, <http://news.at0086.com/Today-s-Top-News/The-World-largest-museum-National-Museum-of-China-officially-opens-to-public.html>.

The rationale of the museum's engagement with cultural diplomacy came from a high level within the organisation, and was not extensively communicated with staff. Consequently, the focus on cultural diplomacy is less apparent in the operational level of the museum. Curator Rebecca Rice commented on this lack of clarity, remarking that operational staff were facilitating the activity 'but we don't even quite know what the game is that's being played up there and we kind of have to play along'. While staff members were positive about their experience, there was a lack of clarity around the wider motivations of the partnership. This does not mean to say that museum staff were unwilling to participate, or that the outcomes were negative. Nevertheless, it appears that it was sometimes unclear to staff whether the partnership and subsequent activity was intended to be of benefit to the NZ government, the Chinese government, TP, NMC, or museum visitors. While the TP-NMC partnership was certainly intended to positively affect a range of groups and objectives, it was primarily motivated by cultural diplomacy, which is a shift in focus from the museum's usual focus of the visitor experience. It is also possible that these multiple objectives became competing objectives. The museum must clearly communicate the focus of the activity to ensure comprehension and cohesion across executive and operational staff.

Building the Relationship: Developments

The strong relationship built by TP-NMC has created unexpected opportunities. Weibo is a very popular social media platform in China and TP has recently opened an account. In a conference call in October 2015 TP mentioned this to Deputy Director Chen who said 'I can post about Te Papa on our Weibo and we have four million followers'. Hay described this as 'an expression of the warmth of their relationship and a really powerful thing to have happen'. While this action may or may not greatly impact the number of people that follow TP on the basis of this promotion, it is an example of the friendship that has developed between the museums. Once there is a strong basis of trust and friendship, the opportunities to collaborate and assist each other naturally grow.

An important aspect of museum relationships is the opportunity for ‘tea and sympathy’.¹³ Hakiwai emphasised this point saying ‘I think the value that it has for us as a national museum is that we hear the experiences of museum overseas, and museums have common issues’. Museums must act in a self-reflective manner and acknowledge what their strengths are, and what areas require improvement. Gaining capability through staff exchanges and partnering with organisations is a practical and feasible method to encourage professional and organisational development. For TP, this could mean development in exhibitions renewal; an aspect that TP can offer to other organisations is its bicultural model and level of stakeholder engagement. Hakiwai ‘They were all very keen, all the museums I have been to, in knowing what Te Papa is all about and our process in how we engage our communities’. This is a significant aspect of TP’s international activity, which is altruistically focused.

The current CEO of TP, Rick Ellis, visited NMC in September 2015. Director Lu Zhangsen said the fact that Ellis had come early in his tenure to meet face-to-face is a very clear expression of how much TP values the relationship. The relationship has made the transition between museum leadership with relative ease, due to the formal partnership and the established depth of relationship between the museums. The TP-NMC five-year partnership was renewed between the two museums in September 2015 for another five years when Rick Ellis visited NMC. The relationship is ongoing, as Hay stated ‘the fires are warm and the relationship will continue’.

Conclusion

While the number of interviewees was relatively small, the data gathered for this dissertation revealed interesting findings in relation to the research topic. The participants offered invaluable reports of international museum activities, across aspects of museum practice in leadership, strategy and exhibition programming. The results suggest that TP was a proactive actor in diplomatic activity, and positioned the museum as willing and able to undertake cultural diplomacy. This had dual motives; to develop TP’s core activity by gaining support from government, and, contribute to

¹³ British Columbia Museums Association, ‘Strategic Partnerships’.

achieving the diplomatic objectives of its principal funder, the NZ government. The research demonstrated fluctuating use of instrumental strategies by TP. These findings demonstrate the museum's innovative strategic approach to international museum activity, pointing to a gap in knowledge between museum theory, and what is currently happening in museum practice.

Chapter Three:

Museums Partnerships and Cultural Diplomacy: Discussion

Introduction

In the previous chapter I presented the results of this research from interviews with museum professionals. The major findings were grouped into themes outlining the museum's strategic objectives, how it positioned its capability, and some challenges, successes and developments in the TP-NMC partnership. From the results of the case study, key themes emerged on the potential of instrumentalism, the evolving relationship between museums and governments, and how museum professionals perceive cultural diplomacy. There was a wide range of opinions represented within the small group of participants, indicating the complexity and breadth of the topic, and changes in the organisations and partnership, over the five-year relationship.

This chapter analyses and discusses the key themes of the research, and develops an argument in relation to the research question, concerning to what extent museums utilise the concept of instrumentalism in cultural exchange partnerships. To organise the discussion in this chapter, the findings are presented in the following sections:

Cultural Diplomacy in Museums: The potential of instrumentalism

Museums and Cultural Diplomacy: In whose best interests?

Museum Diplomacy: An emerging area in cultural partnerships

In the first section, I analyse the extent to which instrumentalism has been employed by TP, and recommend how it could be used in future. Next, I consider the extent to which TP's activity can be described as cultural diplomacy, and who benefits from this intersection between museum and government activities. Lastly, I propose an emerging area in museum practice, that of 'museum diplomacy'. I present this term to describe the developing practice of intersecting activity between international museum work and state-sponsored cultural diplomacy.

Cultural Diplomacy and Museums: The potential of instrumentalism

The degree to which TP acted instrumentally has fluctuated throughout its partnership. The museum has utilised instrumentalism in two ways: as a *general* approach to the relationship with NMC, and *opportunistically* as occasions were presented. TP did not have clearly instrumental policy in its pursuit of a partnership with NMC. However, it did expect that opportunities would arise in the course of the engagement that would benefit TP. While there was some employment of instrumental strategies in the TP-NMC partnership, I argue there is scope for a more calculated approach to instrumental policies and strategies, in the future.

An example of how TP opportunistically utilised instrumentalism was in securing funding for exhibition exchanges from the CDIP. This was financially beneficial as the museum received \$100,000. This financial contribution provided substantial assistance for touring exhibition costs. If the CDIP funding were not granted, the museum would have absorbed the associated exhibition costs. Therefore, TP strategically utilised the partnership, as a platform to attract funding and support from government. The museum achieved this by connecting their core activities of touring exhibitions, to coincide with the anniversary of an important political relationship, the 40th anniversary of NZ-China diplomatic relations.

An area in which TP strategized general instrumental opportunities was increasing the profile and brand of TP internationally, specifically in China. The museum leveraged the exhibition events to achieve this. TP utilised the opportunity of media presence and large audience numbers to NMC to develop its international profile. This was to promote awareness, reputation, and branding of TP as a tourism destination, and develop its international reputation in the museum sector. There was significant media coverage of the two exhibitions at NMC with around 50 members of the Chinese press attending the exhibition opening. The media coverage of the exchange exhibitions at NMC included 74 online stories, nine lead newspaper articles, features on television and radio shows, and coverage in the Wall Street Journal.¹ TP had three exhibitions tour in China from 2012 to 2014, *Meridian Lines* as part of

¹ Te Papa Board Paper, 'Final Report on Cultural Diplomacy Funding, items 10-11'.

Congratulations from the World at China Art Palace, *Brian Brake*, and *Kura Pounamu* at NMC, and the subsequent domestic tour of *Kura Pounamu*. These exhibitions had a combined total of approximately 630,000 visitors.² International awareness of TP and NZ were boosted through TP's activity. Powles described the impact of the exhibitions as 'almost incalculable, the kind of branding that was achieved'. TP elevated its profile and potential audience through aligning its priorities and activities with foreign policy and all-of-government initiatives.

TP acted instrumentally in pursuing its unrealised goal of securing private sector funding for the museum, to support the exhibition exchanges. TP's Funds Development Manager travelled to China to encourage sponsorship from New Zealand companies operating in China. This instrumental strategy is summarised in the museum's CDIP application. It stated the exhibition exchanges presented 'multiple opportunities to New Zealand agencies and the New Zealand private sector with a unique vehicle for business leveraging and promoting New Zealand in China'.³ This would have been a coup for TP to engage private sector companies with vested interests in China, such as Air New Zealand, Fonterra, and Zespri to support this cultural expression of New Zealand. In exchange, the profile and branding of the company could be boosted. Unfortunately, this strategy did not eventuate in financial support. There is scope to redevelop this strategy and test different approaches, as private sector funding in museums is a somewhat underdeveloped resource, in NZ cultural sector sponsorship.

TP applied a general instrumental strategy to develop its international touring exhibitions through the connections and relationship that began with NMC. Because TP laid a strong foundation with China's national museum, it was able to use this as a platform to initiate dialogue with other Chinese museums. An example of TP's expansion in the Chinese museum market was *Kura Pounamu's* tour of four senior regional museums, after its success at NMC. While the TP-NMC partnership is

² There were approximately 500,000 visitors to *Meridian Lines* in the show *Congratulations from the World* at China Art Palace, Shanghai. There were approximately 33,000 visitors to the NMC exchange exhibitions *Brian Brake* and *Kura Pounamu*. The projected exhibition attendance for the domestic tour of China of *Kura Pounamu* was 100,000. Awaiting confirmation of final visitor attendance to *Kura Pounamu* tour.

³ Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade, 'Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Trade application for Cultural Diplomacy International Programme funding for the Te Papa Project', April 2012.

enduring, TP has also begun to develop additional partnerships with other Chinese museums.

CEO Rick Ellis visited China in November 2015, and renewed the TP-NMC five-year partnership agreement. On the same visit, he met with representatives from the Natural History Museum (NHM) in Shanghai and established a new five-year partnership agreement. The museums have begun discussions on how they could collaborate. Ellis stated a possible area of collaboration is NHM participation in TP's museum renewal project, as TP will refresh its fixed exhibitions, over the next five years. Once TP resumes its temporary exhibition programme, Ellis said TP-NHM may develop exhibition plans. Because it is important to conduct business with respect in relation to hierarchy and existing relationships, the partnership between TP-NMC has acted as a gateway for TP into the Chinese museum sector.

TP has displayed an astute and responsive approach to instrumental strategies. Based on the research findings of this case study, compared to Nisbett's findings of British cultural organisations utilising instrumentalism in the literature review, I argue TP could employ a more calculated approach to instrumentalism. There is an unrealised opportunity to leverage the museum's diplomatic aptitude as a platform to affect policy changes, funding and advocacy in the New Zealand cultural sector. By communicating the rationale, activities and outcomes of TP's international activity more widely, through formal channels such as written reports, this could raise awareness of the museum's abilities. While TP has perceptively utilised instrumental strategies as the opportunities were presented, it would be beneficial to formalise appropriate examples in policy. This would establish continuity and confidence for TP, as well as create greater understanding of the expectations of the museum for TP staff and the NZ Government.

Museums and Cultural Diplomacy: In whose best interests?

From the interviews with TP staff, three key reasons for TP's focus in China emerged. Former CEO Michael Houlihan 'saw the pace, and the power of change there and wanted Te Papa to be a part of it'. This can be seen as TP acting in its own interests,

to increase its international profile and standing. Secondly ‘he saw the importance as the national museum of our role supporting and adding richness to the Free Trade Agreement and [New Zealand’s] activity in China’. Here, the museum is engaging in cultural diplomacy by supporting government priorities. Thirdly, TP was interested in scoping the Chinese museum market for the possibility of commercial touring exhibition opportunities. This shows the museum acting instrumentally, and leveraging opportunities from its diplomatic activity to increase its international activity. From these examples, it is evident there were multiple objectives for the museum.

In the TP-NMC agreement the objectives were twofold: the partnership would enhance cultural exchange between NZ and China, and TP and NMC would exchange and co-operate in their core business areas. While we have seen three key reasons for TP engaging with NMC, only two purposes are articulated in the partnership agreement. These are cultural diplomacy through cultural exchange between NZ and China, and the museums’ goals, through cooperation in exhibition exchanges and staff development. Here, TP asserts that it is capable and enthusiastic about engaging in cultural diplomacy. At this point in the relationship, instrumental goals were not evident, unless we consider the museum’s aim that they would enhance cultural exchange between NZ and China, as instrumental to subsequently gaining funding.

The amalgamation of TP’s international plans and relationships into a cohesive strategy is essential to the museum’s diplomatic progression. Houlihan presented a paper to the Board in May 2011 for feedback on the scope for a review of TP’s ‘International Strategies and Relationships’.⁴ The paper stated that a review of the current partnerships was required as ‘alignment and integration is critical to ensure we are achieving the outcomes we desire and our resources are maximised’.⁵ A key objective proposed in the paper was for TP to identify and align its strategy and activity with the NZ Government’s international strategies.⁶ While the focus is influenced by external aims, the activities are intended to have benefits for TP *as a museum*, not just to assist the government.

⁴ Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, ‘Board 145, Item 2.3. International Strategies and Relationships’, May 2011.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

Shortly after his appointment in November 2014, CEO Rick Ellis was invited by MCH to co-host a meeting with a Chinese Vice Minister of Culture to ‘introduce Te Papa as the national museum and a leading voice in cultural diplomacy for New Zealand with China’. There is not an explicit mandate from the NZ Government regarding TP’s involvement in advancing government interests, but there is an expectation that the museum engages with its priorities. When asked to what extent TP has a responsibility to engage in cultural diplomacy, Ellis stated,

[Te Papa is] a Crown entity, we are accountable through the Ministry for Culture and Heritage and our shareholders have made it quite clear that this is a critical role for us to play.... It is not up for debate.

By entrusting TP’s capability to enhance cultural exchange and connect key people, the NZ Government is placing significant value on the museum’s abilities. Thus far, TP’s role in cultural diplomacy has been relatively informal. The museum’s increasing role, as demonstrated by the quote above, and TP’s CEO being offered a seat on the New Zealand China Council, suggests that government has viewed TP’s involvement in cultural diplomacy successfully.

Overall, TP’s engagement with cultural diplomacy has been beneficial to the organisation. By aligning its strategic objectives with government aims, and positioning the museum as willing and able to engage with diplomatic objectives, the museum benefited greatly. TP received substantial funding through the CDIP, increased international prestige and brand awareness, staff benefited from professional development, and the exhibition exchanges reached new audiences. This positive finding diverges from conventional opinion on museum engagement with political and diplomatic activities, and demonstrates parallels with Nisbett’s research on British cultural organisations, which have expanded their international activity through cultural diplomacy.⁷ In both cases, the organisations drew connections between their museum activities and their government’s foreign policy agendas.⁸ While governments benefit from the friendly relations achieved through the cultural

⁷ Nisbett, ‘New Perspectives on Instrumentalism’, 572.

⁸ Ibid, 571.

diplomacy activity of cultural organisations, the engagement is also shown to be in the museum's best interests.

However, the degree to which TP's activity can be classified as cultural diplomacy is debatable. Considering the relative lack of formal requirements from government regarding TP's engagement in cultural diplomacy, it is tenuous to assert that this is a clear example of cultural diplomacy. Instead, the research findings demonstrate how TP *positioned itself* to undertake cultural diplomacy activity, indicating that the diplomatic activity carried out by the museum, was directed by the museum. As the activity was created by this intersection between museum activities and government agendas, I consider it an emerging area in museum practice.

Museum Diplomacy: An emerging area in cultural partnerships

The degree to which intersecting museum and government agendas have impacted the first five years of the partnership between TP-NMC has fluctuated from TP acting in the interests of the museum, to engaging with cultural diplomacy objectives, to acting instrumentally. TP developed a relationship with NMC for its own interests. Where appropriate, it judiciously pursued opportunities through the NZ Government to advance its goals, while offering considerable benefits in return to its principal funder. There has been a strong emphasis on cultural diplomacy from TP; this priority is evident in its Strategy, CDIP funding application, Board papers and from the actions and comments of its Executive Leadership Team. I consider TP as forming an emerging practice of 'museum diplomacy'. I propose this term to describe the practice of intersecting activity between museums and governments.⁹

⁹ These findings, and the proposition of an emerging area of museum diplomacy is strengthened by recent developments in the field. A symposium was held at Victoria University of Wellington, 'International Museum Exhibitions and Intercultural Dialogue' on 2 February 2016. Academics, museum professionals and cultural policy experts discussed links between museums, exhibition exchange, cultural diplomacy and intercultural dialogue. Another symposium is planned for April 2016 provisionally titled 'Museums, Art and Chinese Diplomacy in the Pacific' at Canterbury University. These research projects and symposia indicate developing activity, that is just beginning to be disseminated.

Throughout this research it became evident that the intersection between museum activities in government agendas is not always a clear example of cultural diplomacy. As mentioned in the literature review, there is no firm consensus on the definition of cultural diplomacy.¹⁰ In the introduction of this dissertation, I stated I would use the term cultural diplomacy to describe the act of facilitating cultural exchange and interaction between nations, in order to strengthen relationships and increase mutual cultural understanding. While this was appropriate at the outset of this research, my investigation into the international activity of NZ's national museum has transformed my perception of the practice, and the definition. I propose that museum diplomacy describes the diplomatic practice of museums, carried out in support of a government's foreign policy or diplomacy, and a museum's international activity through cultural exchange and collaboration to strengthen bonds of nations, organisations and peoples.

An obstacle to overcome in the development of museum diplomacy is the negative perception of museum engagement with government agendas, while contemporaneously acting in its own interests. It is not uncommon for intersecting museum and government activity to be regarded warily.¹¹ David Carter notes that 'being suspicious of governments is almost second nature, especially when *culture* is the other item in the equation.'¹² However, museum and government engagement is inevitable, therefore it is advantageous to develop the relationship. Local and central government must distribute funding among a range of services, and cultural organisations are continuously being asked to do more for less.¹³ Funding cuts are likely and museums are increasingly expected to raise and earn more of their own money. In this difficult financial climate, which will likely worsen rather than improve, museums must find innovative ways to raise their profile, increase their audience, and supplement their income. However, one of the paths to achieving this, engaging in museum diplomacy, is often seen as corrupting the integrity of the museum, in both the public and academic eye. Museums must counter this detracting

¹⁰ Mark, 'A Comparative Study of the Cultural Diplomacy', 3.

¹¹ Nisbett, 'New Perspectives on Instrumentalism', 557.

¹² David Carter, 'Living with Instrumentalism: The academic commitment to cultural diplomacy', *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 21:4 (2015): 478-493.

¹³ Tim Hazledine, 'Arts funding in New Zealand: A proposal for reform', *Cultural Trends* 20:1 (2011): 65-84.

view to encourage a united position on the beneficial outcomes for both museums and governments that engage in museum diplomacy. While the practice assists governments to strengthen relationships and increase mutual cultural understanding, museums can develop their core business, through increased advocacy, funding and instrumental policies and strategies.

Clear communication to stakeholders on the rationale, activities and outcomes is crucial to the development of museum diplomacy. This point is particularly salient for internal museum staff. A lack of clarity concerning the motivations for TP's diplomatic engagement led to some confusion among staff. While this did not appear to negatively impact the outcomes of relationship or activities, it did have a professional and personal impact on museum staff. Greater transparency around the rationale and anticipated outcomes would assist in improving the awareness, perception, and support for this important role of museums. This dissertation contributes to increasing awareness and transparency in museum diplomacy by disseminating the results of a NZ case study.

Conclusion

The case study of TP-NMC presented a nuanced and complex range of responses to international museum activity in state-sponsored cultural diplomacy. The study demonstrated how TP applied general and opportunistic instrumental strategies in its relationship with NMC, but that there is scope to develop these examples into policy to affect change in the wider sector. The research demonstrated how TP is leading an emerging area in museum practice, and is in a position to develop its core business through international policies and strategies. I have charted the fluctuations and points of difference over the first five years of the relationship, where TP has acted in its own interests, *and* for the NZ Government. As Rick Ellis stated, TP has a 'growing role to play in cultural diplomacy'. Through this role, the national museum has the opportunity to use this responsibility innovatively, and develop its core business through museum diplomacy.

Conclusion

In this dissertation I examined the relationships between selected cultural organisations in NZ and China. The aims of this study were to explore the effects of instrumentalism in museum activity through cultural diplomacy, and increase awareness of the reasons, benefits, challenges and effects of the intersection between museums and cultural diplomacy. My main research question was: to what extent do museums utilise the concept of instrumentalism in cultural exchange partnerships between NZ and China? I investigated the intersection of government practices of cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism with cultural organisation partnerships using a case study of TP-NMC. The case study is framed by the history of the engagement between NZ and China, and selected organisations that have developed relationships with a counterpart organisation in China. I interviewed ten current and former staff members from TP, NLNZ and MFAT. Their responses about museum and diplomatic activities were analysed alongside documents from TP, MCH, MFAT and DCC. Here, I present the overall findings, discuss the contribution of this research to the academic literature, and make recommendations for future museum and government collaboration.

Overall, the investigation of the relationship between TP-NMC has shown that instrumentalism *has* been used both generally and opportunistically but *not* as a directed tool for the museum. This possibly denotes a negative perception of cultural diplomacy and instrumentalism, and indicates that the museum does not want to appear too deeply entwined with the government. Furthermore, there are practical obstacles to overcome around museums engaging in instrumental policies and strategies, including lack of understanding about its potential, and unavailability of money, time and staff resources. Interview participants did not explicitly indicate that their museum has, or should use, instrumental policies or strategies, even when the examples indicate that it was used, to some extent. This suggests that museum staff use different terminology and ways of talking about the activity, which seems less

directed or controlled. It would be valuable for museum professionals to re-evaluate the reasons for utilising instrumentalism and determine what the outcomes can be for the cultural sector. In the United Kingdom, museum professionals have helped create stronger frameworks and opportunities for funding through implementing instrumental strategies. The potential benefits appear to outweigh the disadvantages of experimenting with this innovative form of museum development.

The degree to which this intersection of activity can be called cultural diplomacy is less exact than I anticipated when I embarked on the research. As presented in Chapter Three, this has encouraged the development of museum diplomacy. The extent of TP's involvement in cultural diplomacy has gradually progressed along the spectrum from lesser to greater responsibility, over the past five years. In the beginning of the relationship in 2011, TP's diplomatic ties came from the museum itself, not from the request of the NZ Government. From this point when TP asserted itself as being capable of successfully engaging in cultural diplomacy, its role has developed and is becoming increasingly formalised. This is seen through MCH requesting that TP assume a more active role in relationship building globally, and specifically in the Pacific. A convincing example of the increasingly public role of the national museum's diplomatic ability is the appointment of TP to a seat on the New Zealand China Council. This is a positive direction for TP, as it increases its influence through engaging with other organisations and projects. It also increases awareness and transparency about TP's role in NZ's diplomatic activity.

This dissertation provides modest, but unique insights into cultural organisation partnerships and the intersection with government activities. The research develops an argument for an emerging area in museum practice, that of museum diplomacy. As a contribution to museum and cultural policy literature, this is the first NZ study to analyse the use of instrumentalism in cultural organisation partnerships, and provide a case study describing the state of cultural organisation partnerships. This dissertation contributes original research that describes museum-to-museum partnerships. Currently, there are very few records of the operational, day-to-day experiences of museum partnerships across nations. In the museum studies field, this research responds to the calls for further research by Tarasoff (1990) and Davidson (2015) to develop a body of research on international touring exhibitions. In the field of cultural

policy studies, this research contributes a case study and provides critical analysis of the intersecting activities of museums and governments, building on the findings of Nibsett (2013). Its conclusions reinforce evidence that the intersection of museum activity and state-sponsored cultural diplomacy is under-researched in museum and cultural policy studies and also insufficiently considered in practice. Further research is required in museum diplomacy to analyse the impacts of this intersection on the cultural sector. Although this is a small, localised study, the data helps to fill the gap in our understanding of the complex relationship between museums and governments, in the NZ context.

To counter the issue of negative perception of the museum's use of instrumentalism, I recommend museum leadership increase explanation and improve communication around how museums benefit from engaging in museum diplomacy. This could be achieved through various channels, including outlining projects and the reasons for the programme at staff briefings, staff reporting back on projects or trips through presentations to other museum staff, or writing blogs on their experiences. Museum leadership could begin by introducing small examples of the concept of instrumentalism and its uses. To build awareness and understanding, museums could demonstrate its use through periodic examples of how the organisation has used it in the past, even if the activity was not identified as instrumental activity at the time.

The research findings demonstrate how the museum organised itself to undertake museum diplomacy. This was through the establishment of the International Strategy Advisor position, which added professionalism to the project. Museum staff praised the decision to appoint diplomatic expertise to the team. The appointment reflected both the needs of the museum, and added value from a cultural diplomacy perspective for government funders. The position has since been disestablished, and some TP staff commented that there is now a gap in expertise.

I recommend that museums engaging in political and diplomatic relationships employ professional expertise to assist the development of strong cross-cultural relationships. I propose that rather than establishing a permanent position, museums could employ specialists on a contract or secondment basis. Some of the benefits of this for the museum include the opportunity to appoint highly specialised staff for specific

projects. If the museum engages on an exhibition exchange between NZ and Mexico, versus NZ and China, different cultural expertise would be appropriate. Arranging a secondment or contract of expertise would also mean that the museum does not expend resources in the area of international advisory, where there are no currently active programmes. The ideal candidate would have transferable skills and ideally have bilingual capabilities, experience in diplomacy and an understanding of the NZ cultural sector. The appointment of expertise on an as-needed basis would provide appropriate support for museum professionals engaging in museum diplomacy.

Another theme that emerged in the investigation was the reliance on museum leadership to be strongly committed to maintaining active relationships. Because organisational partnerships rely on the commitment of high-level officials, leadership changes can greatly impact partnerships. New leadership often signifies a new focus for a museum, and if the partnership is not a high priority for the CEO, programs of work and ongoing relationship building may wane or cease entirely. This is a risk for the future of any museum partnership, as maintaining contact is crucial for its long-term survival. I recommend that even if a new direction for a museum draws resources away from a partnership, that the museum finds new, less resource-intensive ways to continue the relationship. TP is currently achieving this. As it is renewing permanent exhibitions there is no scope for developing touring exhibitions. Rather than suspending collaboration, however, they are discussing how their Chinese colleagues could contribute to TP's long-term exhibition, in staff exchanges between the museums.

As not-for-profit organisations, museums and other cultural organisations will unlikely ever have enough funding to achieve all of which they are capable.¹ Museums must increasingly pursue innovative methods to increase their funding and support from government sources.² By lending their innate capability for cultural

¹ American Association of Museums, *Slaying the Financial Dragon: Strategies for museums* (Washington: American Association of Museums, 2003) and Kim Nguyen and Michaela Falls (eds), *The Business of Museums: A behind the scenes look at curatorship, management strategies and critical components for success* (Boston: Astapore, 2004).

² Ted Silberg and Gail Lord, 'Balancing Mission and Money: Critical Issues in Museum Economics' in *Museum Practice*, ed. Conal McCarthy volume two in the series *International Handbooks of Museum Studies*, eds. Sharon Macdonald and Helen Rees Leahy (Oxford and Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell, 2015) 155-178.

exchange to government objectives, as long as it does not compromise their integrity, museums can increase their core business. While providing valuable assistance to their principal funders, museums can also use the engagement as a platform to achieve supplementary goals for the benefit of the museum. NZ cultural organisations are in the position to act bravely and leverage their position in the intersection between museum and government activities to develop their funding, support and policies that inform their sector.

To conclude this dissertation, I would like to reflect on the contribution museum diplomacy can make to increasing mutual cultural understanding and strengthening international relationships. Population diversity is rapidly increasing globally, and in NZ. With this come diverse cultures and histories, and the potential for misunderstanding, tension, social conflict or inequality. Museums can assist in ameliorating this by building awareness and understanding between nations and peoples. Like the cultural exchange of Te Papa staff singing the Chinese love song ‘Jasmine Flower’ for National Museum of China staff, and their reciprocity by singing ‘Te Aroha’ at the exchange exhibition opening in Beijing, cultural organisations can provide the forum to bridge cultural differences and build strong relationships.

Interview Participants

Dr Arapata Hakiwai: October 2015, Kaihautū, Te Papa.

Athol McCredie: September 2015, Curator Photography, Te Papa.

Bill Macnaught: January 2016, National Librarian, National Library of New Zealand.

Dougal Austin: November 2015, Curator Taonga Tuturu 19-20th Century, Te Papa.

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Dr Rebecca Rice: October 2015, Curator Historical New Zealand Art, Te Papa.

Rick Ellis: December 2015, Chief Executive Officer, Te Papa.

Dr Simon Mark: September 2015, Former Public Diplomacy Advisor, Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

Wen Powles: August 2015, Former International Strategy Advisor, Te Papa.

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